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CLIO

AÉHSA
ASSOCIATION DES ÉTUDIANT.E.S EN HISTOIRE
HISTORY STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

Couverture: Cette illustration met en scène Clio, la Muse de l'histoire, dans une télévision datant des années 1960. Le tout sert à représenter les différentes périodes historiques et symbolise au même moment le thème que nous avons adopté pour ce volume: « Observer l'histoire au fil du temps ». Nous tenons à remercier celle qui a réalisé cette illustration, Ariana Xidaní Hernández, pour sa patience et ses efforts lors de la conception de cette magnifique couverture. Vous pouvez la retrouver sur Instagram: @la_chicadelosgirasoles.

Cover: This cover illustration highlights Clio, the Muse of History, placed inside a television from the 1960s. It represents the different eras of history as well as this volume's theme: "Watching history through time". We would like to thank Ariana Xidaní Hernández for making this cover, and for her patience and effort throughout the creation of this gorgeous cover. You can find her on Instagram: @la_chicadelosgirasoles.

Clio
La revue d'histoire de premier cycle
de l'Université d'Ottawa

Clio est une revue universitaire évaluée par les pairs et créée afin de démontrer la plus haute qualité de travail rédigée par les étudiant.e.s de premier cycle en histoire à l'Université d'Ottawa. Ce journal est une entité semi-autonome de l'Association des étudiants en histoire de l'Université d'Ottawa (AÉHSA). Il a été conçu lors d'un concours au printemps 2013 dans le but d'améliorer l'expérience universitaire des étudiants de premier cycle en histoire. Nous sommes publiés en ligne, ainsi que sur papier.

Clio
The University of Ottawa
Undergraduate History Journal

Clio is a peer-reviewed undergraduate academic journal created to showcase the highest caliber of research completed by Undergraduate History students at the University of Ottawa. This journal is a semiautonomous entity of the University of Ottawa History Students' Association (AÉHSA). It was conceived in the spring of 2013 as part of a competition to improve the academic experience of Undergraduate History students. *Clio* is published online, as well as in print form.

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Nous reconnaissons que la production et la publication de Clio ont lieu sur un territoire non cédé de la nation algonquine. Vous trouverez ci-dessous l'affirmation autochtone de l'Université d'Ottawa, de https://www2.uottawa.ca/notre-universite/autochtone/affirmation-autochtone.

We recognize that the production and publication of Clio takes place on the unceded territory of the Algonquin nation. Please find below the University of Ottawa's Indigenous Affirmation, from https://www2.uottawa.ca/about-us/indigenous/indigenous-affirmation.

Ni manàdjiyànànig Màmìwininì Anishinàbeg, ogog kà nàgadawàbandadjig iyo akì eko weshkad. Ako nongom ega wìkàd kì mìgiwewàdj.

Ni manàdjiyànànig kakina Anishinàbeg ondaje kaye ogog kakina eniyagizidjig enigokamigàg Kanadàng eji ondàpinangig endàwàdjin Odàwàng.

Ninisidawinawànànig kenawendamòdjig kije kikenindamàwin; weshkinìgidjig kaye kejeyàdizidjig.

Nigijeweninmànànig ogog kà nìgànì sòngideyedjig; weshkad, nongom; kaye àyànikàdj.

Nous rendons hommage au peuple algonquin, gardien traditionnel de cette terre. Nous reconnaissons le lien sacré de longue date l'unissant à ce territoire qui demeure non cédé.

Nous rendons également hommage à tous les peuples autochtones qui habitent Ottawa, qu'ils soient de la région ou d'ailleurs au Canada.

Nous reconnaissons les gardiens des savoirs traditionnels, jeunes et âgés. Nous honorons aussi leurs courageux dirigeants d'hier, d'aujourd'hui et de demain.

We pay respect to the Algonquin people, who are the traditional guardians of this land. We acknowledge their longstanding relationship with this territory, which remains unceded.

We pay respect to all Indigenous people in this region, from all nations across Canada, who call Ottawa home.

We acknowledge the traditional knowledge keepers, both young and old. And we honour their courageous leaders: past, present, and future.

Remerciements

Nous sommes fiers de vous présenter le volume X de *Clio*, la revue d'histoire du premier cycle de l'Université d'Ottawa. Les onze articles inclus dans ce volume sont le résultat de plusieurs mois de recherche, de rédaction et d'édition. Ceux-ci représentent, d'après nous, ce qui se fait de mieux en termes d'histoire au premier cycle à l'Université d'Ottawa.

Le thème que nous avons choisi pour cette année est « observer l'histoire au fil du temps ». Faire de l'histoire, c'est de jeter un regard vers le passé pour tenter de le comprendre. Toutefois, l'histoire n'appartient pas uniquement au passé. Chaque jour qui passe nous rapproche d'un moment où, notre époque à son tour, sera étudiée en salle de classe. L'histoire en tant que discipline, par nature, n'est pas confinée au passé. Chaque nouvelle génération d'historiens développe, à son tour, de nouvelles façons d'approcher, d'interpréter et d'écrire l'histoire. Les outils à notre disposition aujourd'hui ne sont certainement pas les mêmes que ce qu'ils étaient au siècle passé. Les articles présents dans ce volume le démontrent bien.

Cette année encore, la publication de *Clio* n'est possible que par l'important soutien de plusieurs individus. Personne ne peut accomplir quoi que ce soit en travaillant seul, et nous ne faisons pas exception. Nous tenons tout d'abord à remercier Dr. Eric Allina et le département d'histoire pour leur appui financier nous ayant permis d'organiser la conférence Gaston Héon. Nous souhaitons également remercier Dr. Kouky Fianu et Dr. Meredith Terretta d'avoir pris de leur temps pour animer l'atelier de rédaction. Nous sommes tout autant redevables aux professeurs ayant accepté de participer à la conférence en tant que modérateur, soit Dr. Sylvie Perrier, Dr. Serge Durflinger, Dr. Sarah Templier et Dr. Thomas Boogaart. Nous sommes aussi

reconnaissants envers Dr. Thomas Boogaart de nous avoir offert de précieux conseils en ce qui concerne la conférence.

La publication du volume X de *Clio* fut rendue possible autant par l'appui de nombreux professeurs que par celui des étudiants en histoire. Ainsi, nous tenons à remercier la présidente de l'Association des étudiant.e.s d'histoire (AÉHSA), Louise Denault, de son aide et de sa confiance tout au long de notre mandat en tant que co-directeurs *Clio*. Nous souhaitons également remercier les autres membres de l'AÉHSA pour leurs encouragements continuels.

Nous voulons aussi, et surtout, remercier nos rédacteurs et rédactrices ainsi que nos auteur.e.s sans qui ce volume n'aurait pas pu voir le jour. Ils et elles ont travaillé avec acharnement pour produire des articles de la plus grande qualité et nous en sommes plus que reconnaissants. Enfin, nous ne pouvons pas oublier Michael Wang qui, tout au long du processus, nous a conseillés, aidés et motivés.

Nous souhaitons également remercier ceux et celles qui prendront le temps de lire ce dixième volume de *Clio*. Nous espérons que celui-ci sera à la hauteur de vos attentes et que vous apprécierez la lecture autant que nous avons apprécié en diriger la production.

Cordialement,

María Carrillo & William Moran

Acknowledgments

We are proud to present volume X of *Clio*, the University of Ottawa Undergraduate History Journal. The eleven articles included in this volume are the result of many months of research, writing, and editing. They represent, according to us, the very best in undergraduate history at the University of Ottawa.

The theme we have chosen for this year is "watching history through time". Doing history means looking back into the past to try and understand it. History, however, does not itself belong to the past. Every day that goes by gets us closer to a moment in which our own era will be studied in classrooms. History as a discipline, by nature, is not confined to the past. Every new generation develops new innovative ways to approach, interpret and write history. The tools available to us are certainly different from those used a hundred years ago. The articles in this volume clearly exemplify that.

This year again, the publication of *Clio* is only possible thanks to the crucial support of several individuals. No one accomplishes anything alone, and we are no exception. We would first like to thank Dr. Eric Allina and the Department of History for their financial support in organizing the Gaston Heon Conference. We would also like to thank Dr. Kouky Fianu and Dr. Meredith Terretta for taking time out of their schedules to give the editing workshop. We are equally indebted to the professors who agreed to participate in the conference as moderators: Dr. Sylvie Perrier, Dr. Serge Durflinger, Dr. Sarah Templier, and Dr. Thomas Boogaart. We are also grateful to Dr. Thomas Boogaart for offering us valuable advice regarding the conference.

The publication of *Clio* X was made possible by the support of many professors as well as by the history students at

the University of Ottawa. Thus, we would like to thank the President of the History Students' Association (AÉHSA), Louise Denault, for her help and trust throughout our tenure as *Clio* co-directors. We are also thankful to the other members of the AÉHSA for their continued support.

We would also like to take this opportunity to thank our editors and authors without whom this volume would not have been possible. They have worked hard to produce articles of the highest quality and we are more than grateful. Finally, we cannot omit to mention Michael Wang, who throughout the process has advised, assisted, and motivated us.

We would also like to thank those who will take the time to read this tenth volume of *Clio*. We hope that it will live up to your expectations and that you will enjoy reading it as much as we enjoyed supervising its creation

Sincerely,

María Carrillo & William Moran

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Étudier les artisans du livre à Paris au 16e siècle à l'aide des SIG: L'imposition des libraires en 1571

Vincent Charron

Le *Compte du don de trois cens mil livres tournois* sur lequel repose ce travail est une copie d'un manuscrit, aujourd'hui disparu, relatant l'impôt de 1571 perçu à Paris par le roi Charles IX.[1] En travaillant principalement sur ce document et l'ouvrage intitulé *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens: libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie* dans le cadre du cours « Paris, historique et virtuel » avec professeure Kouky Fianu, il fut possible de rassembler des données sur les artisans du livre à Paris en 1571.[2] Par la suite, celles-ci furent géoréférencées sur une carte virtuelle de Paris grâce au système d'information géographique (SIG) QGIS. En observant ces données, une question particulière fut construite pour ce travail: pourquoi les artisans du livre les plus imposés à Paris en 1571 étaient-ils généralement libraires? En réponse à cette question, l'hypothèse émise est la suivante: plusieurs libraires de Paris pouvaient atteindre un haut niveau de richesse par la nature de leur métier et par leur localisation avantageuse dans Paris sur la rue Saint-Jacques, et le montant de l'impôt inscrit dans le *Compte du don* de 1571 était relatif à la richesse de l'individu imposé.

Pour répondre à la question, le présent travail s'appuie sur une source primaire, *Le compte du don*, ainsi que sur des études et des encyclopédies spécialisées. Les données utilisées

[1] *Compte du don de trois cens mil livres t., octroyé par la ville de Paris au feu roy Charles [IX] dernier décédé, en l'année MVc soixante-unze ; M. Francois de Vigny, le jeune, commis* (1571-1600).
[2] Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens: libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie* (Paris : M. J. Minard, 1965).

sont illustrées par des graphiques, des tableaux et des cartes. Ces dernières ont été réalisées grâce aux données d'hydrographie et de voierie d'ALPAGE pour tirer avantage du géoréférencement des données.[3] Cependant, des limites s'imposent à ce travail : par l'ampleur du projet collaboratif entrepris dans ce cours, il est possible que quelques erreurs manuelles furent commises lors de la compilation des données. Également, certains artisans de Paris identifiés dans le cours n'apparaissent pas dans le manuscrit. Une réflexion et une conclusion valide peuvent toutefois être tirées de cette analyse générale des données. Finalement, ce travail est divisé en deux parties. La première consistera en une dissertation cherchant à déterminer pourquoi les artisans du livre les plus imposés étaient généralement libraires. Cette section s'effectuera sous forme d'étapes, chacune apportant une réflexion supplémentaire et essentielle à la progression de l'analyse en vue de répondre à la question. La deuxième partie, quant à elle, sera une réflexion sur les limites et les apports des SIG comme outils pour l'étude des artisans du livre à Paris au XVI^{e} siècle et pour la discipline historique en général.

Identification des causes potentielles de la surreprésentation des libraires parmi les artisans du livre les plus imposés en 1571 à Paris

Les libraires représentent la majorité des artisans les plus imposés

Pour répondre à la question, il faut d'abord déterminer le nombre des individus les plus imposés et qui d'entre eux étaient libraires. Selon le graphique *Les 167 impôts répertoriés liés aux métiers du livre en 1571 à Paris, répartis en fonction du montant d'imposition en livre* (voir figure 1), il est possible de remarquer que certains artisans se distinguaient nettement des autres par leur haut

[3] *ALPAGE AnaLyse diachronique de l'espace urbain PArisien: approche GEomatique*, 2022.

niveau d'imposition. Avant tout, il est important de mentionner l'impact des choix adoptés par les étudiants et par la professeure Fianu au cours de ce projet collaboratif. Certains artisans ont été comptabilisés en double dans ce projet, puisque certains individus possédaient deux propriétés et furent donc imposés deux fois. C'est pourquoi ce graphique et la figure 2 indiquent le nombre d'impôts plutôt que le nombre d'individus. Ainsi, la limite du niveau d'impôt est en réalité encore plus grande que 60, en prenant par exemple le cas de Geneviève Le Blanc, veuve de libraire, qui fut imposée 40 livres pour un bâtiment sur la rue Troussevache et 30 livres pour un autre sur la rue Saint-Jacques, totalisant un impôt de 70 livres. Ces doublons seront aussi présents dans les cartes à venir; les chiffres n'ont pas été modifiés pour garder une continuité dans les données, et puisqu'il est toujours possible d'en tirer des conclusions générales véridiques, malgré le manque de précision.

Pour revenir au graphique, la majorité des artisans du livre recensés dans le *Compte du don* furent généralement peu imposés en 1571: près de la moitié d'entre eux ont été imposés moins de quatre livres. Cependant, il est aussi possible de remarquer qu'une minorité d'individus se démarquaient du lot par leur haut niveau d'imposition atteignant plusieurs dizaines de livres, constituant un groupe distinct. Ainsi, pour mieux isoler les artisans les plus imposés du reste, les impôts répertoriés peuvent être divisés en trois classes égales d'une amplitude de 20 livres, tel qu'illustré par la figure 2.

Grâce à ce graphique, il est possible de déterminer que 149 artisans furent imposés entre zéro et 20 livres, 13 entre 20 et 40 livres, et cinq entre 40 et 60 livres. Les nombres d'impositions des deux dernières classes se distinguent nettement de la première par leur petit nombre. Les individus qui seront considérés comme hautement imposés dans ce travail seront ceux

appartenant aux deux dernières classes, pour un total de 18 individus.

Ensuite, il est important de déterminer combien de ces 18 individus pratiquaient le métier de libraire, ce qui peut être illustré par le tableau 1 (voir annexe). Sur 18 artisans, 14 étaient libraires comme métier principal. Ces données illustrent ainsi une surreprésentation des libraires parmi les artisans les plus imposés, comme l'affirme la question de recherche. Cependant, avant d'explorer les causes possibles de ce phénomène, il faut expliquer le processus d'imposition des individus tel que déterminé par la ville de Paris. En effet, c'est sur cette méthode que reposent trois des quatre causes avancées dans ce travail pour répondre à la question de recherche.

La méthode d'imposition choisie pour l'impôt de 1571 à Paris

Comme l'explique Descimon, un impôt spécial fut levé en 1571, prenant la forme d'un don de la part de Paris à la demande (plutôt, à l'obligation) du roi de France de l'époque, Charles IX. Ce dernier désirait financer le paiement de mercenaires employés précédemment lors d'une guerre civile sur le territoire. Cependant, la ville de Paris décida de ne pas lever l'impôt selon la manière habituelle, c'est-à-dire en imposant les Parisiens conformément au nombre d'individus présents dans chaque demeure. En effet, cette méthode était celle de la perception de la taille, qui était l'impôt principal perçu en France par la monarchie, mais dont Paris était exemptée par privilège.[4] Les Parisiens décidèrent plutôt de former un comité constitué de plusieurs membres influents de Paris ainsi que de représentants

[4] Robert Descimon, « Paris on the eve of Saint Bartholomew: taxation, privilege, and social geography, » in *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France*, ed. Philip Benedict (London: Routledge, 1992), 71-74; Michael Kwass, « Taxation, » in *Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World* 6, ed. Jonathan Dewald (Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004), 5.

des quartiers et des rues de la ville. Ils furent chargés d'établir le taux d'imposition des contribuables en fonction de l'estimation de la richesse de ces derniers. Les contribuables choisis ne rassemblaient pas tous les Parisiens, mais seulement une partie d'entre eux: environ 16 000 des 300 000 Parisiens y étaient compris. Ceux-ci représentaient les bourgeois, c'est-à-dire les individus propriétaires habitant la ville depuis un an.[5]

Cette méthode d'imposition n'était toutefois pas parfaite, entraînant dans certains cas des différences entre la richesse estimée d'un contribuable par les percepteurs de l'impôt et la véritable richesse de ce dernier. Descimon donne des exemples de ces problèmes:

> The widows of two secretaries of state, Robertet d'Alluye and Robertet de Fresnes, lived under a crushing burden of debt that would make their estates virtually worthless. They nonetheless were assessed the maximum amount of 300 livres, a sign of how the assessments reflected assumptions about their wealth.[6]

Ainsi, par cette méthode, le niveau d'imposition ne représentait pas directement la richesse de l'individu, mais plutôt une estimation par les percepteurs en fonction de la richesse apparente des individus. En appliquant cette information aux 18 artisans les plus imposés (et donc aussi aux 14 libraires), cette méthode d'imposition signifie que ces individus n'étaient pas forcément les plus riches, mais bien qu'ils étaient perçus comme étant les plus aisés de tous les artisans du livre.

[5] Descimon, « Paris on the eve of Saint Bartholomew, » 74-76.
[6] Descimon, 76-77.

Causes potentielles expliquant la surreprésentation des libraires parmi les artisans les plus imposés

Quatre explications possibles seront avancées pour expliquer ce phénomène: la pratique majoritaire du métier de libraire parmi les métiers du livre, la pratique de ce dernier par les plus grandes familles des métiers du livre, la pratique de l'imprimerie par certains des libraires les plus imposés et la position géographique avantageuse de certains libraires sur la rue Saint-Jacques.

D'abord, l'explication la plus simple repose sur le fait que le métier de libraire était le plus pratiqué parmi les métiers du livre (voir figures 3 et 4). Comme l'indiquent ces figures, le métier de libraire était le plus fréquent chez les gens du livre, et ce, autant sur la rive gauche que sur l'Île de la Cité, composant près des trois quarts des métiers du livre. Pour la rive droite, le nombre de libraires et d'autres métiers du livre étaient relativement égal. Étant l'occupation de 151 artisans, le métier de libraire était ainsi la pratique la plus commune à plusieurs niveaux d'imposition, ces derniers allant de quelques livres à plusieurs dizaines. Statistiquement, cette surreprésentation des libraires est présente dans les trois classes d'imposition fixées précédemment. Cette situation explique pourquoi, parmi les 18 individus les plus imposés, la majorité d'entre eux étaient libraires.

Ensuite, une autre raison explique la surreprésentation des libraires. Comme l'affirme Charon-Parent, les plus grandes et puissantes familles des métiers du livres étaient souvent libraires. Par exemple, Oudin Petit faisait partie des gens du livre les plus imposés ciblés par ce travail (voir tableau 1) et il possédait 22 hectares de terre.[7] De plus, ces libraires, grâce à leur fortune,

[7] Annie Charon-Parent, « Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Paris, » in *Histoire de l'édition française, t.1 : Le livre conquérant* (Paris: Promodis, 1982), 252.

« [finançaient] la publication des livres, [possédaient] du matériel qu'ils [prêtaient] aux imprimeurs, et [avaient] un réseau commercial étendu, en France et même en Europe ».[8] Puisque la fixation du montant d'impôt se faisait par une estimation de la richesse, les activités économiques fructueuses des grandes familles libraires pouvaient projeter une image de richesse et ainsi entraîner un haut niveau d'imposition.

Par ailleurs, tel qu'illustré par le tableau 1, quatre des 14 libraires les plus hautement imposés étaient également des imprimeurs. Selon Charon-Parent, la pratique de l'imprimerie nécessitait une grande main-d'œuvre, puisque le fonctionnement d'une presse à imprimer demandait l'emploi d'environ cinq personnes, apprentis ou compagnons. Également, les apprentis devaient être logés et nourris et les compagnons, rémunérés.[9] Puisque le métier d'imprimeur demandait beaucoup de ressources, il était perçu que les artisans en mesure de le pratiquer étaient fortunés. Pratiquer conjointement les métiers de libraire et d'imprimeur augmentait donc le niveau apparent de richesse des quatres imprimeurs-libraires, et ainsi, leur niveau d'imposition.

Finalement, la surreprésentation des libraires parmi les individus les plus imposés peut être expliquée par la localisation de plusieurs libraires les mieux nantis sur la rue Saint-Jacques, comme l'illustre la carte *Les libraires hautement imposés en 1571 à Paris surreprésentés parmi les métiers du livre* (voir figure 5). Il est possible de constater que les libraires constituaient la majorité des artisans du livre dans la rue Saint-Jacques, et que sept libraires des 18 artisans les plus imposés s'y retrouvaient, comme l'indique aussi le tableau 1.

[8] Charon-Parent, « Le monde de l'imprimerie, » 252.
[9] Charon-Parent, 247, 252, 256.

Pour deux raisons, la rue Saint-Jacques était un emplacement favorisant la fortune des libraires, entraînant un haut niveau d'imposition. Premièrement, comme l'indique la carte *Les libraires en 1571 à Paris surreprésentés parmi les métiers du livre* (voir figure 4), la rue Saint-Jacques faisait partie d'une longue artère principale traversant Paris du sud-ouest au nord-est. Étant l'une des voies principales de Paris, la rue Saint-Jacques était donc très fréquentée par les Parisiens et les gens de visite dans la ville, ce qui augmentait les possibilités de conclure des affaires et des ventes pour ces libraires. Ainsi, ces derniers augmentaient leur fortune et, par ricochet, ils élevaient leur niveau d'imposition. Deuxièmement, la rue Saint-Jacques était historiquement bordée d'institutions achetant beaucoup de livres, comme le montre la figure 6. Déjà en 1380, la rive gauche comptait de nombreux collèges.[10]

Également, ce secteur de Paris comprenait des couvents et l'Université de Paris. Toutes ces institutions étaient encore présentes lors de l'impôt de 1571, comme l'expliquent Descimon et Charon-Parent. Les libraires étaient les fournisseurs de ces institutions en matière de livres, ce qui augmentait les profits des libraires de la rue Saint-Jacques, et entraînait donc un haut niveau d'imposition pour ces artisans.[11]

Pour conclure cette analyse, il fut établi comment les libraires constituaient la majorité des individus les plus imposés parmi ceux qui pratiquaient les métiers du livre, et ce pour plusieurs raisons possibles. D'abord, le métier de libraire était le plus couramment pratiqué par les artisans du livre. Cette surreprésentation se retrouvait dans tous les niveaux

[10] *ALPAGE AnaLyse diachronique de l'espace urbain PArisien: approche GEomatique*, 2022.
[11] Charon-Parent, « Le monde de l'imprimerie, » 243; Descimon, « Paris on the eve of Saint Bartholomew, » 82.

d'imposition, y compris parmi les artisans les plus imposés. Ensuite, les plus grandes et importantes familles des métiers du livre qui pratiquaient le métier de libraire poursuivaient aussi beaucoup d'activités commerciales, entraînant un haut niveau d'imposition. Également, plusieurs de ces libraires hautement imposés pratiquaient aussi l'imprimerie, un métier qui demandait l'emploi d'une grande main-d'œuvre, ce qui pouvait donner l'impression de posséder, à juste titre, une grande richesse. Finalement, plusieurs libraires se retrouvaient sur la rue Saint-Jacques, ce qui leur donnait une position géographique avantageuse pour leurs activités commerciales.

L'hypothèse du travail peut donc être confirmée. En effet, il fut démontré que l'impôt inscrit dans le *Compte du don* de 1571 était relatif à la richesse de l'individu imposé, que plusieurs libraires de Paris pouvaient atteindre un haut niveau de richesse par la nature de leur métier, et que la rue Saint-Jacques offrait une localisation avantageuse dans Paris pour les libraires.

Dans la seconde partie du travail, il sera question d'une réflexion sur les apports et les limites des SIG comme outils pour l'étude des artisans du livre à Paris au XVI^{e} siècle, puisque ce travail fut réalisé grâce à un SIG. En effet, bien que présentant certains avantages pour l'illustration des données, plusieurs difficultés sont directement liées à l'utilisation des SIG.

Réflexion sur les apports et les limites des SIG comme outils pour l'étude des artisans du livre à Paris au XVI^{e} siècle

Cette réflexion se divise en deux sections concernant l'utilisation des SIG, la première portant sur les avantages, et la deuxième, sur les désavantages et les limites de cet outil.

Avantages des SIG pour la discipline historique

D'une part, comme constaté lors des séances du cours donné par la professeure Kouky Fianu, la nature informatique des SIG permet à des chercheurs ou à des étudiants de rapidement interroger, manipuler, et mettre en relation les données compilées préalablement et fournies aux SIG grâce à de multiples fonctionnalités. Par exemple, le géoréférencement des données sur une carte — dans ce cas-ci, la localisation des artisans du livre à Paris au XVI^{e} siècle — permet de visualiser les données et de modifier cette visualisation instantanément à partir de quelques clics. Une carte traditionnelle pourrait aussi afficher de telles données, mais elle demanderait beaucoup plus de temps à réaliser et elle ne pourrait être modifiée rapidement. Ainsi, grâce aux SIG, les chercheurs ou les étudiants peuvent rapidement modifier l'affichage des données localisées afin de tester des hypothèses et des réflexions.

Par exemple, cet avantage fut utilisé lors de l'analyse des données afin de confectionner la question de recherche. En effet, un SIG peut afficher plusieurs couches d'informations à la fois, permettant d'en rajouter ou d'en enlever instantanément. Les chercheurs et les étudiants peuvent ainsi rapidement tester des liens possibles entre les catégories de données, comme étudier s'il existe un lien entre le niveau d'imposition et la localisation des artisans dans Paris. Notamment, grâce aux données compilées dans ce cours sur les artisans et fournies au SIG QGIS, il fut possible de remarquer rapidement la concentration des artisans sur la rive gauche, plus précisément sur la rue Saint-Jacques et sur les rues environnantes. Un tel constat concernant les données aurait pris beaucoup plus de temps et aurait été beaucoup plus difficile à réaliser sans l'utilisation d'un SIG. De plus, ces systèmes transforment ces données en couches modifiables et

supprimables en tout temps sans compromettre la base de données. Les chercheurs et les étudiants n'ont donc pas à s'inquiéter de faire une mauvaise manipulation. Grâce à sa nature informatique, il est possible d'annuler une manipulation accidentelle avec le SIG, ce qui serait plus difficile à faire lors de la confection d'une carte traditionnelle, entre autres. La réalisation de ce travail fut marquée par des mauvaises manipulations, notamment lors de la confection des cartes, mais elles furent rapidement corrigées d'un simple clic grâce au SIG.

De plus, un SIG propose plusieurs façons d'afficher les données. Par exemple, il est possible de varier la couleur et la grosseur des points de localisation des artisans, ou même de créer une carte de chaleur, ce qui offre aux chercheurs et aux étudiants plusieurs façons d'afficher l'information qu'ils veulent transmettre au lecteur. Cet avantage fut utilisé dans ce travail, en créant avec le SIG QGIS trois cartes affichant des informations différentes sur la localisation des artisans. En effet, comparativement à la première carte, la deuxième ajoute le niveau d'imposition des artisans et traite d'une région géographique plus précise de Paris. De son côté, la troisième affiche une toute nouvelle catégorie d'information, à savoir les collèges de la rive gauche en 1380.

En outre, par la nature informatique du SIG, toutes ces opérations s'effectuent sans la possibilité de commettre des erreurs dans la modification et l'affichage de l'information, contrairement à la manipulation des données à la main par des chercheurs ou des étudiants.

Finalement, un SIG peut être présenté sous la forme d'une plateforme internet comme ALPAGE, ce qui constitue un

avantage pour l'étude des artisans du livre au XVI^{e} siècle.[12] En effet, une telle plateforme permet de créer une base de données géolocalisées et accessibles aux chercheurs du monde entier. Dans ce cas-ci, tous ceux qui travaillent sur l'histoire de la ville de Paris peuvent accéder aux données, y compris celles que ce groupe-classe a pu y contribuer. Cette plateforme peut être enrichie continuellement — comme lors du travail collectif effectué dans le cadre de ce cours — facilitant ainsi les recherches à venir sur les artisans du livre à Paris au XVI^{e} siècle.

Désavantages des SIG pour la discipline historique

D'une autre part, l'utilisation d'un SIG comporte aussi plusieurs désavantages et limites pour l'étude des artisans du livre à Paris au XVI^{e} siècle. Pour ce qui est des désavantages, le SIG QGIS peut être difficile d'accès pour les chercheurs et les étudiants, car son interface est complexe, et parce qu'il est peu utilisé en histoire. En effet, il faut en apprendre le fonctionnement avant de pouvoir l'utiliser, ce qui demande beaucoup de temps et d'entraînement: de nombreuses séances de formation en classe quant à l'emploi du logiciel furent nécessaires avant d'entamer le travail d'analyse historique. De plus, comme vécu lors de la réalisation de ce travail collaboratif, tous les individus ne possèdent pas la même facilité d'usage des outils informatiques. Ainsi, un travail collaboratif peut être plus difficile à réaliser, car certains membres du groupe pourraient avoir besoin de plus de temps d'apprentissage, ce qui peut ralentir la cadence des recherches. Il requiert également l'accès constant à un ordinateur, ce qui fut possible pour les étudiants lors des travaux à réaliser dans les laboratoires informatiques , mais pas pour tous une fois à la maison.

[12] *ALPAGE AnaLyse diachronique de l'espace urbain PArisien: approche GEomatique*, 2022.

Au sujet des limites du SIG, il faut d'abord mentionner qu'il ne compile pas lui-même l'information. En effet, dans ce cours, ce fut la professeure et les étudiants qui durent chercher et compiler l'information sur les artisans du livre à Paris en 1571 en analysant plusieurs sources parfois difficiles à lire, dont le *Compte du don*. Une telle procédure est nécessaire pour pouvoir utiliser un SIG, mais cela demande beaucoup de temps et de concentration afin de ne pas commettre des erreurs. Ainsi, seuls les chercheurs voulant travailler sur les artisans du livre en 1571 qui possèdent beaucoup de temps pour la production de leur recherche scientifique se verraient recommander l'usage d'un SIG pour ce travail. De plus, le choix des données à compiler et celles à rejeter doit être effectué par les chercheurs ou les étudiants eux-mêmes, ce qui demande un long travail de réflexion pour identifier quelles données seraient pertinentes à afficher dans un SIG.

Également, cet outil ne peut pas indiquer aux chercheurs ou aux étudiants qu'une erreur a été commise, ni la corriger lui-même. Il faut donc être particulièrement prudent lors de la compilation des données et réviser celles-ci avant de les fournir au SIG, ce qui demande beaucoup d'heures de travail supplémentaires.

Finalement, le SIG n'analyse pas lui-même les données compilées et fournies par les chercheurs et les étudiants; il ne fait qu'offrir des fonctionnalités afin de présenter visuellement l'information de différentes manières. C'est plutôt aux individus de manipuler l'information de plusieurs façons jusqu'à trouver des liens potentiels entre les diverses couches d'information, de formuler des questions et des hypothèses à partir de celles-ci, puis de les vérifier en s'appuyant notamment sur des recherches scientifiques. Le SIG ne peut donc pas fournir à lui seul les preuves et les arguments nécessaires à la réalisation d'un travail

de recherche scientifique sur les artisans du livre à Paris au XVI^e^ siècle, mais il peut offrir une plateforme sur laquelle construire des représentations visuelles et des pistes de réflexion grâce aux informations lui étant fournies.

En conclusion, l'utilisation d'un SIG pour étudier les métiers du livre à Paris au XVI^e^ siècle comporte plusieurs avantages. Celle-ci permet de présenter visuellement l'information qui lui est fournie à l'aide de couches d'information facilement modifiables, ce qui facilite l'analyse et l'établissement de liens entre les données. Il sert aussi à la création de cartes permettant la synthétisation d'information difficile à illustrer autrement — comme la localisation des artisans — et peut constituer une base de données facilitant les recherches à venir sur les artisans du livre à Paris au XVI^e^ siècle, comme le fait la plateforme internet ALPAGE. Cependant, son utilisation entraîne des désavantages, et cet outil possède aussi plusieurs limites. En effet, le SIG ne peut compiler lui-même l'information requise, ce qui demande un grand travail de recherche de la part des chercheurs et des étudiants. Également, il demande un apprentissage de ses fonctionnalités de base qui requiert beaucoup de temps. Il ne peut pas non plus détecter lui-même les erreurs de compilation des données, ni effectuer l'analyse de celles-ci.

Ce travail recommande tout de même une utilisation plus courante des SIG comme outils de travail pour la discipline historique, car ceux-ci permettent de mettre en image plusieurs données historiques difficiles à analyser autrement, malgré le grand temps requis pour réaliser un tel travail. Bien que cette section traitait spécifiquement de l'utilisation des SIG pour étudier les artisans du livre, il faut garder en tête que cette utilisation peut s'appliquer à tous sujets et recherches historiques. En croisant une multitude de données géoréférencées, les SIG

permettent effectivement de faire surgir de nouvelles compréhensions des phénomènes historiques autrement délaissées ou insoupçonnées, tel que ce travail a su le faire. L'histoire en tant que discipline serait fortement enrichie par la démocratisation de l'utilisation des SIG, autant chez les chercheurs actuels que chez les étudiants.

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Annexe

Figures

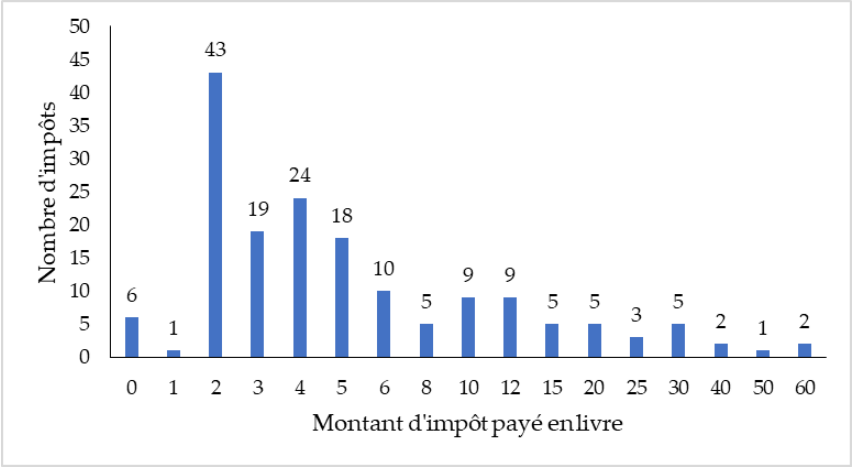

Figure 1. Les différents montants d'impôt payés en livre sont classés selon le nombre d'impôts du même montant. La majorité des impôts sont inférieurs à 10 livres. Graphique à barre par Vincent Charron, « *Les 167 impôts répertoriés liés aux métiers du livre en 1571 à Paris, répartis en fonction du montant d'imposition en livre*, » à partir de *Compte du don de trois cens mil livres t., octroyé par la ville de Paris au feu roy Charles [IX] dernier décédé, en l'année MVc soixante-unze ; M. Francois de Vigny, le jeune, commis.* 1571-1600, 833 feuillets.

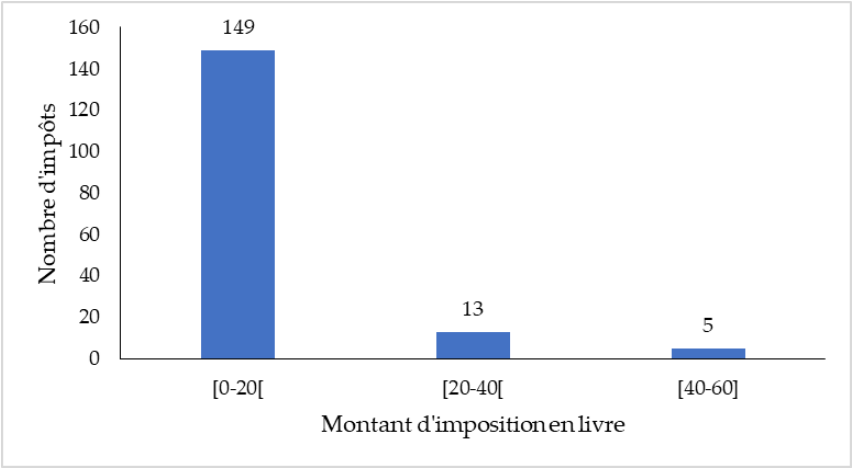

Figure 2. La représentation des taxes est répertoriée en trois classes d'amplitude égale de 20 livres allant de 0 à 60 livres. La majorité des impôts se retrouvent dans la première classe de zéro à 20 livres. Graphique à barre par Vincent Charron, « *Les 167 impôts répertoriés liés aux métiers du livre en 1571 à Paris, répartis en 3 classes égales d'une amplitude de 20 livres,* » à partir de *Compte du don de trois cens mil livres t., octroyé par la ville de Paris au feu roy Charles [IX] dernier décédé, en l'année MVc soixante-unze ; M. Francois de Vigny, le jeune, commis.* 1571-1600, 833 feuillets.

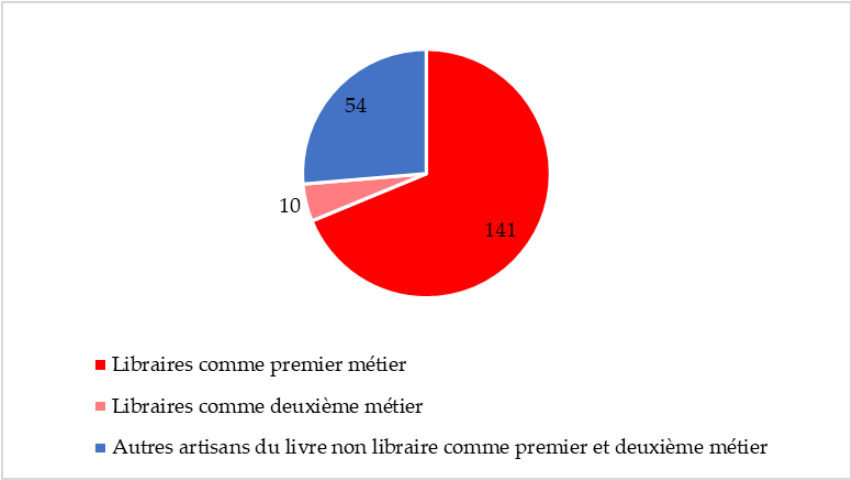

Figure 3. Les libraires parmi les métiers du livre en 1571 à Paris sont surreprésentés, formant près du trois quart des premier et deuxième métiers des artisans, sur un total de 205 artisans. Graphique circulaire par Vincent Charron, « *Les artisans du livre en 1571 à Paris, répartis en fonction du métier de libraire,* » à partir de *Compte du don de trois cens mil livres t., octroyé par la ville de Paris au feu roy Charles [IX] dernier décédé, en l'année MVc soixante-unze ; M. Francois de Vigny, le jeune, commis.* 1571-1600, 833 feuillets.

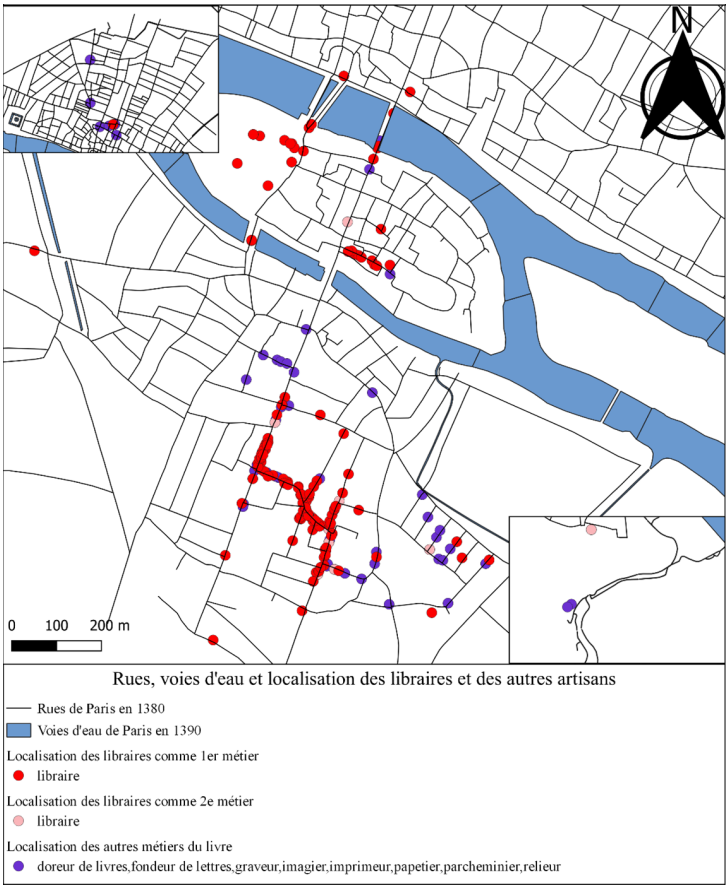

Figure 4. La majorité des artisans du livre en 1571 à Paris sont libraires, et se trouvent sur la rive gauche de la Seine. Carte réalisée à l'aide de QGIS par Vincent Charron, « *Les libraires en 1571 à Paris surreprésentés parmi les métiers du livre*, » à partir de *Compte du don de trois cens mil livres t., octroyé par la ville de Paris au feu roy Charles [IX] dernier décédé, en l'année MVc soixante-unze ; M. Francois de Vigny, le jeune, commis.* 1571-1600, 833 feuillets ; *ALPAGE AnaLyse diachronique de l'espace urbain PArisien: approche GEomatique*, 26 avril 2022, https://alpage.huma-num.fr/.

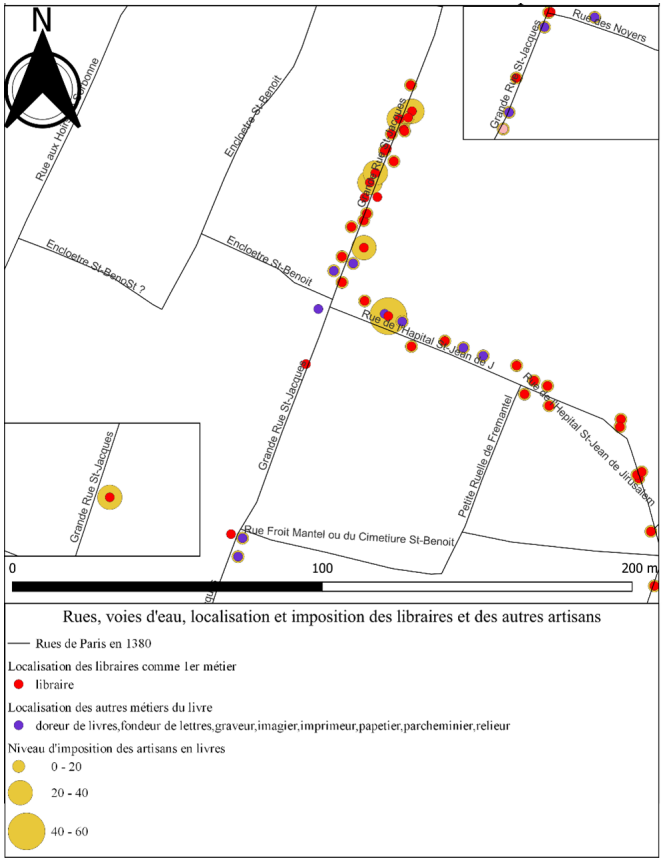

Figure 5. Les artisans du livre à Paris en 1571 sur la rue Saint-Jacques et les rues avoisinantes sont majoritairement libraires. Ils sont également hautement imposés sur cette rue principale. Carte réalisée à l'aide de QGIS par Vincent Charron, « *Les libraires hautement imposés en 1571 à Paris surreprésentés parmi les métiers du livre*, » à partir de *Compte du don de trois cens mil livres t., octroyé par la ville de Paris au feu roy Charles [IX] dernier décédé, en l'année MVc soixante-unze ; M. Francois de Vigny, le jeune, commis.* 1571-1600, 833 feuillets ; *ALPAGE AnaLyse diachronique de l'espace urbain PArisien: approche GEomatique*, 26 avril 2022, https://alpage.huma-num.fr/.

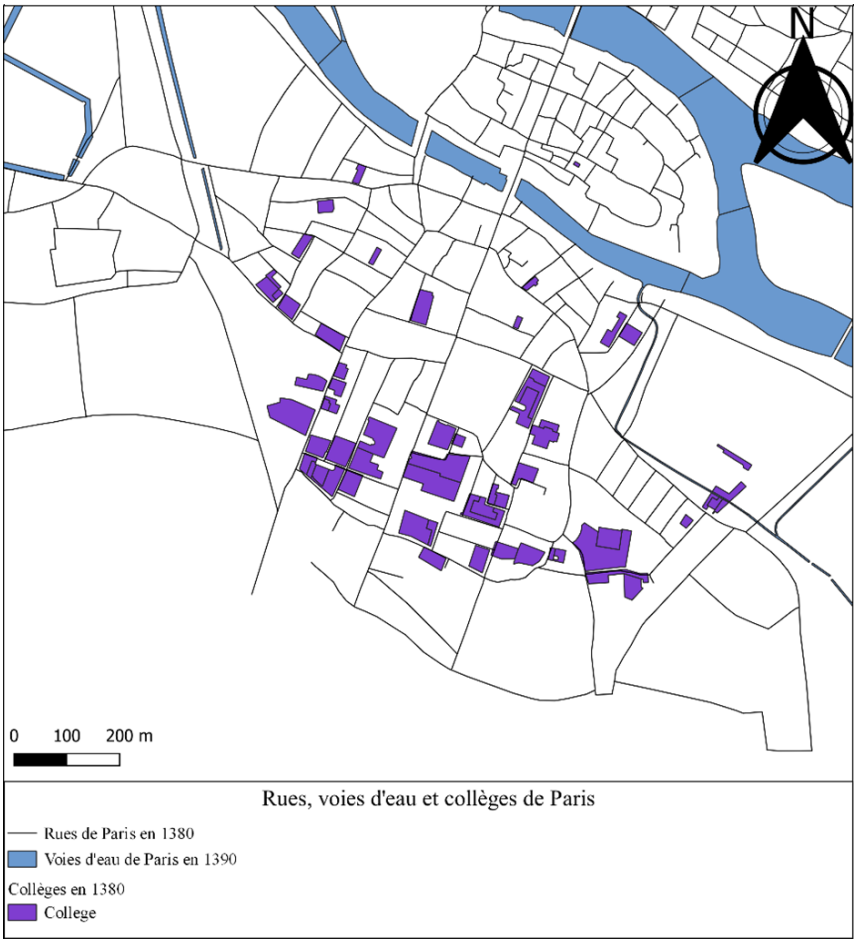

Figure 6. Les collèges à Paris en 1380 sont tous concentrés sur la rive gauche. Carte réalisée à l'aide de QGIS par Vincent Charron, « *Les collèges sur la rive gauche de Paris et leur répartition géographique*, » à partir de *ALPAGE AnaLyse diachronique de l'espace urbain PArisien: approche GEomatique*, 26 avril 2022, https://alpage.huma-num.fr/.

Tableaux

Tableau 1. Les premier et deuxième métiers des 18 artisans du livres en 1571 à Paris. Tableau par Vincent Charron.

Montant d'imposition en livres	**Artisans**	**1er métier**	**2e métier**	**Rue**
60	Thielleman II Depuis	libraire	(aucun)	Rue des Mathurins
60	Jacques I Dupuis	libraire	(aucun)	Rue St-Jean de Latran
50	Cosme Carrel	papetier	mercier	Rue St-Séverin
40	Sébastien Nivelle	libraire	imprimeur	Rue St-Jacques
40	Geneviève Le Blanc	libraire	(aucun)	Rue Troussevache
30	Bertrand De Berneul	parcheminier	(aucun)	Rue de la Parcheminerie
30	Jean II Foucher	libraire	(aucun)	Rue St-Jacques
30	Michel (de) Vascosan	libraire	imprimeur du Roi	Rue St-Jacques
30	Galiot II Du Pré	libraire	(aucun)	Rue St-Jacques

Tableau 1 (*suite*)

Montant d'imposition en livres	**Artisans**	**1er métier**	**2e métier**	**Rue**
30	Jacques I Kerver	libraire	imprimeur	Rue St-Jacques
25	Jean Macé	libraire	(aucun)	Rue du Mont St-Hilaire
25	Oudin I Petit	libraire	(aucun)	Rue St-Jacques
25	Oudin Questigny	imprimeur	(aucun)	Rue Ste-Geneviève
20	Nicolas Belot	papetier	(aucun)	Rue St-Jacques
20	Roland Charpentier	libraire	marchand de vin	Rue des Sept Voies
20	Bernard Turrisan	libraire	(aucun)	Rue St-Jacques
20	André Wechel	libraire	imprimeur	Rue St-Jean de Beauvais
20	Guillaume II Merlin (le jeune)	libraire	papetier	Rue de la Barillerie
30	Jacques I Kerver	libraire	imprimeur	Rue St-Jacques
25	Jean Macé	libraire	(aucun)	Rue du Mont St-Hilaire
25	Oudin I Petit	libraire	(aucun)	Rue St-Jacques
25	Oudin Questigny	imprimeur	(aucun)	Rue Ste-Geneviève

Tableau 1 (*suite*)

Montant d'imposition en livres	**Artisans**	**1er métier**	**2e métier**	**Rue**
20	Nicolas Belot	papetier	(aucun)	Rue St-Jacques
20	Roland Charpentier	libraire	marchand de vin	Rue des Sept Voies
20	Bernard Turrisan	libraire	(aucun)	Rue St-Jacques
20	André Wechel	libraire	imprimeur	Rue St-Jean de Beauvais
20	Guillaume II Merlin (le jeune)	libraire	papetier	Rue de la Barillerie

Source: Données tirées de « *Les premier et deuxième métiers 18 artisans du livre en 1571 à Paris les plus imposés*, » à partir de *Compte du don de trois cens mil livres t., octroyé par la ville de Paris au feu roy Charles [IX] dernier décédé, en l'année MVc soixante-unze ; M. Francois de Vigny, le jeune, commis.* 1571-1600, 833 feuillets.

Note: Les cases roses représentent 14 des 18 artisans qui sont libraires comme premier métier. Également, quatre d'entre eux sont imprimeurs comme deuxième métier. De plus, huit de ces artisans sont établis sur la rue Saint-Jacques.

Le divorce sous la révolution: la régionalisation d'un débat parisien

Prénecka Mayer-Pacheco

Les registres civils français ont longtemps été sous la tutelle unique du clergé catholique. Des registres de baptême aux registres de mariage et finalement aux registres de sépulture, toutes ces pratiques étaient régulées par l'Église. Bien sûr, la monarchie française n'était pas toujours d'accord avec le fait de déléguer de cette responsabilité très importante pour le contrôle et le recensement des sujets. Au cours de l'époque moderne, les rois ont consolidé leur autorité et ont cherché à exercer un pouvoir plus direct sur de nombreuses compétences, y compris sur le maintien des registres civils. Dès le XVIe siècle, le pouvoir monarchique a demandé une plus grande intervention dans l'élaboration des registres. En effet, la royauté se donnait dorénavant le droit de superviser la réalisation et la méthodologie des registres et de surveiller leur production.[13] Avec la multiplication de courants protestants sur le territoire français, un niveau de complexité s'est ajouté. Bien que le royaume était catholique, une tolérance religieuse s'est installée en France avec l'édit de Nantes. Cet édit a permis aux protestants d'exister sur le territoire sans se conformer aux doctrines de l'Église catholique. Cependant, cette permission signifiait aussi que les protestants ne pouvaient pas être inscrits dans les registres paroissiaux de l'État. Les protestants devaient donc faire leurs propres registres, mais ceux-ci n'étaient pas placés directement sous la juridiction royale. C'était en 1787 que la

[13] Marcel Garaud et Romuald Szramkiewicz, *La Révolution française et la famille* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1978), 21-22.

première législation affirmant la sécularisation des actes d'État civil des non-catholiques a été mise en place, permettant alors à l'État de contrôler ces registres.[14]

Ce n'était toutefois qu'avec la Révolution française que l'État s'est emparé des registres de l'Église et a pu les moderniser; la constitution de 1791 a établi que le mariage n'était plus de la juridiction de l'Église, mais appartenait désormais au domaine civil.[15] Cette laïcisation a fait surgir de nouveaux débats, dont la question du caractère sacré et indissoluble du mariage. Le sujet du divorce est alors apparu sur la scène politique. Après quelques débats à l'Assemblée nationale et à l'Assemblée constituante pendant les premières années de la Révolution, cette pratique est devenue légale le 20 août 1792. Toutefois, la légalisation du divorce ne veut pas forcément dire qu'il est adopté automatiquement par l'ensemble de la population. Pour mieux comprendre la réception de cette loi, ce travail examinera l'acceptation et l'utilisation du divorce dans la France révolutionnaire. D'abord, afin de bien situer la question, il faudra analyser la mise en place de la pratique dans la société parisienne, là où le débat a été le plus fort et où la population locale a accepté le plus rapidement le divorce. Puis, ce travail va explorer la situation de deux villes afin de comprendre la place du divorce dans un cadre élargi qui ne se concentre pas que sur la capitale. Premièrement, il sera question de la ville de Toulouse, ville républicaine et généralement en faveur des mesures prises par le gouvernement parisien. Deuxièmement, l'analyse se fera sur Lyon et ses faubourgs, là où la population, bien que

[14] Garaud et Szramkiewicz, *La Révolution française*, 23.
[15] Constitution française, 3 septembre 1791, Titre II, article 7, Assemblée nationale constituante, Collection Baudoin, projet ARTFL-University of Chicago, URL stable: La Loi de la Révolution française 1789-1799 (uchicago.edu).

républicaine, n'était pas Jacobine. Bien sûr, à travers la recherche, d'autres villes seront mentionnées à titre comparatif, notamment les villes de Rouen et Marseille.

Les commencements

L'histoire du divorce en France révolutionnaire est intrinsèquement liée à la région parisienne. Il est toutefois important de souligner que le débat sur le divorce n'est pas apparu d'un coup de vent au début de la Révolution. En effet, de nombreux sujets, dont plusieurs fervents catholiques, abordaient déjà la question dans les années précédant la Révolution. Les concepts de poursuite du bonheur et d'individualisme issus des Lumières permettaient d'imaginer un divorce moral. Le raisonnement allait comme suit: l'individualisme apporte la volonté, qui elle amène un mariage qui peut survivre tant que la volonté est présente. Cependant, cette volonté n'est pas nécessairement éternelle. Alors, si le mariage devient une entrave au bonheur individuel, le divorce pouvait donc être, logiquement, prononcé.[16] D'autres argumentaient que le despotisme de l'État, causé par la monarchie absolue, avait habitué la population française à vivre dans un climat perpétuellement malheureux. Ainsi, le malheur conjugal était un état d'esprit qui n'était pas remis en question.[17] Par contre, le divorce pouvait permettre aux sujets de s'émanciper du malheur conjugal au même titre que la Révolution a pu affranchir le peuple du malheur despotique. D'autres encore, ceux qui désiraient avoir une Église gallicane presque indépendante de Rome, soutenaient que le divorce devait être permis en France

[16] Déborah Cohen et Camille Noûs, « Interrompre le temps, inventer le divorce en révolution, » *Temporalités* 31-32, (2021): par. 5, https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.4000/temporalites.7871.
[17] Cohen et Noûs, « Interrompre le temps, » par. 12.

comme il était permis en Pologne. Ceci venait évidemment d'une mauvaise compréhension de la situation catholique polonaise: bien qu'il soit vrai que la doctrine catholique en Pologne était plus indépendante vis-à-vis le dogme dicté par Rome, le divorce n'y était pas permis. Il y avait toutefois plusieurs dissolutions d'unions conjugales ou de séparations qui y étaient faites et approuvées par le clergé, mais celles-ci n'étaient pas considérées comme de véritables divorces.[18]

La séparation conjugale sous l'Ancien Régime n'était pas hors du commun, bien qu'elle n'était pas la norme non plus. Légalement, le royaume ne reconnaissait que l'adultère comme cause valide de séparation de corps pour les hommes qui ne désiraient plus rester avec leurs conjointes, et pour les femmes, seuls étaient reconnus les sévices extraordinaires et graves.[19] D'ailleurs, vers la fin de l'Ancien Régime, les tribunaux avaient tendance à accorder plus facilement la séparation de corps. Par contre, plusieurs alternatives s'offraient aux couples malheureux. Parmi celles qui valent d'être nommées, la plus connue et la plus répertoriée était la séparation informelle, qui consistait à faire sa vie à part. Certains hommes profitaient aussi d'offres d'emplois dans d'autres localités ou outre-mer pour abandonner le foyer familial. Une autre coutume qui a été répertoriée était la vente de femme, qui était pratiquée dans quelques régions de l'Ouest de la France.[20] Celle-ci impliquait qu'un homme offre une femme à un autre homme en échange d'une compensation financière. Le vendeur n'était pas nécessairement marié à la femme, mais s'il l'était, la relation entre la femme et l'acheteur ne pouvait pas être

[18] Francis Ronsin, *Le contrat sentimental: débats sur le mariage, l'amour, le divorce de l'Ancien Régime à la Restauration* (Paris: Aubier, 1990), 66.
[19] Marie-Françoise Lévy, *L'enfant, la famille et la Révolution française* (Paris: Plon ReLIRE, 1989), 308.
[20] Roderick Philips, *Putting Asunder: A History of Divorce in Western Society* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 289-290.

reconnue légalement. La demande de lettres de cachet afin de faire interner le partenaire était aussi une option. Sinon, certains on eu recours aux crimes comme la bigamie, le meurtre ou le suicide pour mettre fin à la vie commune. Cependant, il était impossible de se remarier avec ces options. Seul le meurtre, si le meurtrier n'était pas accusé, permettait le remariage.

Les actions militantes pour permettre le divorce ont commencé assez tôt dans le cadre révolutionnaire. Il est faux, par contre, de dire que le divorce n'avait jamais eu lieu en sol français. En effet, un précédent existait avec les communautés protestantes qui habitaient le royaume.[21] Toutefois, leurs divorces n'étaient pas reconnus par l'État, puisque leurs unions n'étaient pas considérées comme légales. Avec l'existence de ce précédent, plusieurs non-protestants ont signé des pétitions suite à la rédaction de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyens, dans l'espoir de réclamer une mesure similaire au divorce protestant. L'article 3 de la Déclaration soutient que « [l]e principe de toute souveraineté réside essentiellement dans la Nation ; nul corps, nul individu ne peut exercer d'autorité qui n'en émane expressément. »[22] Certains pétitionnaires avaient compris que cet article laissait aussi sous-entendre que l'Église ne détenait pas l'autorité complète sur le mariage, et son caractère sacré et indissoluble ne pouvait donc pas être renforcé par le clergé.[23] Puis, comme mentionné précédemment, c'était avec la Constitution de 1791 que le mariage est passé au domaine civil. Cependant, ceci ne faisait que suggérer que le divorce puisse être une pratique civile, mais la loi ne le permettait pas encore. Il

[21] Lévy, *L'enfant, la famille*, 307.
[22] Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, article III, Assemblée nationale, 26 août 1789, Collection Baudoin, Projet ARTFL-University of Chicago, URL stable: La Loi de la Révolution française 1789-1799 (uchicago.edu).
[23] Lévy, *L'enfant, la famille*, 317.

fallut attendre le 20 août 1792 pour sa mise en place avec le Décret sur le divorce. Cette mesure a alors permis aux citoyens français de divorcer selon plusieurs clauses: d'abord, si les deux époux le demandaient, puis, si l'un des deux le demandaient pour cause. Il était possible de demander le divorce « sur la simple allégation d'incompatibilité d'humeur ou de caractère. »[24] Sinon, il pouvait être prononcé en raison d'une condamnation, de folie, de crimes, de sévices, d'injures, de dérèglements moraux, d'abandon, d'absence depuis plus de cinq ans ou d'émigration.

La situation parisienne

Bien évidemment, c'était à Paris qu'il y a eu la plus grande concentration de divorces, puisqu'il s'agissait du principal centre urbain. Suite à l'entrée en vigueur du Décret sur le Divorce, il y a eu, dans la capitale, une véritable explosion de divorces et de séparations. Ce pic peut être expliqué d'abord par le fait que plusieurs citoyens et citoyennes voulaient officialiser leurs séparations pour se remarier. D'autres saisissaient l'opportunité pour se défaire d'époux qui avaient émigré afin de ne plus être suspectés d'être royalistes. L'instabilité politique et sociale a aussi joué un très grand rôle dans ce nombre impressionnant de divorces. En effet, les guerres et leurs conscriptions, qui d'abord ne concernaient que les hommes célibataires avant de s'étendre à toute la population masculine, ont rapidement permis à des hommes de partir à la guerre et de demander le divorce.[25] Cependant, l'explosion peut aussi être expliquée par l'incertitude des officiers des tribunaux quant à la procédure à suivre, comme

[24] Décret sur le divorce, Titre I, article III, Assemblée législative, 20 septembre 1792, Collection Baudoin, Projet ARTFL-University of Chicago, URL stable: La Loi de la Révolution française 1789-1799 (uchicago.edu).
[25] Philips, *Putting Asunder*, 264.

la définition du divorce n'était pas claire dans le Décret.[26] Alors, les officiers, ne voulant pas être considérés inaptes à juger, ont été plus libéraux dans l'acceptation de demandes de divorce qu'ils auraient dû l'être. Le divorce était encore plus accessible avec le Décret du 4 Floréal de l'An II (23 avril 1794), où l'on a permis aux citoyens de se divorcer officiellement lorsque, « par un acte authentique ou de notoriété publique, que deux époux sont séparés de fait depuis plus de six mois, si l'un d'eux demande le divorce, il sera prononcé sans aucun délai d'épreuve. »[27] Dès qu'un des époux n'était plus heureux ou satisfait de son mariage, il avait la possibilité de demander le divorce, et ce, seulement six mois après l'officialisation de l'union.[28]

Il est important aussi de mentionner qui dans le couple avait le plus tendance à demander le divorce et pour quelles raisons. Bien que le divorce fut demandé par les hommes sur une base morale et philosophique (un élément sur lequel nous reviendrons plus tard), c'était surtout les femmes qui ont eu recours à cette pratique. En général, en France, les femmes étaient celles qui ont demandé la séparation par le divorce entre 66 et 75 pourcent du temps.[29] Celles qui ont milité pour l'obtention du divorce ont eu tendance à faire allusion aux souffrances réelles que ce sexe subissait au sein d'un foyer malsain et à mentionner le despotisme des époux à l'encontre des épouses. Les épouses ont aussi abordé le fait qu'elles ne pouvaient pas jouir des libertés

[26] Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 93.
[27] Décret relatif au divorce, article 1, Convention nationale, 23 avril 1794, Collection Baudoin, projet ARTFL-University of Chicago, URL stable: La Loi de la Révolution française 1789-1799 (uchicago.edu).
[28] Germain Sicard, « Le Divorce à Toulouse durant La Révolution Française, » dans *Mélanges Germain Sicard* (Toulouse: Presses de l'Université Toulouse 1 Capitole, 2000) paragr. 52.
[29] Desan, *The Family on Trial,* 100.

qui leur avaient été promises à travers la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme parce qu'elles vivaient sous la tyrannie conjugale. Considérant que c'était elles qui étaient généralement victimes d'injustices au sein de la famille, mais aussi qu'elles avaient tendance à être impuissantes face à un époux colérique ou violent, celles qui voulaient avoir le divorce le demandait afin d'échapper à une situation malsaine, voire dangereuse.[30]

Paris était véritablement la ville où le divorce a été le plus populaire en France. Entre septembre 1792 et mars 1803, plus de 13 000 divorces ont été prononcés dans la capitale, soit un divorce pour tous les quatre mariages.[31] Bien entendu, le plus grand nombre de divorces ont eu lieu directement après la date d'entrée en vigueur de la législation, avec une chute drastique au cours de la deuxième année. Il convient de noter que les législateurs ont eu tendance à favoriser les cas de divorces demandés par consentement mutuel, considérant qu'ils étaient les cas qui étaient généralement les plus faciles à juger.[32] De plus, le gouvernement et ses officiers n'encourageaient pas le divorce, mais n'essayaient pas de condamner la pratique non plus. Ils ne poussaient pas à la réconciliation des couples lorsque la loi est entrée en vigueur.[33]

Toulouse

Maintenant que nous avons établi que la loi sur le divorce a été populaire dans une certaine mesure à Paris, tournons-nous vers la réception de la nouvelle mesure dans les régions: comment la loi a-t-elle été reçue dans la région toulousaine? Il y a définitivement des parallèles à tracer entre Toulouse et Paris.

[30] Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 101.
[31] Philips, *Putting Asunder*, 257.
[32] Sicard, « Le Divorce à Toulouse, » par. 26.
[33] Philips, *Putting Asunder*, 257.

Déjà, il y a eu un certain engouement pour le divorce lors de son entrée en vigueur: les premiers divorces à Toulouse se sont déroulés le 28 novembre, le 30 novembre et le 7 décembre 1792.[34] Considérant que la communication en France révolutionnaire était assez lente et que Toulouse se trouve à plus de 600 kilomètres de la capitale, il est donc remarquable de voir qu'il y avait une telle anticipation face à la nouvelle loi. Le fait qu'il n'y a eu que trois mois entre l'entrée en vigueur du décret et les premiers divorces démontre que les Toulousains n'étaient pas réticents à la pratique. Le premier divorce pour cause d'abandon a été prononcé le 7 mai 1793, demandé par Gabrielle Becarie Pavie, une noble toulousaine qui voulait être officiellement séparée de son mari qui avait émigré.[35] Ce procès nous démontre que les femmes nobles avaient compris qu'elles pouvaient utiliser le divorce à leur avantage pour ne pas être accusées d'être contre-révolutionnaires, mais aussi que la noblesse n'était pas assez attachée au catholicisme pour refuser d'utiliser le divorce, bien au contraire. L'abandon était d'ailleurs une des causes de divorce les plus utilisées, surtout au cours des premières années de la loi: on peut en compter 68 sur une période de six mois.[36] Les divorces pour cause de démences et de folies étaient assez rares: nous en comptons trois envers des épouses et quatre envers des maris sur environ une décennie.[37] Pour ce qui est de l'incompatibilité d'humeur, il n'y a eu que trois cas sur la période étudiée.[38]

À partir de Floréal, le taux de divorce a augmenté en flèche à Toulouse. La vaste majorité des demandes de divorce ont

[34] Sicard, « Le Divorce à Toulouse, » par. 9.
[35] Sicard, par. 16.
[36] Sicard, par. 48.
[37] Sicard, par. 42.
[38] Sicard, par. 51.

été acceptées sans grandes difficultés. Il était donc rare que l'époux qui était « accusé » conteste la demande de divorce. Au cours de l'An II, il y a eu 122 divorces prononcés par la municipalité, mais les cas de divorce ont chuté drastiquement au cours de 1794 et surtout à partir du printemps 1795. On dénombre 24 divorces pour l'An IV, puis 21 pour l'An V et encore 21 pour l'An VI. Il est important de souligner qu'il y a eu, pour l'An VI, 285 mariages, montrant que la proportion des divorces n'était pas très élevée.[39] Entre septembre 1792 et mars 1803, la moyenne de divorces s'est située à environ un divorce pour chaque 10 à 13 mariages.[40] Il faut comprendre que bon nombre de demandes de divorce venaient de couples qui avaient été récemment mariés. Ce que nous pouvons tirer de l'analyse du divorce dans la ville de Toulouse, c'est d'abord que la ville avait tendance à suivre les taux de divorces des environs. Cet aspect sera développé plus tard, mais pour l'instant, il faut retenir que la ville avait une moyenne qui pouvait s'insérer dans la tendance des villes d'une démographie similaire. Il faut aussi retenir que la législation a joué un grand rôle dans l'attrait du divorce pour la population, mais aussi dans son accessibilité. C'est sous la Convention qu'il y a eu le plus de divorces, mais ces derniers ont nettement ralenti avec l'avènement du Directoire. Il est donc indéniable que les courants politiques ont influencé la décision de nombreux citoyens quant au divorce.[41]

Lyon

Lors de la même période à Lyon, l'opinion des citoyens face au divorce était généralement contraire à celle des autres citoyens en province. La région, moins radicale que Paris, mais tout autant

[39] Sicard, « Le Divorce à Toulouse, » par. 37.
[40] Philips, *Putting Asunder*, 258.
[41] Sicard, « Le Divorce à Toulouse, » par. 68.

républicaine, n'a pas embrassé les pratiques du divorce de manière aussi claire que les autres villes étudiées ici. D'ailleurs, il est bon de souligner que, des villes étudiées dans ce travail, c'est elle qui était la plus attachée aux principes catholiques avant la révolution. Lyon n'était pas une ville habituée à avoir de grands débats politiques, malgré son importance. Cette constatation vient du fait que les affaires politiques n'étaient pas largement discutées dans la région. Dans les années 1780, il n'y avait qu'un véritable journal, les *Affiches de Lyon*, mais il était plutôt utilisé pour y mettre des annonces ou pour demander de l'aide. Il était loin d'être un journal d'opinion ou de politique. En 1789, un autre journal s'est ajouté aux médias lyonnais, le *Journal de Lyon*, mais ce dernier servait plutôt au divertissement. C'est aussi en 1789 que s'est mis sur place *Le Courrier de Lyon ou Résumé Général des Révolutions*. Ce journal, comme son nom l'indique, avait pour but d'informer les Lyonnais sur les affaires politiques du royaume, surtout celles de Paris au temps des États Généraux. Fondé par un Girondin du nom de Champagneux, un ami proche des Roland, le *Courrier* s'adressait en partie à l'élite de la ville. Le Girondin s'est prononcé le 14 novembre 1789 sur la question du divorce: « un homme doit aimer, respecter son épouse, supporter avec indulgence ses défauts, mais il doit être le maître. L'instant où la femme se croit l'égale du mari, est celui où la division se manifestera dans l'intérieur ; dès lors plus de bonheur dans le ménage [...]. »[42] Ces remarques n'étaient pas isolées; plusieurs hommes tenaient des propos similaires, même à Paris. Cependant, ce qui est remarquable à Lyon, c'est qu'il n'y avait personne pour contester cette opinion. Bien que Champagneux soit parvenu à soutenir le divorce au fil des

[42] Champagneux, *Courrier de Lyon, ou Résumé général des révolutions de la France,* Volume 2, 1789 (consulté le 20 décembre 2022), 95-96.

avancements révolutionnaires, il maintenait toujours des idées antiféministes.[43] Il a aussi demandé la complexification des procédures de divorce. Selon lui, cela pourrait empêcher des divorces inutiles qui seraient faits sur des coups de tête. Somme toute, Champagneux a tout de même fini par supporter ouvertement le divorce qu'il considérait alors comme nécessaire à la liberté de l'Homme:

> Dans le premier instant où la barriere qui repousse le divorce seroit levée, on verroit peut-être une espece de flot d'époux mécontents, qui se bâteroient d'user d'une liberté dont l'espece humaine auroit été si long-temps privée dans nos contrées; mais après cet enthousiasme passager, qui est toujours le fruit de la nouveauté, les répudiations deviendroient certainement aussi rares que les mauvais ménages sont communs aujourd'hui.[44]

Les intellectuels lyonnais se sont donc faits peu à peu à l'idée que le divorce pouvait être utilisé, mais seulement à la suite d'élaborations philosophiques et morales. Comme les intellectuels parisiens, ils étaient ouverts au divorce à cause du prétendu désavantage que les hommes auraient dans le mariage. L'argument que les hommes étaient des « slaves to Hymen » était un des principaux motifs pour lesquels les intellectuels ont soutenu le divorce, selon l'idée que les hommes pourraient atteindre des hauteurs morales plus élevées sans épouses.[45] La

[43] Dominique Dessertine, *Divorcer à Lyon Sous la Révolution et L'Empire* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1981), Chapitre V. De Paris à Lyon, par. 11.
[44] Champagneux, *Courrier de Lyon, ou Résumé général des révolutions de la France,* Volume 3, 1789 (consulté le 20 décembre 2022), 328.
[45] Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 100.

bourgeoisie lyonnaise, dans son ensemble, demeurait quand même généralement indifférente au divorce.

Cependant, lorsque le divorce a été légalisé, il y a eu un engouement général à Lyon, comme il en avait eu à Toulouse et à Paris. Le premier divorce a eu lieu le 18 novembre 1792.[46] Au total, entre 1792 et l'An XI, il y a eu plus de 1 130 divorces exécutés. Dans la première année de son adoption, il y a eu 201 divorces à Lyon, puis 111 au cours de sa deuxième année, 121 pour l'An III. La cause la plus populaire au début de la mise en vigueur de la loi était celle de l'incompatibilité de l'humeur.[47] La moyenne de divorce était d'environ un divorce pour chaque 10 à 13 mariages, bien que la première année a eu une influence sur les statistiques.[48]

La caractéristique intéressante au sujet du divorce à Lyon est aussi le contexte historique qui l'entoure. L'analyse des statistiques nous démontre qu'à chaque fois qu'il y avait un trouble politique ou une instabilité sociale, le taux de divorce chutait. La ville a été prise dans un débat politique avec Paris au sujet de leur degré de républicanisme qui a mené à une répression militaire. Le taux de divorce stagnait parfois, comme lors des difficultés à ravitailler la ville en blé, lors de la crise des prêtres réfractaires et des contre-révolutionnaires, ou lors des appels à la conscription.[49] Toutefois, la prononciation des divorces a parfois diminué drastiquement, d'abord avec la levée des sections de Lyon le 29 mai 1793, puis avec le siège de Lyon du 8 août au 9 octobre 1793. Le siège a quand même été extrêmement ravageur pour la ville, qui a subi des destructions significatives dans son infrastructure urbaine. Mais le coût

[46] Dessertine, *Divorcer à Lyon,* Chapitre IX. Le nombre des divorces, par. 1.
[47] Dessertine, par. 5.
[48] Philips, *Putting Asunder*, 258.
[49] Dessertine, *Divorcer à Lyon,* Chapitre IX, par. 5.

humain était aussi énorme; à cause des morts et des fuites de la ville, Lyon a perdu environ un cinquième de sa population, qui avoisinait les 120 000 auparavant.[50] Ceci s'est reflété dans le taux de divorce, qui passa de 26 divorces au mois de juillet à six en août et trois en septembre.[51]

Le divorce à Lyon était donc, encore une fois, la preuve que cette pratique dépendait grandement des événements socio-politiques, car rapidement le divorce n'était plus la priorité des couples mécontents lorsque la ville était assiégée. La ville de Lyon s'est ainsi inscrite dans la tendance générale du divorce, avec une augmentation fulgurante dès la mise en vigueur, suivie d'une chute drastique des demandes de divorce, aidée par le contexte historique.

Comparaison régionale

Afin de mettre le tout en perspective, l'étude des régions nous a démontré quelques faits d'emblée. Bien que le divorce était populaire au sein de la population locale, il n'a pas pris les mêmes proportions que dans la capitale, par exemple. Il va sans dire qu'il y a eu un plus grand nombre de divorces dans les centres urbains plus densément peuplés. Pourtant, si le divorce avait été réellement une pratique quasi-généralisée, les statistiques pourraient le démontrer. Or, à Paris, il y a eu un divorce pour quatre mariages. En région, les chiffres étaient beaucoup moins impressionnants. À Rouen, les chiffres parlaient plutôt d'un divorce pour huit mariages. Lyon et Toulouse, quant à elles, avaient des proportions qui environnaient un divorce pour 10 à 13 mariages. Ce sont d'ailleurs les mêmes statistiques pour Marseille.[52] Il ne faut donc pas s'imaginer que les régions

[50] Philips, *Putting Asunder*, 258.
[51] Dessertine, *Divorcer à Lyon*, Chapitre IX, par. 9.
[52] Philips, *Putting Asunder*, 258.

ont utilisé la pratique au même titre que les Parisiens, mais il est vrai que quelques similarités ont tout de même émergé entre les régions. Par exemple, ce sont les femmes qui demandaient le divorce en premier. Pour Toulouse et Lyon, les demandes venant de l'épouse constituaient les deux-tiers des demandes.[53] Pour ce qui est de Rouen, 71 pourcent des demandes provenaient des femmes.[54] Il faut aussi noter que l'augmentation des taux de divorces, dans les localités comme dans la capitale, survenait majoritairement quand elles n'étaient pas menacées par d'autres facteurs, tels que la guerre ou la famine.

En conclusion, nous pouvons comprendre que le divorce était une pratique qui s'est répandue dans la France révolutionnaire, mais elle n'était pas aussi fréquente que nous pourrions croire. Elle était très présente dans la région parisienne, mais ceci s'explique plutôt par la ferveur révolutionnaire de la capitale. Considérant que les régions n'avaient pas tendance à suivre cet enthousiasme radical envers les principes de la Révolution, il va de soi qu'elles n'ont pas suivi Paris dans son utilisation du divorce. En région, les cycles de divorce sont déterminés par les événements contemporains, que ce soit des guerres, des famines, des crises sociales ou des transformations du régime politique. Le taux de divorce était aussi proportionnel à la population, puisque des villes de tailles et de poids démographiques similaires avaient tendance à avoir des taux de divorce similaires. Nous pouvons aussi voir que la formulation des décrets sur le divorce était conséquente sur son utilisation: plus la loi est permissible, plus le divorce est accessible et plus les citoyens ont tendance à le demander. Cependant, la loi sur le divorce n'a pas survécu à l'Empire; ce

[53] Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 100.
[54] Philips, *Putting Asunder*, 262.

n'est qu'en 1975 qu'elle est réapparue sur le territoire français.[55] C'est alors que les législateurs français du XXe siècle se sont empressés de faire allusion à l'héritage révolutionnaire pour justifier le retour de la pratique. Ainsi, ce concept, qui avait été imaginé plus d'un siècle auparavant, a resurgi.

[55] Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 93.

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« Le vallet ki ert meschine »: expériences queer et normativité de genre dans la littérature courtoise

Alana Tomas

> there is no necessary relation between drag and subversion… drag may well be used in the service of both the denaturalization and the reidealization of hyperbolic heterosexual gender norms.[56]

Cette citation du livre de Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*, datant de 1996, semble à premier abord avoir été composée dans le cadre du même genre d'analyse que nous entamerons ici. Pionnier des études de genre et des études *queer*, Butler est connu.e pour son approche critique confrontant la normativité de genre au concept de performativité qu'iel formalisent dans *Gender Trouble* (1990). Nous croyons que l'application de fondements théoriques des études de genre et des études *queer* au domaine des études médiévales témoignent de nouvelles possibilités pour la discipline, de sorte qu'à la fois féministes et médiévistes bénéficient du contact avec les sources littéraires médiévales.

Notre recherche consistera à appliquer les tenants des études *queer* à notre étude de textes de la littérature courtoise comportant des éléments nous semblant irrévocablement et intrinsèquement *queer*. Nous nous pencherons sur la question de l'utilisation que fait la littérature courtoise des expériences *queer* de ses personnages afin de renforcer les normes de genre de la société médiévale. La présence d'expériences que nous

[56] Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York; London: Routledge, 1996), 85.

qualifierons de *queer* dans le cadre de cette analyse est utilisée comme mécanisme renforcant les normes de genre de la société laïque aristocratique qui elles-mêmes agissent aussi en tant que véhicule aux ambiguïtés de genre (et de sexualité) de ces personnages. Nous travaillerons d'abord à conceptualiser la normativité de genre au sein de l'aristocratie laïque comme mécanisme pour le maintien de la domination de ce groupe social, notamment à travers la littérature courtoise avant d'appliquer cette thèse/ce cadre théorique dans l'analyse de deux oeuvres, soit le *Roman de Silence* et *Yde et Olive*.

Notre travail de recherche reposera donc sur l'usage de sources primaires à travers notre étude d'œuvres de la littérature courtoise. Nous utilisons l'édition d'*Yde et Olive* réalisée par Mounawar Abbouchi dans le cadre de sa thèse de maîtrise, qui constitue la plus récente édition du texte d'*Yde et Olive*, la première édition du texte ayant été réalisée au 19e siècle et la seconde dans les années 70 dans la thèse de doctorat de Barbara Anne Brewka. L'édition d'Abbouchi comprend une analyse approfondie du format et du vocabulaire, une mise en contexte des personnages et des événements du cycle d'*Huon de Bordeaux* ainsi que la version intégrale du texte dans sa version originale accompagnée d'une traduction en anglais. Par ailleurs, nous utiliserons l'édition de Sarah Roche-Mahdi du *Roman de Silence* qui s'intitule *Silence: A Thirteenth Century Romance* (1993). Cet ouvrage de Roche-Mahdi représente l'une des seules éditions modernes du *Roman de Silence*; il comprend la version originale du texte accompagnée d'une traduction en anglais moderne, ainsi que des notes sur la traduction. Tout comme l'édition de *Yde et Olive* de Abbouchi, cette version du *Roman de Silence* est traitée comme source primaire à notre analyse. En complément à ces sources, nous mobiliserons des études spécialisées produites dans le domaine des études *queer* et des études du genre faisant

usage du genre et de la sexualité comme perspective analytique dans le domaine des études médiévales.

La nature de notre analyse, elle qui vise à intégrer une ontologie *queer* à la compréhension de la société médiévale, impose que nous clarifions le cadre théorique sur lequel se construira notre argumentation. Dans son article de 2000 *Lesbian-like and the Social History of Lesbianism*, Judith Bennett conçoit son étude comme une contribution à la visée émancipatoire de l'histoire, en expliquant l'exploration du passé comme nécessairement influencée et déterminée par le contexte du présent qui nous mène à cette exploration[57]. Notre analyse veut donc s'inscrire dans ce même courant, voulant (ré)inscrire l'existence d'expériences et d'individus *queer* à l'époque médiévale. Bennett discute ici de rectifier le biais hétérosexiste de l'histoire, se référant à l'aveuglement volontaire des historiens quant à l'analyse des expériences d'individus incompatibles avec la normativité ontologique de ces historiens. À cet égard, Bennett définit son approche en tenant compte de la relative invisibilité accordée aux lesbiennes ou aux femmes qui aimaient d'autres femmes dans l'historiographie médiévale, compliquant d'autant plus son travail. Ainsi, elle conceptualise l'expression de « lesbian-like » en faisant référence à des espaces et à des expériences qui auraient favorisé l'existence de rapports intimes entre femmes (par exemple, des femmes qui refusaient le mariage)[58]. Cette terminologie refuse du coup d'assigner le terme de lesbienne à des individus du passé, tout en demeurant un outil analytique important dans l'intersection entre les études *queer* et les études médiévales. Il s'agit plutôt d'approcher l'analyse historique en ayant à la fois conscience de notre

[57] Judith Bennett, « "Lesbian-Like" and the Social History of Lesbianisms, » *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9, no. 1-2 (2000): 4.
[58] Bennett, « "Lesbian-Like", » 9-10.

responsabilité vis-à-vis des individus que nous étudions tout en travaillant avec une reconnaissance envers leur individualité nous permettant d'appréhender leurs expériences avec les ressources théoriques contemporaines à notre disposition. Nous allons ainsi extrapoler sur l'expression « lesbian-like » de Bennett afin de faire place à des expériences plus diverses en termes de genre et de sexualité à travers le terme de « queer-like ». Ce dernier nous outille d'une ontologie permettant d'interpréter les expériences d'individus et de personnages présentant une certaine ambiguïté dans leur genre et/ou dans leur sexualité. Le concept de « queer-like » nous sera utile dans notre analyse des expériences des personnages de Silence et de Yde, dont l'expérience avec leur genre sera comprise comme intrinsèquement *queer* et de là, toutes les expériences qui en découlent.

Normativité de genre et domination sociale de l'aristocratie laïque

Notre analyse se construit sur le concept central de la normativité de genre, particulièrement dans son intégration à la littérature courtoise et dans ses implications plus larges concernant la domination sociale de l'aristocratie laïque. L'utilisation de sources littéraires comme outil à l'analyse de la société médiévale relève ainsi de leur pouvoir de production discursive et de reproduction de la symbolique de domination de l'aristocratie laïque. À cet égard, Arnaud Montreuil, dans son étude de 2020 intitulée *Écrire le corps du vilain*, évoque le fait que « la littérature en langue vernaculaire était le lieu où l'aristocratie laïque élaborait discursivement son système de représentation »[59]. Cette

[59] Arnaud Montreuil, « Écrire le corps du vilain. Mises en scène du corps et domination de l'aristocratie laïque dans la littérature courtoise de la France du Nord des XIIe et XIIIe siècles, » *Hypothèses* 23, no. 1 (2020): 242.

reconnaissance de l'instrumentalisation de la littérature courtoise dans l'hégémonie aristocratique nous permet d'élaborer un procédé analytique basé sur une approche critique par rapport aux sources littéraires.

Hervé Martin dissèque à cet effet la transmission de l'idéologie chevaleresque telle qu'elle est représentée dans les textes de la littérature courtoise. L'analyse de Martin rapporte notamment le processus de transmission des valeurs chevaleresques dans l'espace de cette « première éducation » que représente la famille[60]. Il est ainsi question de l'éducation des jeunes enfants (principalement des jeunes garçons) dans le milieu familial, ainsi que des mécanismes de reproduction sociale dans l'adoption de pratiques et de comportements conformes au groupe de l'aristocratie laïque. Le parcours des jeunes garçons nobles les voit éventuellement quitter le nid familial dans l'adolescence afin de poursuivre leur formation et aspirer à la chevalerie[61]. Bien que Martin n'aborde pas la question de l'éducation des jeunes filles, ses descriptions de l'édification des jeunes hommes nous permettent de déduire ce qui était attendu des jeunes filles nobles. Le *Roman de Silence* confronte explicitement les attentes conventionnelles envers les jeunes garçons et les jeunes femmes lorsqu'on ordonne à Silence:

> Ne dois pas en bos converser,
> Lancier, ne traire, ne berser [...]
> Va en la cambre a la costure[62]

[60] Hervé Martin, *Mentalités médiévales. XIe-XVe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998), 313.
[61] Martin, *Mentalités médiévales*, 314.
[62] Sarah Roche-Mahdi, *Silence. A Thirteenth-Century French Romance* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1992), 118 (v. 2525-2528).

Par ailleurs, la normativité de genre dans le récit de Silence témoigne justement de l'interaction entre genre et classe sociale dans la littérature courtoise; dans le *Roman de Silence*, l'auteur représente le genre et les enjeux socio-économiques comme intrinsèquement connectés. L'intrigue du *Roman* se déploie autour d'un enjeu socio-économique, qui lui-même se résout dans sa conclusion avec la résolution de l'intrigue centrale du récit autour de l'identité de genre du personnage principal, Silence.

L'article de Robert S. Sturges *The Crossdresser and the 'Juventus': Category Crisis in 'Silence* introduit l'idée de l'instrumentalisation du genre comme mécanisme permettant de discuter d'autres enjeux sociétaux comme des questions socio-économiques. Cette interprétation du récit de Silence nous informe en même temps sur le contexte qui conditionne cette production littéraire dans la réification de la domination aristocratique. Sturges fait ainsi appel à la théorie de Georges Duby concernant la crise de la primogéniture et la relie à la présence de personnages travestis de la littérature courtoise des XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles en incorporant des personnages dont l'identité se voit déstabilisée par les conditions socio-économiques auxquels ils sont confrontés[63]. Le genre émerge ainsi comme mécanisme au rétablissement de la domination aristocratique qui se voit déstabilisée par des injustices comme la condamnation de l'héritage des femmes dans le *Roman de Silence*.

Notre étude du *Roman de Silence* et de la chanson de geste *Yde et Olive* nous permettra de mettre en application ce cadre théorique concernant la normativité de genre en tant que

[63] Robert S. Sturges, « The Crossdresser and the 'Juventus': Category Crisis in 'Silence,' » *Arthuriana* 12, no. 1 (2002): 38.

mécanisme renforçant la domination de genre de l'aristocratie laïque.

Le *Roman de Silence*

Rédigé au XIII[e] siècle et attribué au romancier Heldris de Cornouailles, le *Roman de Silence* retrace le parcours de Silence, fille du chevalier Cador et d'Eufémie. Lorsque Silence vient au monde, ses parents décident de camoufler « sa vraie nature » et de l'élever comme un garçon afin de lui permettre d'hériter. Elle grandit à l'abri de la cour dans une maison dans la forêt et apprend toutes les manières qui font de lui un garçon, mais demeure profondément inconfortable face au subterfuge. Il décide un jour de s'enfuir et de suivre deux jongleurs qu'il accompagne pendant quatre ans. À la cour du duc de Bourgogne, il prend conscience d'un complot pour l'assassiner et rentre chez lui avant d'être convoqué à la cour du roi Ebain. Il est alors remarqué par la reine Eufème, qui tente de le séduire. Après l'échec de sa séduction et aveuglée par son humiliation et son désir de vengeance, Eufème planifie détruire Silence et crée un subterfuge par lequel elle prétend avoir été violée par ce dernier. Silence est banni à la cour de France, mais est rappelé à la cour d'Ebain pour ses talents de chevalier. Il remporte la guerre pour le Roi, mais il est encore piégé par Eufème: celle-ci convainc le roi de bannir Silence, lui qui reçoit l'ordre de ne pas revenir à moins qu'il ne puisse capturer Merlin. Une année s'écoule, et Silence réussit à s'emparer de Merlin et le ramène à la cour d'Ebain. Merlin est alors questionné par le roi qui lui demande comment a-t-il été capturé si la légende voulait qu'il ne pourrait être capturé que par une femme. Merlin révèle alors le subterfuge de Silence, qui est pardonnée pour sa déception, « retransformée » en tant que femme et mariée au roi Ebain.

Tel que nous l'avons introduit dans la section précédente, le récit de Silence comprend des marqueurs de la littérature courtoise dans la transmission des valeurs chevaleresques contribuant à la reproduction sociale de l'aristocratie laïque. Nous allons explorer comment le *Roman de Silence* réifie les normes de genre de l'aristocratie laïque, et comment le genre peut être interprété en tant que performance au cours du roman.

« **S'ele ouevre bien contre nature** »**: le dialogue nature versus nourriture dans le *Roman de Silence***

La centralité du discours nature v. nourriture est réitérée à travers le récit de Silence dans une personnification des deux concepts mis en dialogue à répétition. L'auteur conclut le roman en se positionnant sur le débat par sa déclaration au sujet des femmes « s'ele ouevre bien contre nature »[64], dans une tirade misogyne défendant le caractère intrinsèquement mauvais des femmes. Nous allons contraster l'itinéraire des deux femmes principales du récit, soit Silence et Eufème, instrumentalisées dans la dichotomie morale que l'auteur associe aux deux femmes. Celle-ci sert à confronter l'expression acceptable (ou naturelle) de la féminité dans le personnage d'Eufémie et dans celui de Silence à celle d'une féminité et d'une sexualité déviante dans le personnage d'Eufème. Ce dialogue, transposé à d'autres dichotomies médiévales, est ainsi sous-tendu d'un discours moraliste renforçant les normes de genre de l'aristocratie laïque. Notre argument examinera le paradigme de bon/mauvais et sa transposition dans celui coeur (ou esprit)/corps dans son instrumentalisation à travers les personnages féminins du *Roman*, résultant en une réification des normes de genre de la société médiévale.

[64] Roche-Mahdi, *Silence*, 312 (v. 6691).

En déployant les péripéties du roman autour de la relation entre Cador, le loyal chevalier du roi Ebain et de sa femme, Eufémie, l'auteur pose d'emblée un modèle de référence pour la normativité des rôles de genre. Tel qu'expliqué par Blumreich dans son étude de 1997 intitulée *Lesbian Desire in the Old French "Roman de Silence."*, Eufémie est avant tout positionnée par rapport à son dévouement à Cador, son futur mari[65]. Dès son introduction, Eufémie est décrite d'abord comme la plus belle femme du monde, et ensuite comme étant éperduement amoureuse de Cador:

> Qu'el mont n'avoit plus bele mie,
> Et si l'apielent Eufemie. [...]
> D'amer Cador forment esprise[66].

Par ailleurs, Silence, l'héroïne de l'histoire, par association à sa mère Eufémie d'abord, est immédiatement comprise comme une personnification de l'idéal féminin. En effet, l'auteur dédie à cet égard près de 100 vers à la description de la beauté de Silence à travers le processus que Nature entreprend pour produire la plus belle créature jamais créée[67]. Notre compréhension du personnage de Silence, symboliquement codée comme étant intrinsèquement *bonne* se doit d'être comprise selon la morale et selon la philosophie médiévale ayant indéniablement conditionné le contexte de rédaction du *Roman*. La doctrine des transcendantaux se rapporte à une philosophie intégrant la moralité à travers des conditions interdépendantes, communes et convertibles de l'être. La philosophie médiévale comprenait ainsi les valeurs d'unité, de bonté et de vérité comme concomitantes et

[65] Kathleen M. Blumreich, « Lesbian Desire in the Old French "Roman de Silence", » *Arthuriana* 7, no. 2 (1997): 49.
[66] Roche-Mahdi, *Silence*, 20 (v. 401-404).
[67] Roche-Mahdi, 93 (v. 1947).

convertibles[68]. La description que l'auteur fait de Silence prend alors un tout autre sens; la valeur morale du personnage de Silence est non seulement comprise par sa beauté, mais aussi par le sens que celle-ci donne à son caractère. La beauté de Silence ne prend pas son sens dans sa signification matérielle, mais bien dans sa valeur morale transcendant sa corporalité. À travers Silence, l'auteur conçoit un idéal de la féminité: une femme autant belle que bonne, et dont la valeur morale est d'autant plus personnifiée dans son nom. En conclusion à son récit, l'auteur se lance dans une tirade à travers laquelle il affirme le caractère intrinsèquement inférieur des femmes ainsi que leur devoir de demeurer silencieuses. Cette remarque donne alors un sens au parcours de Silence qui, en tant que femme idéale, demeure silencieuse à l'égard du subterfuge lui ayant été imposé par ses parents par rapport à sa « vraie nature ». La loyauté (et le silence) de Silence sont compris comme relevant de sa bonté intrinsèque et indivisible à son absence de voix au cours du récit, son personnage n'ayant plus aucune interaction ou dialogue à travers son récit (mis à part ses réflexions internes). Tout comme sa mère, Silence est comprise comme une bonne femme, se pliant aux demandes hétéronormatives du mariage en mariant le roi Ebain à la fin du *Roman* et en remplacant Eufème, cette dernière ayant échoué à son rôle de femme en étant stérile, sexuellement pervertie et corrompue.

Contrairement au personnage de Silence, Eufème est instrumentalisée comme vilaine du récit, personnifiant la déviance féminine à laquelle croit l'auteur. Tandis que le récit de Silence se déploie entièrement autour de sa bonté, celui d'Eufème met plutôt en évidence la corporalité de son personnage, compris

[68] Jan A. Aertsen, « Beauty in the Middle Ages: A Forgotten Transcendental?,» *Medieval Philosophy & Theology* 1 (1991): 69.

comme inférieur au cœur et à l'esprit dans la théologie catholique. La place du personnage d'Eufème dans le *Roman* se construit autour de sa déviance sexuelle qu'elle exprime à l'égard de Silence. Lorsque Silence est à la cour du roi Ebain, la reine Eufème réalise des avances à l'égard du jeune chevalier. Celles-ci expriment non seulement une déviance sexuelle puisqu'Eufème est une femme mariée cherchant ouvertement l'expression d'une sexualité adultère et non consensuelle, mais aussi parce que ses avances sont comprises par le lecteur comme étant exprimées envers une autre femme. Blumreich explique ici la sexualité anormale d'Eufème comme sa plus grande offense[69]. L'auteur décrit le personnage d'Eufème à plusieurs reprises de « femme Satan »[70], l'associant au diable et incitant un monologue sur le caractère déviant des femmes.

Le discours sur la normativité de genre que nous interprétons à travers les personnages féminins du récit de Heldris de Cornouaille dépend ici de la présence à la fois de Silence et d'Eufème qui se construisent en opposition à travers le *Roman*. Le dialogue nature versus nourriture est ainsi mobilisé pour renforcer les normes de genre comprises comme relevant de la « nature » des individus, mais permet aussi à Silence de camoufler sa « vraie nature » en utilisant les conventions et les apprentissages qu'elle acquiert dans son parcours.

[69] Blumreich, « Lesbian Desire in the Old French, » 53.
[70] Roche-Mahdi, *Silence*, 172 (v. 3699).

Silence et le genre comme performance

Le concept de genre comme performance tel qu'il fut conceptualisé par Judith Butler dans son livre de 1990 *Gender Trouble* se rapporte à une conception du genre comme un ensemble de pratiques et de conventions acceptées de manière à produire des différences faussement attribuées à une « essence biologique » ou à une supposée « nature »[71]. Dans son article de 2008 *Competing Gender Ideologies and the Limitations of Language in* Le Roman de Silence, Terrell démontre l'ambiguïté des discours sur le genre dans l'œuvre. Comme nous en avons précédemment discuté, la persistance des remarques misogynes de l'auteur à travers le récit soutient une interprétation du poème le comprenant comme adhérent - voire même comme défenseur - de la normativité de genre médiévale. Cependant, tel que l'explique Terrell, il nous semble aussi que l'ambiguïté du discours sur le genre dans le *Roman de Silence* impose une approche prudente dans l'analyse des notions de genre telles qu'elles y sont présentées[72]. Cette section nous permettra de nuancer notre propos à l'égard de la normativité de genre dans le *Roman de Silence* en affirmant que ces mêmes normes se présentent aussi comme le véhicule d'une certaine déstabilisation des notions traditionnelles de genre de l'époque médiévale.

Avant même que Silence naisse, ses parents introduisent l'idée d'un subterfuge qui leur permettrait de camoufler la « vraie nature » de leur enfant dans le cas où il s'agirait d'une fille. Dès lors, la performance qui suivra dans leur décision d'élever leur fille « comme un garçon » suggère au lecteur que le

[71] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York; London: Routledge, 2006), 185.
[72] Katherine H. Terrell, « Competing Gender Ideologies and the Limitations of Language in *Le Roman de Silence*, » *Romance Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2008): 36.

travestissement de l'enfant se réalise face à une injustice dans la décision du roi Ebain d'empêcher les femmes d'hériter:

> Que li rois Ebayns pas ne lassce
> Que femes aient iretage [...]
> Sin ont moult perdu les femieles.[73]

Lorsque la femme de Cador présente l'injustice de l'héritage pour les femmes du royaume, le travestissement de l'enfant est compris comme le moindre des deux maux.

Au moment de sa naissance, Silence (ou Scilense) est ainsi nommée par ses parents dans l'optique de cette ruse et dans l'espoir que celle-ci demeure silencieuse face à sa « vraie nature ». Cependant, Cador indique à sa femme qu'il ne suffirait de changer son nom si un jour sa « vraie nature » est révélée:

> Il iert només Scilenscius;
> Et s'il avient par aventure
> Al descovrir de sa nature
> Nos muerons cest -us en -a.[74]

Tel que l'explique Erin F. Labbie, le nom d'un individu le rend visible aux yeux de la loi et de la société; le nom de Silence, dans ses variations genrées, est ainsi compris comme une performance investie de et investissant le politique[75]. La nature genrée de la racine latine de la langue utilisée par l'auteur favorise à cet égard la perméabilité de l'identité de genre du personnage de Silence. Le langage survient à travers le texte comme mécanisme supportant l'ambiguïté de genre de Silence. Tel que nous l'avons

[73] Roche-Mahdi, *Silence*, 80 (v. 1690-1694).
[74] Roche-Mahdi, 98 (v. 2074-2077).
[75] Erin F. Labbie, « The Specular Image of the Gender-Neutral Name: Naming Silence in "Le Roman de Silence," » *Arthuriana* 7, no. 2 (1997): 64.

exprimé précédemment, l'indécision de l'auteur en termes de sa conformité aux normes de genre est constamment réitérée à travers le récit, notamment dans son usage du langage qu'il utilise pour désigner Silence. Dans la même phrase, l'auteur utilise à la fois des pronoms féminins et masculins en référence au personnage en exprimant:

> Ne li vallés ki est mescine
> Ne violet pas dire son covine,
> De sa nature vérité,
> Qu'il perdroit donques s'ireté.[76]

Au sujet de cette grammaire des sexes, Judith Butler, dans sa théorie du genre comme performance, soutient que le langage réifie une binarité artificielle entre les sexes, suppressant du coup une multiplicité d'expériences ne se conformant pas à cette hégémonie hétérosexuelle et médico-juridique[77]. L'expérience de Silence avec le genre exemplifie ici cette théorie, en démontrant l'absence d'un espace grammatical qui permettrait l'existence du personnage non pas dans l'état mutuellement exclusif de la binarité mais bien dans une zone qui permettrait son existence à la fois dans les deux catégories[78]. L'échec du langage de rendre compte de cette individualité force l'auteur à faire usage de terminologie ambiguë en référence à Silence, en alternant parmi des qualificatifs compris comme masculins et féminins. Cette interprétation du langage tel qu'il est utilisé dans le *Roman de Silence* nous permet de le comprendre à la fois comme confinant et comme permettant de véhiculer l'ambiguïté du genre de Silence, qui parcourt librement cette grammaire des sexes.

[76] Roche-Mahdi, *Silence*, 182 (v. 3871-3874).
[77] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 26.
[78] Elizabeth A. Waters, « The Third Path: Alternative Sex, Alternative Gender in 'Le Roman de Silence,' » *Arthuriana* 7, no. 2 (1997): 37.

Il nous est aussi utile d'analyser comment la matérialité du genre est mobilisée par l'auteur pour rendre compte de l'ambiguïté de Silence. Le « déguisement » de Silence se fait convaincant de par sa capacité à performer « comme un homme »; cette performance relève de l'apprentissage que réalise Silence depuis sa naissance et des implications de ces apprentissages sur son corps. On lui apprend à monter à cheval et le sénéchal assigné à sa charge l'entraîne en plein soleil afin de « faire de lui un homme »[79]. Cet entraînement implique que Silence s'entraîne en forêt, se pratique à se battre, et à chasser. Dans un dialogue avec le personnage de Nature, cette dernière confronte Silence et lui indique qu'elle devrait être à l'intérieur pour apprendre à coudre[80]. Ces remarques font comprendre au lecteur que le corps de Silence, son apparence, le teint de sa peau et ses capacités physiques le masculinise, renforçant la notion du genre comme performance. Son éducation, en influant ses capacités et son apparence, forment la perception convaincante de la masculinité de Silence[81]. L'adoubement de Silence et son succès en tant que chevalier sont aussi compris comme composantes de sa performance. Anthony Patrick Tribit explique la figure du chevalier dans la littérature courtoise comme personnification de la masculinité idéalisée de l'aristocratie laïque, nous informant sur la réalité de la conception de la masculinité dans la société médiévale[82]. La connaissance de Silence et de son entourage du caractère genré de certaines pratiques et caractéristiques

[79] Roche-Mahdi, *Silence*, 117 (v. 2473-2474).
[80] Roche-Mahdi, 119 (v. 2525-2529).
[81] Caitlin Watt, « "Car vallés sui et nient mescine": Trans Heroism and Literary Masculinity in Le Roman de Silence, » *MFF* 55, no. 1 (2019): 139.
[82] Anthony Patrick Tribit, « Making Knighthood: The Construction of Masculinity in the 'Ordene de Chevalerie', the 'Livre de Chevalerie de Geoffroi de Charny' and the 'Espejo de Verdadera Nobleza,' » (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2017), 11.

légitimant leur déguisement soutient donc la théorie de Butler sur le genre en tant que performance.

Le *Roman de Silence* demeure une source de la littérature courtoise qui continue de confondre les historiens du genre du au conflit apparent qui semble saturer le texte en termes de sa représentation des normes de genre de l'aristocratie laïque. Notre analyse cherche à renforcer la tendance dans la littérature féministe et *queer* nuancant une interprétation du roman sans le rattacher à un discours idéologique entièrement orthodoxe ou déstablisant. Celui-ci s'inscrit dans un courant de la littérature médiévale mettant de l'avant des personnages présentant une ambiguïté de genre, ce qui constitue un ensemble de matériel enrichissant le domaine des études *queer* et celui des études médiévales.

Yde et Olive

Bien que les deux textes comportent des ressemblances par leur intégration d'expériences *queer* dans le récit de leur personnage principal, le *Roman de Silence* et la chanson de gestes *Yde et Olive* divergent considérablement dans les trajets de leurs personnages principaux. Ces différences comportent des implications importantes pour notre interprétation des discours sur la normativité de genre au sein des textes.

Rédigée au XIII^{e} siècle par un auteur inconnu, la chanson de geste *Yde et Olive* constitue une continuation d'*Huon de Bordeaux*, une chanson de geste du cycle de Charlemagne. Yde naît de son père, le roi Florent, et de sa mère Clarisse, qui meurt tragiquement en accouchant. À quatorze ans, Yde est la plus belle jeune femme du royame, mais son père Florent, jamais remis de la mort de sa femme, déclare l'intetion de marier sa fille. En apprenant les plans de son père, Yde se revêtit de vêtements d'homme et s'enfuit à cheval. Son aventure la mène à se battre et

à développer ses capacités de guerrier. Elle se rend éventuellement au palais de Rome où elle rencontre le roi Oton et sa fille, Olive. Elle est éventuellement envoyée défendre Rome contre des envahisseurs espagnols pour retourner à la cour victorieuse. Olive tombe amoureuse d'Yde et pour récompenser ce dernier, le roi Oton promet Olive à Yde et les deux sont mariés. Le soir du mariage, Yde refuse d'être intime avec Olive et décide finalement de confesser son identité. Olive l'accepte à bras ouverts, en lui promettant d'être loyale et de garder son secret. Cependant, un jeune homme entend sa confession et approche le roi Oton pour lui révéler le secret d'Yde. Le roi Oton, furieux, décide de révéler la ruse d'Yde en la forçant à prendre un bain avec lui. Au même moment, un ange descend du ciel et transforme Yde en homme.

Tel que nous l'avions introduit dans la section précédente, le récit d'Yde comprend des marqueurs de la littérature courtoise dans la transmission des valeurs chevaleresques, ce qui contribue à la reproduction sociale de l'aristocratie laïque. Nous allons ainsi explorer comment la chanson de geste d'*Yde et Olive* supporte la conception du genre comme performance tout en réifiant les normes de genre de l'aristocratie laïque.

Yde et le genre comme performance

En s'alignant à l'approche de Caitlin Watt dans son article de 2019 intitulé *"Car vallés sui et nient mescine": Trans Heroism and Literary Masculinity in* Le Roman de Silence, nous allons ici faire usage d'une approche consistant à lire le personnage d'Yde dans *Yde et Olive* en tant que figure transmasculine. À travers ses expériences avec son identité vers la réalisation de cette dernière à la fin du récit lorsqu'il se « transforme » finalement en homme, le personnage d'Yde conceptualise le genre comme performance d'abord dans son déguisement initial en réaction aux avances

incestueuses de son père, puis dans son parcours en tant que jeune homme jusqu'à son mariage avec Olive.

Vivant en tant que dame jusqu'à ses 14 ans, l'auteur de la chanson de geste s'attarde longuement sur les descriptions physiques d'Yde, renforçant notre compréhension de la féminité du personnage. Sa beauté lui attire les attentions perverties de son père, motivant du coup son déguisement lorsqu'elle se revêtit de vêtements d'hommes, monte à cheval et s'échappe en forêt au milieu de la nuit. À partir de ce moment, Yde se dit orpheline et part à l'aventure afin d'échapper à son père. Ses vêtements masculins et sa contenance rendent son déguisement d'autant plus convaincant lorsqu'elle rencontre des soldats sur son trajet. Comme l'explique De Weever, Yde occupe différents rôles au cours du récit: celui de dame, de chevalier, puis d'amant[83]. En se basant sur cette hypothèse, nous soutenons que son parcours à travers la triade dame - chevalier - amant reflète aussi sa transition vers sa réalisation en tant qu'homme à la fin du récit. La valeur de la chevalerie dans ce qu'Yde utilise initialement comme un déguisement masculin est expliquée par Tribit, dans sa thèse de doctorat. Celui-ci explique que même les hommes n'ayant pas désir de devenir chevalier cherchaient à reproduire les attributs de la masculinité que personnifiaient les chevaliers[84]. L'utilité de la figure de chevalier dans le déguisement d'Yde relève ainsi de son association à la masculinité normative au sein de l'aristocratie laïque dans la société médiévale.

Par ailleurs, la triade dame - chevalier - amant en tant que mécanisme littéraire suggère aussi une progression dans la masculinité médiévale. La masculinité d'Yde en tant que jeune

[83] Jacqueline de Weever, « The Lady, the Knight, and the Lover: Androgyny and Integration in "La Chanson d'Yde et Olive", » *Romanic Review* 82, no. 4 (1991): 376.
[84] Tribit, « Making Knighthood, » 28.

chevalier progresse ainsi dans le rôle d'amant auquel il est confronté lorsqu'il est marié à la belle Olive. Notre lecture du récit d'Yde comme figure transmasculine est supportée par l'attitude d'Yde face à son déguisement, qui contrairement au personnage de Silence, n'exprime pas d'inconfort face à son identité en tant qu'homme. Son personnage semble à cet égard se réaliser à travers sa masculinité; l'expression de son inconfort survient plutôt au moment de consommer sa relation avec Olive. Son dialogue interne révèle cette anxiété lorsqu'Yde dit qu'il « [n]'a membre nul qu'a li puist abiter »[85]. L'inconfort d'Yde ne semble pas ici relever de son genre, mais bien de son corps, un sentiment commun aux expériences d'individus trans qui ressentent parfois une déconnexion avec leur corps. Cette réalisation supporte la conception du genre comme performance, détachant la réalité de l'identité de genre d'une essence biologique s'y rapportant. La performance d'Yde en tant qu'homme le conscientise face à sa propre identité de genre, distincte de ses caractéristiques biologiques.

La conclusion du récit dans la transformation ultime d'Yde en homme par l'ange nous permet encore une fois de faire appel à la doctrine des transcendantaux. La vérité transcendant l'âme d'Yde résulte en sa transformation qui lui permet finalement de personnifier sa réelle nature. Comme l'indique Diane Watt, le travestissement d'Yde influence plus que son apparence: ses valeurs et ses capacités physiques sont aussi transformées par son déguisement masculin[86]. La conception du genre comme performance dans le récit d'Yde relève ainsi de sa

[85] Mounawar Abbouchi, « Yde et Olive: Edition and Translation of the Text in Ms. Turin L II. 14, » (Thèse de maîtrise, University of Georgia, 2015), 111 (v. 883).
[86] Diane Watt, « Behaving like a Man? Incest, Lesbian Desire, and Gender Play in *Yde et Olive* and Its Adaptations, » *Comparative Literature* 50, no. 4 (1998): 276.

décision de fuir et de se revêtir d'un déguisement masculin. Sa fuite dépend en effet d'une certaine reconnaissance de l'idéal masculin normatif de la part d'Yde, à travers lequel son déguisement sera d'autant plus convaincant. C'est à ce moment qu'Yde entame le parcours d'un jeune chevalier, et ses péripéties suggèrent l'évolution du personnage et de sa masculinité à travers les étapes majeures du parcours d'un chevalier. Comme l'explique Diane Watt, le mariage d'Yde à Olive représente un moment crucial de l'identité Yde en tant qu'homme, l'activité sexuelle représentant un marqueur de maturité masculine et de l'identité chevaleresque[87]. Le moment de la transformation finale d'Yde représente ainsi la réalisation de son identité, mais, du même coup, réifie la normativité de genre de l'aristocratie laïque.

La trajectoire hétéronormative dans le récit d'*Yde et Olive*

Tel que l'exprime Valerie R. Hotchkiss dans son étude de 1996 *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe*, la présence de personnages (principalement de femmes) ayant des expériences de travestissement dans la littérature courtoise soulève l'enjeu de l'identité sexuelle de ces personnages[88]. Dans le cas d'Yde, nous avons déjà discuté de la signification de sa relation avec Olive pour son genre; nous introduisons ici comment la transformation ultime d'Yde « en homme » réifie l'hétéronormativité en résolvant le « problème » de la sexualité d'Yde.

Le dernier moment du récit d'*Yde et Olive* voit un ange descendre du ciel pour transformer Yde « en homme », le dotant finalement des moyens pour accomplir sa masculinité. En effet, le dernier vers de la chanson de geste exprime qu'« en cel jour fu

[87] Watt, « Behaving like a Man?, » 279.
[88] Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York; London: Routledge, 1996), 105.

Croissans engenrés »[89]. La transformation d'Yde se comprend alors comme ayant une signification importante dans son parcours; non seulement règle-t-elle le problème apparent de son identité sexuelle en l'absolvant de déviance homosexuelle, mais elle est aussi comprise comme marqueur ultime de la réalisation de sa masculinité. Comme nous l'avons déjà introduit dans notre discussion de la figure de dame, chevalier et amant, la transformation d'Yde lui permet finalement de personnifier cette figure de l'amant en lui donnant les moyens nécessaires à la consommation de la sexualité médiévale légitime. Ceci est confirmé au lecteur en l'assurant que les deux amants conçurent Croissant le soir même de la transformation d'Yde. Les nouveaux « moyens biologiques » d'Yde lui permettent finalement de s'accomplir dans son mariage; en effet, la consommation de l'union entre Yde et Olive est centrale au dénouement du récit. C'est justement dans un moment intime entre Yde et Olive qu'Yde confesse sa vraie identité à son amante, et qu'il est éventuellement découvert. La conclusion du récit réifie ainsi l'hétéronormativité, en renforçant le motif reproducteur comme indissociable de la sexualité médiévale légitime. Yolanda Beteta Martin souligne ici la conception médiévale de la sexualité légitime comme intrinsèquement et exclusivement définie en termes de sa visée reproductive[90]. Ce moment du récit réifie la normativité de genre à travers le caractère hétéronormatif de cette résolution.

Cet aspect du récit d'*Yde et Olive* souligne l'importance du rapport entre genre et sexualité dans l'étude de textes médiévaux qui, à première vue, semblent défier les normes de genre

[89] Abbouchi, « Yde et Olive, » 119 (v. 1062).
[90] Yolanda Beteta Martin, « The Servants of the Devil: The Demonization of Female Sexuality in the Medieval Patristic Discourse, » *Journal of Research in Gender Studies* 3, no. 2 (2013): 48.

traditionnelles de la société médiévale. Elizabeth A. Waters souligne à cet égard l'effort crucial de distinction entre genre et sexualité dans l'analyse de littérature médiévale. Ce travail critique nous permet d'éviter les pièges anachronistes, tout en laissant place à des identités ne se conformant pas nécessairement à cette normativité binaire[91]. Notre analyse s'aligne ainsi à cette perspective en soulignant que la présence de discours supportant la conception du genre comme performance peut à la fois travailler à déstabiliser et à rétablir les discours hégémoniques sur le genre.

Conclusion

Notre utilisation de sources littéraires dans le cadre de cette analyse nous a permis de mettre en évidence leur rôle comme mécanisme supportant la reproduction de la domination de l'aristocratie laïque. En comprenant le genre comme composante d'un discours plus large sur l'hégémonie aristocratique dans la société médiévale française, nous avons approché le *Roman de Silence* et la chanson de geste d'*Yde et Olive* de manière à problématiser les expériences de travestissement de leurs personnages à travers une ontologie *queer*. Cette approche nous a permis d'élucider les expériences *queer* des personnages de Silence et d'Yde justement en fonction des normes de genre au sein desquelles ils évoluaient.

Judith M. Bennett défend son approche en indiquant que, dans ses meilleures formes, l'histoire interagit avec le passé de manière à mettre en lumière les manières dont le passé informe le présent et dont le présent informe notre perception du passé[92]. L'intégration des études *queer* aux études médiévales remplit à

[91] Waters, « The Third Path, » 44.
[92] Bennett, « "Lesbian-Like", » 4.

notre avis ce mandat en défendant l'importance de la visée émancipatoire de l'histoire, particulièrement de l'histoire sociale pour la communauté LGBTQ+, ainsi que pour d'autres groupes marginalisés.

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"See-what-the-little-darling-has-done-now": Murder and Sympathy in the Trial of Lizzie Borden

Gabrielle Kaduc-Stojsic

Background

On the morning of August 4, 1892, horror shook the town of Fall River, Massachusetts. A double homicide had occurred at the home of prominent businessman Andrew Borden, in which both he and his wife, Abby, had been cut down with a hatchet.[93] The violent crime, and subsequent mystery of the murderer, would grab the attention of the entire country for decades to come. The killer would have had to possess an intimate knowledge of the layout of the house, the schedules of those within, and would need to evade its occupants—Lizzie Borden, the youngest daughter of Andrew Borden, and Bridget Sullivan, the maid—who were both home for the hour and a half interval between the two murders, and then escape undetected. Almost the entire police force was on their annual picnic to Rocky Point near Providence, Rhode Island, leaving only a few officers in town.[94] Eventually, when all other options were exhausted, the police turned to Lizzie as their prime suspect. Her older sister Emma, forty-one years old, evaded all suspicion, as she had been out of town visiting friends for over a week.[95] Her trial elicited mixed feelings from the public; she received sympathy from the female journalists who covered the proceedings, and fear from the women who arrived daily to watch the case. She was

[93] See appendix for table 1.
[94] Cara Robertson, *The Trial of Lizzie Borden* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2019), 14.
[95] Joseph A. Conforti, *Lizzie Borden on Trial : Murder, Ethnicity, and Gender* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2015), 52.

acquitted of the crime on June 20, 1893, with a unanimous verdict of 'not guilty' after less than an hour of deliberation.[96] Despite all indications of her guilt, her jury composed of twelve men, ultimately could not fathom someone like Lizzie Borden committing these brutal murders.[97]

Money and Margins

Lizzie Borden, despite being perceived as wealthy, upper-class, white, and religious, existed both within the margins of Fall River society and those within her own home. She and her older sister Emma were essentially trapped by their social class, their father, and their position as unmarried women. Lizzie faced the predicament that at the age of 32, she was considered both too old to attend the new women's colleges and too wealthy for work at the mills. She was prevented from attaining the freedom that the colleges could bring, as well as the independence that would come with a job at the mills and a paycheck. As such, Lizzie, like other women of her echelon, was relegated to an "unproductive marginality," in which she was able to enjoy her leisure as long as it was within the confines of her father's home.[98] While this was a relatively common experience for women in the Victorian American period, Lizzie differed in that she had never married. Her status as a single unmarried woman meant that while her parents were alive, she would never have her own domestic space, and by extension, no freedom.

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[96] Douglas O. Linder, "The Trial of Lizzie Borden: Chronology," *Famous Trials*, accessed November 10, 2022, https://famous-trials.com/lizzieborden/1441-chronology.

[97] There is a bias in the paper towards believing Lizzie guilty of the murders, however, the focus of the paper does not intend to examine whether she is guilty or not, but rather how her guilt or innocence was perceived by the media.

[98] Cara Robertson, "Representing 'Miss Lizzie': Cultural Convictions in the Trial of Lizzie Borden," *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 8, no. 2 (1996): 375.

Traditionally, society dictated that women were "the leisured bearers and signifiers of their husbands' statuses."[99] Lacking a husband, one was expected to perform the same for their father. A woman's power within the home was essentially reduced to "feminine influence," in which the "greater sensibility of women ostensibly provided them with moral authority and sway over their husbands and fathers, [though] they possessed no comparable economic, political, or legal authority."[100] While Lizzie received a weekly allowance of four dollars—which was little more than what Bridget earned—and had an existing bank balance of $2,500, she remained financially dependent on her father.[101] The $2,500 in savings was recently acquired, and would be insufficient to support herself should her father ever cut her off.[102] In addition, while her allowance did allow for minor purchases, it was not enough to demonstrate her family's prominence, and as such, it remained a constant reminder of her reliance upon her father and her lack of any real freedom.[103] She was permitted to act independently, so long as that independence existed within the confines her father had set for her.

A woman's social standing within Fall River was dependent on "her family's prominence, her seventeenth-century

[99] Robertson, "Representing 'Miss Lizzie,'" 368.
[100] Robertson, 368.
[101] Robertson, 371-372.
[102] Robertson, 371-372. The $2500 bank balance was a result of an earlier family dispute when Andrew purchased a property on behalf of Abby's half sister. His daughters wanted an equivalent, so he deeded them their grandfather's old house. He later repurchased the home for $5000, which Emma and Lizzie split. Despite her relatively recent large financial sum, it was still insufficient to purchase a home in an appropriate neighborhood.
[103] Robertson, 371.

English forebears, and her religious affiliation."[104] The town, which was mostly divided by class, had the most affluent neighbourhood being the Hill district, atop a plateau to the north. Prior to the murder trial, Lizzie and her family lived at 92 Second street, which was a neighbourhood of predominantly ethnic Catholics, and was chosen by her father, both as an economical choice and due to its close location to his downtown businesses. Victoria Lincoln (1904 - 1984) a true-crime writer, referred to Fall River as "a limited plutocracy," for "an old Yankee name was neutral without money, but lacking an old Yankee name you couldn't buy in."[105] Without living in the Hill district, and unable to host the lavish parties she wanted, Lizzie was ostensibly viewed as inhabiting a lower social class. Her uncle, Hiram Harrington, echoed this point in an interview that: "She thought she ought to entertain as others did, and felt that with her father's wealth she was expected to hold her end up with other members of her set. Her father's constant refusal to entertain lavishly angered her."[106] As such, Lizzie was trapped within a social purgatory, as she neither fit the mould of the lower-middle class neighbourhood she inhabited, nor the upper class of her family's name and financial status. Additionally, she was denied her role as a status signifier that society expected her to perform. It was only through the murders of Andrew and Abby Borden that allowed Lizzie and her sister to inherit the entirety of their father's estate, which granted them the financial independence required to fulfill the upper-class social expectations that society had placed on the Borden sisters.

[104] Victoria Lincoln, *A Private Disgrace: Lizzie Borden by Daylight* (New York: International Polyglonics, 1986), 33.
[105] Lincoln, *A Private Disgrace,* 33.
[106] "No Clearer! The Solution of the Borden Mystery Still Delayed," *Fall River Daily Herald*, 6 August 1892, 1.

Murder, while unorthodox, provided the "socially and economically oppressed [woman] a measure of control over [her] unfortunate circumstances."[107] In the proper hands, it was an effective method for those who felt powerless to assert control over their lives. Despite the initial impression of Lizzie Borden as someone existing within a place of power, once her situation is examined, her confines are clear.

Spinsterhood and the Masculine within

In analyzing the Borden murders, people of the time fell back on the existing paradigms of criminality—those who were in extreme poverty, racial minorities, hysterical women, and the periodically insane. However, Lizzie did not fit neatly into any of these categories. This incongruity between Lizzie herself, and the appalling appearance of the murders left everyone confused. The assailant must have been depraved, and yet the image of Lizzie was so painfully normal.

During the 1890s, the marriage rate increased while the average age of marriage fell to twenty-two.[108] Lizzie, unmarried at thirty-two years old in 1892, was considered a spinster. To reconcile her image as the demure daughter, with the brutality of the crimes, many people fell back on the cultural anxieties of the spinster. They preyed on her position as a woman in the margins, and in combination with social prejudice, she became an easy target for the anxieties of the day. As an unmarried woman, she was considered less feminine, and thus, an outlier. Because of this, she also was perceived as more likely to commit a crime,

[107] Judith Knelman, *Twisting in the Wind: The Murderess and the English Press* (University of Toronto Press, 1998), 225.
[108] Harvey Green, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 21; Ellen K. Rothman, *Hearts and Hands: A History of Courtship in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 283.

especially one as masculine as murder. Within Victorian America, murder, like much else, was gendered. Women were thought to be wholly incapable of committing murder, unless they were framed as masculine. Murder was considered to be an unnatural crime for a woman since it contrasted so strongly against the expectations and role that society had assigned her—namely, creating life.[109] Historically, the female murderer almost exclusively turned on those closest to them. Their victims were often the same people who, along with society, encouraged them to collude in their own oppression; fathers, husbands, and employers.[110] Beyond that, because Lizzie was considered a spinster, she was already treated as less feminine by her lack of marriage and children. Due to this, people of the day relied on medical ideas of hysteria and spinsterhood to attempt to reconcile the image of Lizzie with that of the double murder, ultimately serving to reflect the cultural anxieties of the independent, and therefore abnormal, woman.

Through her trial "the prosecution unwittingly exposed the suppressed tension in the medical-criminological model of womanhood: that pathological femininity always underlies the norm."[111] Deeply ingrained in nineteenth-century American understandings of the female body and mind was the root concern of hysteria. It was considered standard for women, though it was thought to exist on a spectrum of severity. Physicians of the time were intensely critical of this "feminine state."[112] The side effects were thought to vary based on the financial position of the affected, with affluent hysteric women

[109] Knelman, *Twisting in the Wind,* 228.
[110] Knelman, 227.
[111] Robertson, "Representing 'Miss Lizzie,'" 356.
[112] Jane M. Ussher, "Diagnosing difficult women and pathologizing femininity: gender bias in psychiatric nosology," *Feminism & Psychology* 23, no.1 (2013): 63, https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353512467968.

being "characterized as…idle, self-indulgent and deceitful … craving for sympathy, who had an 'unnatural' desire for privacy and independence and who [were] personally and morally repulsive, idle, intractable, and manipulative."[113] As such, the female journalists who wrote on Lizzie and her trial, would be sensitive to acknowledge any trait which could be seen as relating to hysteria, and which would in turn, cast her as being guilty in the public's eye. Instead, they would focus on sympathy or indignation for her. Regardless of whether the secondary sources written on Lizzie Borden take into consideration the existing medical, scientific, and realistic explanations behind the murders, those who seek a definitive guilty or innocent label for Lizzie share the same dilemma that her contemporaries faced: the reconciling of the popular image of Lizzie as a society lady, with their concept of the murderess. Ultimately, it would be this cultural dissonance within the jury that would acquit Lizzie of the murders.

Criminality and the Abnormal Woman

Sources agree that as a woman, Lizzie functioned within an oppressive patriarchal system. Many of the sources which believe her to be guilty could consistently be divided into two groups: those that thought there must have been a lover, making it a crime of passion, or that Lizzie went mad. People were uncomfortable accepting that a woman could murder for no apparent reason. To resolve this imbalance they had created, people would apply contexts perceived as feminine to Lizze in order to explain her potential for violence; such as an illicit pregnancy, rape, or a lover. Lizzie's position as an accused murderer meant that to some extent, she must be a divergent

[113] Ussher, "Diagnosing difficult women," 63.

woman. However, at the same time, she did so in a way that was not compatible with Victorian understandings of criminality. In essence, she was both the genteel lady, and the violent spinster.[114] Lizzie's deviance from the expectations that society held for women meant that some saw her spinsterhood as an admission of her being "abnormally repressed and … by intimation more or less psychopathic as a result."[115] Lizzie's position within the courtroom was especially shocking to her contemporaries, whose idea of the female criminal required that she be poor or of an ethnic minority. Lizzie Borden, being both wealthy and white, represented a hidden potential for violence to her audience. If they found her guilty, it meant that any religious, wealthy, and white, woman had the capacity to murder. These traits diametrically opposed the Victorian ideas of criminality.

Lizzie was not new to the world of crime. In Fall River she was a known shoplifter. It became such a common occurrence, that after leaving a shop, the keepers would conduct an inventory to determine what she had taken, and send the bill along to Andrew who would promptly pay.[116] The merchants would let her "charge" the items; However, when she raided her stepmother Abby's jewelry drawer about a year prior to the murders, her family was less forgiving, and turned to an intricate system of locks and keys.[117] As with the murders, this crime too occurred in the middle of the day, and with none of the women home hearing a sound. Again, similar to the murders, police had been shocked by the thief's good luck to avoid everyone's home,

[114] Robertson, "Representing 'Miss Lizzie,'" 356.
[115] Karen Roggenkamp, "Lizzie Borden, Spinster on Trial: Journalism, Literature, and the Borden Trial," in *The Centrality of Crime Fiction in American Literary Culture*, ed. Bendixen, Alfred, and Olivia Carr Edenfield, (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 47. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315563886.
[116] Robertson, "Representing 'Miss Lizzie,'" 372.
[117] Robertson, 372.

find exactly what they were looking for, and escape undetected during a busy time of day. At Andrew's request, the police investigation was dropped when it became clear the only possible perpetrator was someone who lived at the scene of the crime.[118] Perhaps her shoplifting gave her a sense of control, or of artificial financial independence; it may have also been out of defiance to her father, his strict rules, and her minimal allowance. Whatever the reason, the locks on the Borden home prevailed well into the future, and Andrew Borden, the only man with a key, locked the door when he left, and unlocked it when he returned. Essentially, he locked the women within the home the same as he locked up his possessions.[119]

These locked doors, simmering resentment, and exclusion from mealtimes meant that Lizzie and Emma were divided from the family. They functioned outside of their parents, while still remaining within the home. Most notably, the family ate their meals in two waves; the first was occupied by Andrew and Abby, and the second by Lizzie and Emma.[120] While this may have been motivated by fights between Abby and her step-daughters, and used as a means to show their disapproval of their father, it could have also been an act of agency on their part. The division between the family members was indicative of Lizzie and Emma's place within the margins, not only in society, but even within their own home.

[118] Robertson,"Representing 'Miss Lizzie,'" 373.
[119] Robertson, 374.
[120] Douglas O. Linder, "Fourteen Reasons to Believe Lizzie Murdered Her Parents," *Famous Trials*, https://famous-trials.com/lizzieborden/1442-evidence. Accessed Dec 16, 2022.

Journalists: Women for and Against

As society considered the unmarried woman a spinster, she was by definition somewhat masculine. Within Victorian America, professional careers were divided by perceived gender ability and boundaries. The increase of female journalists throughout the 19th century bred controversy, in that journalism was considered a particularly masculine profession; one that came with gore and the exploration of "the darkest realities of life."[121] As such, women struggled to break into this male-dominated field, and had to fight to claim space. In an issue of The Journalist trade magazine published on January 26, 1889, an article about women entering the field of journalism claimed that "the girl who has it in her to survive for newspaper work will cry the first time a man swears at her, grit her teeth the second time, and swear back the third time."[122] Female journalists faced discrimination from their coworkers and through the stories they sought. While this quote plays against the same belittling themes female journalists have faced, it also acknowledges their capability. While she may cry the first time, by the end she responds as a man—or rather—as a journalist. Therefore, while female journalists faced intense discrimination and allegations that their work would ruin their femininity, they were able to stake their space and thrive.

Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a steady rise in the number of female journalists. By 1870, the U.S. Census established a category for these women, however, only 35 women met the criteria, and they made up less than 0.6 percent

[121] Karen Roggenkamp, "Sympathy and Sensation: Elizabeth Jordan, Lizzie Borden, and the Female Reporter in the Late Nineteenth Century," *American Literary Realism* 40, no. 1 (2007): 32.

[122] Agnes Hooper Gottlieb,"Grit Your Teeth, Then Learn to Swear: Women in Journalistic Careers, 1850-1926," *American Journalism* 18, no. 1 (2001): 53.

of all journalists.[123] By 1890, the number of journalists identified as women had increased to 4 percent.[124] Additionally, there were women who would submit articles, poetry and fiction to publications on an independent basis, and were paid by item. They were not taken into consideration by the census as they were considered hobbyists. Yet by 1900, the U.S. Census reported a dramatic increase to "2,190 women [who] defined their occupations as journalists."[125] A primary reason for this increase in opportunity for women within newspapers, was due to the rise of 'women's pages.'[126] Editors and publishers realized it was predominantly women who shopped, and therefore it was women who were buying the most papers. In an attempt to capitalize on this market, editors sought to produce works that women wanted to purchase, and the best way to do that was to hire women to produce the work. In consequence, during the 1890s there was a proliferation of articles covering "fashion, women's clubs, cooking, and housekeeping." in the 1890s.[127] Female journalists rose in popularity due to need, however, they began independently of the market grab. Women were thought to be more sympathetic, and this tone was used in their writing to unearth a more genuine truth in their topics. Female journalists recognized the importance for humanity within their writing, and that sympathy was a powerful tool in investigative journalism.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, female reporters tended to argue for Lizzie's innocence. In their articles about her, they focused on her church work, good character, and high social standing. Her

[123] Gottlieb,"Grit Your Teeth," 54.
[124] Gottlieb, 54.
[125] Gottlieb, 54.
[126] Gottlieb, 55.
[127] Gottlieb, 55.

female supporters outside of journalism, were predominantly made up of members of her Church and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), and focused on her charity work as evidence of her innocence and womanhood. Female journalists used these supporters as proof that as a woman of "[Lizzie's] race, class and faith, [she was] inherently virtuous and nurturing."[128] In part, this acted to reduce the damage done to her image by her status as a spinster. Female journalists were more forgiving of suspicious actions, because the injustice that women faced on a daily basis was so easily palpable to them. Lizzie, like most female journalists, was considered a spinster of the day, but unlike the journalists, Lizzie had no financial or personal independence. She was considered to be the property of her father, an uncomfortable fact echoed in the way the house, and by extension its inhabitants, were kept under lock and key. The women who transitioned from the middle class into journalism would have experienced the positions of both the social figurehead daughter and that of the independent newswoman. As such, female journalists would likely recognize that many of the stereotypes being applied to Lizzie in conjunction with spinsterhood and hysteria were just that—prejudiced stereotypes rooted in the entrenched sexism of the era. They felt intense sympathy for her, a fact that was blatant in their coverage of the trial.

The environment for independent women in Victorian America was abysmal. A consistent complaint amongst female journalists was the attitudes of the men they worked with, and the audience of the papers themselves, who possessed a

[128] Sarah Lirley McCune, review of *Lizzie Borden on Trial: Murder, Ethnicity, and Gender* by Joseph A. Conforti, *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 115, no. 1 (2017): 106-107.

"see-what-the-little-darling-has-done-now attitude."[129] Female journalists often faced the same condescension within their workplace that they faced within the home, that of a typical patriarchal relationship within families. Women were tolerated both in the office and home, and often treated as children, and as the adjacent means to an end—the potential for a man to continue his name and line. Journalist and novelist Camilla Crosland (1812–95), provides an independent testimony for writer Douglas Jerrold from their meeting in the mid-1840s:[130]

> He had considerable faith in women's capacity for intellectual pursuits, while fully recognizing the difficulties under which they labored when struggling in the battle of life. Speaking of his magazine he once said that he did not care how much 'dimity' there was in it provided the 'dimity' did not show.[131]

Female journalists were uniquely situated between the male-dominated working world and women's domestic spheres. As such, they existed in a narrow space few others were privy to. They contained self-possessed knowledge of what women are capable of and had the opportunity to traverse traditional gender boundaries. Their work often required them to travel, and as such they experienced more independence than a lady of their class would typically have had access to.

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[129] Dorothy Thompson, "On Women Correspondents and Other New Ideas," *The Nation* 122 (6 January 1926): 11.
[130] Joanne Shattock, "Women Journalists and Periodical Spaces," in *Women, Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s-1900s: The Victorian Period,* edited by Alexis Easley, Clare Gill, and Beth Rodgers, (Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 312.
[131] Camilla Crosland, *Landmarks of a Literary Life 1820–1892* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1893), 154.

Prominent journalist Elizabeth Jorden noted an incident during the trial, in which the prosecution brought in the shattered skulls of Andrew and Abby Borden—who had been exhumed post-funeral without Lizzie and Emma's knowledge or consent—and proceeded to fit the hatchet blade into the fractures. Unsurprisingly, Lizzie promptly fainted. To Jordan's chagrin, of the "twenty-five women in the court-room, one of them sitting within the bar but a few feet away, yet not one of them came to [Lizzie's] assistance."[132] These women failed Lizzie, and in the process, women as a whole. Women in Victorian America were the subordinate group, and as such were socialized to help one another.[133] Jordan was clear in her enmity towards the women who were spectating. She felt they were only there to bask in the "vacuous sensation surrounding Borden," a desire clearly evident in the women outside the courtroom as well who brought picnics and sat on the nearby porches, while "thirst[ing] for the most sensationalistic news accounts." [134] Jordan's real irritation lies in the fact that it was women who were "the worst of it… [being] that the crowd [was] almost entirely composed of women and young girls."[135] She was shocked by the voyeuristic consumption of Lizzie's trial and hardship. Jordan's writing is rich with empathy for Lizzie, and she devotes painstaking effort into delineating the stress of the trial for Lizzie, as well as drawing attention to instances of brash cruelty on the part of the prosecution within her accounts. It is hard to imagine that this crowd outside and inside the courtroom could have such diametrically opposing views and behaviour in comparison to Jordan and the other female journalists. The most

[132] Elizabeth Jordan, "Miss Borden Faints," *New York World*, 7 June 1893, 5.
[133] Knelman, *Twisting in the Wind,* 227.
[134] Roggenkamp, "Sympathy and Sensation," 44.
[135] Roggenkamp, 44.

prominent division between the women viewing the trial and the women hired to report on the trial was marriage. The journalists of the trial—with the exception of the men—were single, and, like Lizzie, considered spinsters.

Journalist Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, who attended the trial of Lizzie Borden, wrote a series of articles for the *Independent*. It was in her September 8, 1892 piece "Justice in the Dark," that she noted her bias in support of Borden's innocence. She thought guilt was being attributed to Lizzie despite the brutality of the murders being more reminiscent of, "beasts of prey, earthquakes, railroads and electric motors [that] mutilate."[136] She said it was rare even for men, but, for "a lady, young, refined, educated, of what we call social position… a religious woman, busy with various Christian charities of the day," to be accused of the violent murder of her parents, was unthinkable.[137] Phelps felt it was "a crime which presumably, only a monster or a lunatic could have had the motive or the nerve to commit."[138] Her belief in Lizzie's innocence, similarly to her male jury, rested predominantly on ideas of class. The murder and Lizzie's public persona were in direct conflict. It made people incredibly uncomfortable to think that the same type of person who taught Sunday school could commit such a heinous act. Unlike Jordan and her rich sympathy, Phelps' writing feels indignant at Borden's arrest.

In Defense of Ones' Peers

The sympathy of the journalists was not shared by the women attending the trial, those that in essence became a makeshift jury. These women notably did not exist within the margins of society;

[136] Roggenkamp, "Lizzie Borden, Spinster on Trial," 43.
[137] Roggenkamp, 43.
[138] Roggenkamp, 43.

they were married, and as such functioned within society's expected role of them. On Wednesday, June 7, 1893, an article titled "Where to Look for Your Wife," was published in the *Fall River Daily Globe,* which suggested to "the New Bedford man who comes home and finds it deserted … needn't be alarmed. There has been no elopement; the dear creature is probably in the crowd of morbid females who are storming the door of the county courthouse, trying to get admission to the Borden trial."[139] And storming they were! These married women who rapturously attended Lizzie's trial equipped with snacks were the reason behind the hastily constructed wooden barricades surrounding the courthouse and the signs on nearby homes warning them to "keep off the steps."[140] The women acted with impunity. Most, like Lizzie, were upper class and yet they seemed to delight in her suffering. When someone within the upper classes transgressed social boundaries, it was expected that others of the same social echelon would defend them. However, in the case of Lizzie's trial, it was not her peers defending her from their formation as a makeshift jury, but rather it was the women who sought independence and financial freedom within their own lives as journalists. The women who attended the trial occupied the place within society that had been set for them, and as such felt threatened by women like Lizzie who transgressed gender, criminal, and class bounds. This fear drove the women to condemn her, and they are frequently cited as arguing for Lizzie's execution. In their mind, she was an outlier, and the only way to right the imbalance she created was to remove her entirely. Lizzie's fight for her independence threatened their way of life.

[139] Robertson, *The Trial of Lizzie Borden*, 115.
[140] Robertson, 126.

Conclusion

Through examining the roles of female journalists, their perception, and presentation of the Borden trial, the atmosphere for single, white, upper-class women within the patriarchal Victorian period in the United States is revealed. Despite appearances, they existed at the margins of society. Through the shared experience of womanhood, due to both their unmarried status and accompanying relationship to independence within society, empathy permeates their sources. Empathy is exhibited through their joint experiences and intimate knowledge of the prejudice and prevention that women face, both within the workplace and the home. Women who had experienced freedom and independence as journalists, while simultaneously existing within the judgemental label of a spinster, understood Lizzie's plight. Her situation resonated with them, and they understood what she stood to gain – not just from money, but agency over her life. More than that, Lizzie and her sister Emma gained independence. The truth of Lizzie Borden's guilt can never be truly known, but her ordeal can be used to understand the shared experiences amongst single, white, upper-class women and the sympathy that female journalists were able to project onto her through them.

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Appendix

Tables

Table 1. Addendum of events related to the murder of Andrew and Abby Borden, and the subsequent trial of Lizzie Borden.

Date	Event
December 25, 1845	Andrew Borden, 23, marries Sarah Morse and moves into a house on 92 Second St., Fall River, Massachusetts. (Andrew would later purchase this home in 1871).
July 19, 1860	Lizzie Andrew Borden is born.
March 26, 1863	Sarah Borden, mother of Lizzie and her older sister Emma, 12, dies.
June 6, 1865	Andrew Borden remarries. His new wife is Abby Gray, age 37.
1887	Lizzie Borden stops calling her stepmother "Mother."
1889	Bridget Sullivan, an Irish immigrant, begins working at the Borden home.
June 24, 1891	Daytime robbery of cash and jewelry at the Borden home (Emma, Lizzie, and Bridget are home at time). Lizzie, who had earlier been accused of shoplifting by a local merchant, is the family's prime suspect. From this date, doors to the Borden home--inside and out--are kept locked.
April 1892	According to Hannah Gifford, a Fall River cloakmaker, Lizzie tells Gifford that Abby "is a mean old thing."

Table 1 (*continued*)

Date	Event
May or June 1892	Andrew Borden uses a hatchet to kill pigeons in the family barn. The pigeons roosted in a barn loft that Lizzie maintained for their benefit.
July 21, 1892	Following a family disagreement, Lizzie and Emma Borden leave Fall River and travel to New Bedford.
August 2, 1892	Abby and Andrew Borden awaken, complaining of stomach sickness. Abby visits Dr. Bowen. She suggests that she might have been poisoned, but Dr. Bowen is skeptical.
Aug. 3, 1892: A.M.	Lizzie reportedly tries, unsuccessfully, to buy some poison from Eli Bence at D. R. Smith's drug store.
Aug. 3, 1892: P.M.	John Morse arrives for a stay with the Bordens. Lizzie visits Alice Russell and talks forebodingly about household activities. She says she fears poisoning, that her father has enemies, and that she has seen suspicious characters around the family house. "I'm afraid but that someone will do something," she says
Aug. 4, 1892: A.M.	About 7 A.M., Abby, Andrew, and John Morse have breakfast. Afterwards, Morse and Andrew go to the sitting room while Abby begins her house cleaning chores. Bridget Sullivan goes to the backyard to throw up. Morse leaves about 8:45. Libby has a light breakfast about 9 A.M. A few minutes later, Andrew leaves the home, taking with him some letters that Lizzie asked him to mail.

Table 1 (*continued*)

Date	Event
Aug. 4, 1892: 9:30 A.M.	Abby goes up the stairs to continue her house cleaning on the second floor. Bridget Sullivan is outdoors cleaning windows for the next hour. Sometime during the next hour, Abby Borden is killed in the guest room by 19 hatchet blows to the back of her head.
Aug. 4, 1892: 11 A.M.	Andrew Borden returns home carrying a small parcel. Bridget Sullivan lets Andrew into the house as she hears a muted laugh from upstairs. Lizzie visits her father briefly in the dining room, telling him that Abby had received a message and left the house. Andrew lies down in the sitting room, and Bridget goes to rest in her attic room. Andrew Borden is murdered shortly thereafter in the sitting room sofa. Lizzie calls for Bridget, saying someone had killed her father. Lizzie tells a neighbor, Adelaide Churchill, that she had been in the barn looking for "irons" (sinkers for an upcoming fishing trip) at the time of the murder. Shortly after 11:15, police are notified of the murders.
Aug. 4, 1892: P.M.	Dozens of policemen troop in and out of the Borden home. Doctors perform a post-mortem on the bodies on the dining room table. Lizzie is interrogated by Deputy Marshal Fleet. Lizzie speaks in a detached manner and when Fleet calls Abby her mother, Lizzie insists, "She is not my mother--she is my step-mother."

Table 1 (*continued*)

Date	Event
August 6, 1892	An editorial in the Fall River paper criticizes the police for inaction in the Borden case. A funeral service for Andrew and Abby is held at the Borden home.
August 7, 1892	Emma observes Lizzie burning her blue corduroy dress in the kitchen fire.
August 9-11, 1892	An inquest, closed to the public, is held to consider the murders of Andrew and Abby Borden. On August 11, Lizzie Borden is arrested by Marshal Hilliard.
August 12, 1892	Lizzie enters a plea of "Not Guilty." Lizzie is moved to a jail in Taunton, eight miles north of Fall River.
August 22-23, 1892	A preliminary hearing is held. Judge Josiah Blaisdell finds that there is probable cause to try Lizzie for murder.
November 31, 1892	Alice Russell tells the grand jury about the visit she received from Lizzie the night before the murders. The grand jury issues an indictment against Lizzie for murder two days later..
June 5, 1893	The trial of Lizzie Borden opens at the New Bedford Court-house.
June 20, 1893	The jury returns its verdict in the Lizzie Borden trial: "Not Guilty."

Table 1 (*continued*)

Date	Event
June 1, 1927	Lizzie Borden dies at age 67. Eight days later, her sister Emma dies. Both women were buried at the family burial plot in Oak Grove Cemetery in Fall River.

Source: "The Trial of Lizzie Borden: Chronology" from Douglas O. Linder, *Famous Trials*, https://famous-trials.com/lizzieborden/1441-chronology, accessed November 10, 2022.

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"We're on the eve of destruction": Nuclear Fear and Antinuclear Sentiment in Cold War Anglo-American Popular Music

Rachel Burke

In 1945, the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan. This was the first use of nuclear weapons in combat and their explosive introduction on the world stage triggered an equally explosive reaction within United States society and around the globe. For the next forty-five years, the bomb loomed large, infiltrating every aspect of life, and creating a nuclear reality that shaped politics, culture, society, and thought. As Cold War superpower tensions and the world's nuclear arsenal grew, so too did nuclear awareness, fears of nuclear annihilation, and consequently anti-nuclear sentiments. Popular culture, especially popular music, became an outlet for and a reflection of these tendencies as the world confronted the bomb and struggled against it.[141]

During periods of heightened Cold War tensions and nuclear fears, American and British popular musicians used music to express their fears and engage in a dialogue with like-minded individuals. Music quickly became an outlet to raise awareness about nuclear issues and incite political action. Popular music reflects the evolution of popular responses to and understandings of nuclear issues. The topics highlighted in these songs demonstrate the issues related to nuclear power that most concerned people at the time and how they were responding to

[141] Paul S. Boyer, *By the bomb's early light: American thought and culture at the dawn of the atomic age* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), xx, https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/2027/heb01617.0001.00.

them. It allows for the study and better understanding of currents of thought and action that opposed the dominant attitudes and policies regarding nuclear weapons and nuclear war.

Since nuclear issues were so pervasive in Cold War-era music, I have limited the scope of this paper to anti-nuclear popular music. It is difficult to concretely define popular music as most musical genres do not have clearly defined boundaries. Therefore, I have chosen to use a broad definition that incorporates multiple styles. Popular music is produced for entertainment rather than art and is both listenable and performable.[142] It is accessible because it does not require a high level of skill to sing or play, unlike jazz, classical, or even rock music.[143] Folk and pop music both exemplify this definition of popular music and had the closest relationship with anti-nuclear sentiments. This paper explores the transition of anti-nuclear music from folk to pop, examining how the messages and themes evolved along the way.

Additionally, I chose to focus on American and British popular music. Due to its size, the United States has had an extensive cultural output. Furthermore, it has a long and intimate history with nuclear culture; the United States was a Cold War superpower, the primary global nuclear power, and the first nation to create and deploy atomic bombs. Thus, it was the first nation to make anti-nuclear music. However, the atomic bomb also cast its shadow over Britain and British music also reflected nuclear themes. In the 1980s, British musicians were the primary sources of anti-nuclear music. This paper will compare American

[142] Simon Firth, Will Straw, and John Street, *The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 94.
[143] Firth, Straw, and Street, *The Cambridge Companion*, 106.

and British anti-nuclear music and examine their transatlantic relationship.

In the years immediately following the Second World War and the emergence of the atomic bomb in popular consciousness, the general attitude in the United States regarding atomic weapons and the bombing of Japan was positive. They felt the decision was justified, in part because it had precipitated the Japanese surrender, ending the war in the Pacific.[144] Moreover, the United States had a monopoly on nuclear weapons. Americans were awed by the total destructive power of the atomic bomb but felt safe in the knowledge that it was controlled by their government. However, the government was very secretive about the effects of nuclear weapons on the environment and the human body.[145] They intentionally withheld information from the public so they would not cause widespread panic and lose popular support for their nuclear program.[146] This widespread popular naivete and optimism about nuclear weapons are reflected throughout popular culture in films, printed media, and, of course, music. When Peter Parker was bitten by a radioactive spider, he acquired amazing powers, not radiation poisoning.[147]

Most of the nuclear music from the Atomic Age is uncritical and celebrates America's possession and use of the atomic bomb. This theme was especially prominent in country music. This genre is typically more conservative and expresses views that reinforce traditional American values and dominant

[144] Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 376, https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.1017/CHOL9780521837194.
[145] Tim Smolko and Joanna Smolko, *Atomic Tunes: The Cold War in American and British Popular Music* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2021) 11.
[146] Smolko and Smolko, *Atomic Tunes,* 121.
[147] Smolko and Smolko, 11.

ideologies.[148] Furthermore, due to its origins in the American Bible Belt, country music brought a religious angle to views on nuclear weapons.[149] Early country songs about the bomb, such as "Atomic Power" by Fred Kirby (1946), equated nuclear weapons with God's power and nuclear annihilation with a Biblical apocalypse.[150] They believed that the United States was chosen by God to possess this awesomely destructive weapon and that they were His instrument of destruction to punish the sinful (in this case, the Japanese).[151] These songs demonstrate blind faith in the American government to control the bomb's power and protect its citizens. Country musicians consequently opposed disarmament.

However, the 1950s witnessed two major developments that triggered a shift in attitudes among the American public and caused the emergence of anti-nuclear sentiments. First, in 1949, the Soviet Union completed their first atomic bomb several years earlier than the United States had anticipated.[152] This sparked the superpower nuclear arms race, as both the United States and the Soviet Union tried to produce and possess more nuclear weapons than their opponent to shield themselves from potential nuclear attacks. Nuclear weapons became central to American defence plans.[153] The American public was frightened by this new and

[148] John Cline and Robert G. Weiner, "A Screaming Comes Across the Dial: Country, Folk, and the Atomic Protest Music," in *The Routledge History of Social Protest in Popular Music,* ed. Jonathan C. Friedman (New York: Routledge, 2013), 96, https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.4324/9780203124888.
[149] Smolko and Smolko, *Atomic Tunes*, 80.
[150] A. Costandina Titus and Jerry L. Simich, "From 'Atomic Bomb Baby' to 'Nuclear Funeral': Atomic Music Comes of Age, 1945-1990," *Popular Music & Society* 14, no. 4 (1990): 13, doi: https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.1080/03007769008591410.
[151] Smolko and Smolko, *Atomic Tunes*, 82.
[152] Leffler and Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War,* 378-79.
[153] Leffler and Westad, 378.

uncertain situation. Their rival had a powerful and destructive weapon, one that put American homes and families on the frontline of the Cold War battle with little means of protection and virtually no way of knowing if or when an attack was imminent.[154]

Additionally, in 1952, the United States completed the first hydrogen bomb, which was a thousand times more powerful than the bomb used in Hiroshima.[155] While the destructive capabilities of the atomic bomb were awe-inspiring, they remained controllable; the H-bomb, on the other hand, seemed outside the scope of human control.[156] This was scary enough on its own, but Americans' fears were compounded when they became aware of the dangers of nuclear fallout after a Japanese naval radio operator died from exposure to radiation from an American hydrogen bomb test.[157] The American government tried to assuage their fears by introducing civil defence strategies, such as bomb shelters and the "Duck and Cover" program in schools. This calmed some but mostly contributed to the public outcry about nuclear fallout.[158]

However, pro-nuclear sentiments remained dominant and anti-nuclear sentiments, although widespread, were intentionally marginalized. In addition to anxieties about nuclear war, there was a widespread fear of Communist subversion in American society. This is exemplified by the McCarthy trials and

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[154] Smolko and Smolko, *Atomic Tunes*, 115.
[155] Smolko and Smolko, 4.
[156] James Wierzbicki, *Music in the Age of Anxiety: American Music in the Fifties* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 2, https://muse-jhu-edu.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/book/44767.
[157] Katie M. Laux, "Songs in the Key of Protest: How Music Reflects the Social Turbulence in America From the Late 1950s to the Early 1970s," *OhioLINK* (Master's thesis, Miami University, 2007), 4, http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=miami1184767254.
[158] Laux, "Songs in the Key of Protest," 4-5.

the House Unamerican Activities Committee (HUAC), which investigated American citizens including politicians, civil servants, actors, and musicians for Communist affiliations.[159] Movements calling for "peace" and disarmament were looked on with suspicion; the word gained negative connotations because of its association with a Soviet-backed international disarmament group called the World Peace Council (WPC).[160] It was assumed that anyone opposing the defence policies of the United States and their allies supported the WPC, and by extension the Soviet Union, and wanted to weaken the United States by undermining their nuclear-based security program.[161]

Despite efforts to suppress anti-nuclear sentiments they persisted particularly among folk musicians. Folk music had a long history of affiliations with left-wing politics with songs advocating for labour rights and protesting war.[162] During the Atomic Age, folk musicians began singing anti-bomb songs to raise awareness about the dangers of nuclear weapons and to criticize government nuclear and defence policies. For many, criticism of nuclear weapons was merely a continuation of their stance against war and American militarism. They believed that any war that happened now would inevitably escalate to a nuclear conflict. The earliest example of an anti-nuclear folk song was "Old Man Atom" by Vern Partlow (1946), which warned against the misuse of the bomb. The song never became a commercial hit because it did not reflect the dominant attitudes of the period, but it made a comeback in the 1960s during the American folk revival.[163]

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[159] Smolko and Smolko, *Atomic Tunes* 5.
[160] Lawrence Wittner, *Confronting the Bomb: A Short History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 74.
[161] Smolko and Smolko, *Atomic Tunes*, 19.
[162] Cline and Weiner, "A Screaming Comes Across the Dial," 99-100.
[163] Titus and Simich, "From 'Atomic Bomb Baby' to 'Nuclear Funeral'," 15-16.

As concerns about nuclear fallout grew in the late 1950s and early 1960s, this topic was explored extensively in anti-nuclear folk music. The explosions from nuclear testing sent radioactive strontium-90 into the atmosphere, which then entered the food chain, poisoning people who consumed contaminated plant and animal products. Rain was the primary means of conveying nuclear fallout.[164] Female folk musicians were particularly interested in this subject, examining it through the lens of environmentalism and parenthood.[165] They used their lyrics to paint images and weave narratives of a world slowly dying from radiation poisoning rather than in a fiery explosion, appealing to the emotions of their listeners. Songs such as "What Have They Done to the Rain?" by Malvina Reynolds (1962) tried to put a human face to nuclear issues with stories about children dying from radiation.[166] Many of these women, including Joan Baez and Peggy Seeger, were themselves mothers and this was therefore an issue of personal importance. Their songs also reflected larger concerns among women at the time. Mothers were having their children's baby teeth tested and found they contained high levels of radioactive contamination.[167] Women's organizations, such as Women Strike for Peace (WSP) advocated for nuclear disarmament and protested nuclear testing.[168] They played an important role in the eventual ban on aboveground testing.[169]

Folk musicians did not receive much commercial success as they were often blacklisted by anti-Communist investigations

[164] Smolko and Smolko, *Atomic Tunes*, 59.
[165] Smolko and Smolko, 53.
[166] Smolko and Smolko, 59.
[167] Smolko and Smolko, 58.
[168] Smolko and Smolko, 59.
[169] Smolko and Smolko, 60.

and therefore struggled to reach a broad audience.[170] However, their songs were well-known within the emerging nuclear disarmament movement. As with other political protests like the civil rights movement, music played an important role in anti-nuclear rallies. In many cases, singing was seen as preferable to shouting slogans.[171] Furthermore, prominent musicians, such as folk singer-songwriter and pacifist Joan Baez, were actively involved in the movement.[172] It inspired their music, which they then performed at movement events, expressing and further contributing to anti-nuclear sentiments. For example, American folk singer Peggy Seeger wrote "There's Better Things to Do" during the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's (CND) annual disarmament march from London to a nuclear facility in Aldermaston.[173] Seeger's presence at the march also demonstrates the transatlantic dimensions of the disarmament movement as folk musicians shared music with each other and participated in disarmament rallies and anti-nuclear events around the world.

October 1962 saw a turning point in the Cold War and superpower nuclear relations with the Cuban missile crisis, the world's closest brush with nuclear war. After teetering on the brink of global destruction for several weeks, the superpowers agreed to cooperate on arms limitation to avoid a similar situation in the future.[174] In 1963, the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty, which forbade above-ground nuclear testing, forcing governments to

[170] Cline and Weiner, "A Screaming Comes Across the Dial," 100.
[171] Minna Vähäsalo, "'They've got the bomb, we've got the records!' Roles of Music in the Making of Social Movements: The Case of the British Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1958-1963," *Trepo* (Master's thesis, University of Tampere, 2016), 40, https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:uta-201611242654.
[172] Laux, "Songs in the Key of Protest," 13.
[173] Smolko and Smolko, *Atomic Tunes*, 53.
[174] Smolko and Smolko, 4.

move testing underground.[175] The test ban broke the seal and was followed by more US-Soviet treaties to limit the spread and use of nuclear weapons, including the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) in 1972.[176] The Cold War entered the period of détente; the superpowers, essentially equal in terms of nuclear power, were at an impasse and made tentative attempts to foster goodwill between their nations.

These developments eased fears about nuclear fallout and interest in nuclear issues faded from the public consciousness and from popular music. Only one prominent anti-nuclear song emerged during this period: "Eve of Destruction" by Barry McGuire (1965).[177] This conscious-raising track was commercially successful, foreshadowing more widespread opposition and the transition of anti-nuclear sentiments into the mainstream. However, the United States had generally shifted focus to new concerns, such as the civil rights movement and protests against the Vietnam War. Despite – or perhaps because of – the overall turbulence of this period, nuclear politics became less pronounced in the mid-1960s and 1970s. That is not to say that the arms race ended; in fact, it continued in earnest. Forcing testing underground allowed nuclear nations to develop new, more sophisticated weapons and by 1980 there were 60,000 nuclear warheads around the world.[178]

The tides turned once again at the end of the 1970s with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Britain and American politics experienced a rightward turn as anti-Communist

[175] Titus and Simich, "From 'Atomic Bomb Baby' to 'Nuclear Funeral'," 19.
[176] Leffler and Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War,* 108.
[177] Titus and Simich, "From 'Atomic Bomb Baby' to 'Nuclear Funeral'," 23.
[178] Wittner, *Confronting the Bomb,* 117.

hardliners used the invasion as proof of the Soviets' ill intent.[179] This led to the elections of conservative leaders Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, who disagreed with détente and favoured a stronger, more aggressive stance against Communism. This manifested in militaristic rhetoric, increased military spending, and the bolstering of nuclear stockpiles, which precipitated a re-escalation of the arms race and threatened the traditional balance of power.[180] They approached nuclear war as a winnable conflict, returning to the nuclear dependence and attitudes of the early Atomic Age.[181] Consequently, the bomb returned to the centre of cultural and popular consciousness.

This period saw a continuation and intensification of Atomic Age nuclear fears, but there were notable differences. First, the Cold War frontline had shifted from the United States to Western Europe. These nations were closer to the Soviet Union and its ever-growing nuclear arsenal and military presence; they were caught in the line of fire without reliable means of protection. While the United States was economically robust and possessed its own nuclear arsenal, Western Europe had to depend on its American allies.[182] Therefore, Europeans became more anxious about nuclear issues than Americans and they originated most of the anti-nuclear music from this period.[183]

The era also saw the transition of anti-nuclear sentiments from counterculture movements to the mainstream. This reflected the general attitude of the period. The disarmament movements of the previous decades had made people more

[179] Eckart Conze, Martin Klimke, and Jeremy Varon, *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear, and the Cold War of the 1980s* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 104, https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.1017/9781316479742.
[180] Wittner, *Confronting the Bomb,* 138-139.
[181] Wittner, 2.
[182] Leffler and Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War,* 98-99.
[183] Conze, Klimke, and Varon, *Nuclear Threats,* 101.

aware of the dangers of nuclear weapons and the effects of nuclear war. There was a growing frustration with and mistrust of politicians and government officials who allowed the conflict to persist and continued to raise the stakes. Consequently, anti-nuclear sentiments were widely expressed in Anglo-American popular culture and society during this period. Films such as the 1983 American made-for-TV movie *The Day After*, the 1984 British television movie *Threads*, and the 1986 animated film *When the Wind Blows*[184] explored the deadly and disastrous outcomes of nuclear war.[185] In music, anti-nuclear themes spread into more genres than before such as punk, heavy metal, rock, and ska, and were featured much more prominently in the charts.[186] The nature of the messages in the music also evolved. Unlike folk songs of the 1950s-60s, which reflected more generally on the harmful impacts of nuclear weapons on the earth and humanity, 19080s anti-nuclear music made specific and pointed criticisms of world leaders and their nuclear and civil defence policies.

The launch of Music Television (MTV) in the early 1980s also changed how and what kinds of messages artists conveyed by popularizing music videos. Videos elevated songs with an added visual element; the images reinforced, emphasized, and clarified the music's anti-nuclear sentiments. In contrast to folk musicians, who relied heavily on lyrics to convey their messages, lyrics were only secondary for 1980s anti-nuclear pop. Many artists merely alluded to nuclear issues in their lyrics but used their videos to explicitly communicate anti-nuclear sentiments.

[184] This movie represented a crossover between anti-nuclear comics, film, and popular music. Based on the 1982 graphic novel of the same name, the film's soundtrack was composed by Pink Floyd's Roger Waters and featured songs by British pop artists such as David Bowie and Genesis.
[185] Conze, Klimke, and Varon, *Nuclear Threats,* 2-3.
[186] Titus and Simich, "From 'Atomic Bomb Baby' to 'Nuclear Funeral'," 29.

Additionally, MTV allowed British artists to engage in transatlantic anti-nuclear protests.[187] British pop received heavy rotation on MTV which was available in 25.5 million American homes by 1984.[188] Consequently, artists could quickly and effectively spread their anti-nuclear messages and raise awareness about nuclear issues among a large audience.

A popular topic for anti-nuclear pop was British civil defence. In the 1980s, Thatcher's government introduced a modernized civil defence initiative called *Protect and Survive*, a print and film series detailing the dangers of nuclear weapons and how to survive a nuclear attack.[189] It mirrored earlier American civil defence strategies, with suggestions of ways to protect yourself and your home from a nuclear explosion. This frightened many Britons because it made nuclear war seem like a distinct possibility. Musicians used their songs and videos to criticize *Protect and Survive*, which they viewed as dangerous and ineffective. A notable example is "Mothers Talk" by Tears for Fears (1985). The video depicts a family following civil defence guidelines, only to end in a flash of white light, suggesting their efforts were for nothing.[190]

Another popular topic was Reagan's arms build-up and American militarism. One of the inciting incidents was the Euromissile Crisis. In the late 1970s, the Soviet Union began deploying intermediate-range ballistic nuclear missiles (IRBMs) throughout Eastern Europe as a defence measure. This concerned the United States's European allies, and they proposed that the Americans respond by deploying their own missiles in Western

[187] Conze, Klimke, and Varon, *Nuclear Threats*, 102.
[188] Robert M. Collins, *Transforming America: Politics and Culture in the Reagan Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 164.
[189] Conze, Klimke, and Varon, *Nuclear Threats,* 105.
[190] Conze, Klimke, and Varon, 110.

Europe while negotiating an arms reduction. However, many European citizens worried that American nuclear weapons on their territory would exacerbate the situation by making them greater targets for a Soviet attack. As negotiations faltered, people feared that the world was mere minutes from nuclear Armageddon.[191]

Musicians responded to the Euromissiles with songs about the dangers of nuclear weapons and war and criticized the people making the decisions. For example, "Two Tribes" by Frankie Goes to Hollywood (1984) derisively refers to Reagan as a cowboy, trigger-happy and ill-suited for leadership, and suggests that there is no winning a nuclear superpower conflict. The song's video depicts a wrestling match between Reagan and Konstantin Chernenko lookalikes then ends with the world exploding, further emphasizing the futility of nuclear war and the danger of nuclear weapons.[192] Another notable example is "Land of Confusion" by Genesis (1986). The song's lyrics call for an end to global conflict, while the video uses puppet caricatures of world leaders and celebrities, made by the British comedy group *Spitting Image*, to mock and criticize Reagan. He is portrayed as a dangerously inept leader who should not be entrusted with the nuclear codes (the video ends with puppet-Reagan accidentally pressing the "Nuke" button instead of calling for his "Nurse").[193]

The anti-nuclear sentiments in the 1980s pop reflected and contributed to a larger cultural, social, and political moment. The fears of nuclear annihilation reignited the global disarmament

[191] William M. Knoblauch, "MTV and Transatlantic Cold War Music Videos," *Tidsskrift for Historie* 3, no. 6 (2013): 107, https://tidsskrift.dk/temp/article/view/24370.
[192] Conze, Klimke, and Varon, *Nuclear Threats,* 108.
[193] Conze, Klimke, and Varon, 109.

movement and elevated it to unprecedented levels. Around the world, people launched massive rallies and demonstrations calling for an end to the nuclear arms race and built national and international networks of anti-nuclear collaboration. In 1982, the Nuclear Freeze movement held the largest rally in American history with nearly 1 million participants.[194] Pop musicians of the 1980s were not as active in the anti-nuclear movement as their counterparts of the 1950s-60s, but they still contributed to it in smaller but no less meaningful ways. Throughout the 1980s, many popular artists supported and performed at the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's (CND) Glastonbury Festival, which was central to the organization's campaign.[195] It provided a fundraising opportunity and an environment to raise awareness about the CND and their cause among the young people who attended.

The reflection of nuclear tensions in music ended in the mid-1980s when Reagan began introducing policies to appease the Nuclear Freeze movement. In 1987, the United States and the Soviet Union signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty, the first treaty to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons aimed at the removal of the Euromissiles from Europe. This set a precedent for future non-proliferation treaties.[196] As the fear and threat of nuclear conflict faded, pop musicians mostly abandoned anti-nuclear themes in their songs and videos.[197] In the years that followed, superpower tensions continued to decrease and by the end of the decade, the Cold War had all but ended. In a heartbeat, the bomb, which had shaped politics,

[194] Wittner, *Confronting the Bomb,* 154.
[195] Smolko and Smolko, *Atomic Tunes,* 234.
[196] Smolko and Smolko, 193.
[197] Conze, Klimke, and Varon, *Nuclear Threats,* 111.

culture, thought, and even reality for nearly fifty years virtually disappeared.

The anti-nuclear popular music of the Cold War era, from 1950-60s American folk to 1980s British pop, is a time capsule that reveals the issues related to nuclear weapons that were most prominent during these periods of heightened tensions and nuclear fears. They express the fears and opinions of average people who were responding to an uncertain and volatile situation in which they felt powerless. While their governments played with their lives and futures, the people mobilized from the grassroots, launching disarmament rallies, and vocally opposing the dominant attitudes regarding nuclear weapons. Popular music was key to raising awareness about the dangers of nuclear weapons and inciting political action. Studying anti-nuclear popular music helps historians better understand the cultural and political realities of a historical moment that was profoundly coloured by the bomb and to better appreciate how its legacy continues to shape the modern world.

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The Use and Impact of Televised Coverage of the Vietnam War in the U.S.: From the Tet Offensive through Nixon's Administration

Hannah Blundon

The Vietnam War is commonly referred to as the first televised war. After television was introduced in the United States, it did not take long for its popularity to grow, and by the 1960s most American households had a television in the living room. The introduction of this new medium meant that it was now possible for news coverage of the war on the other side of the world not only to be heard, but to be seen as well. During World War II and the Korean War, for the most part, the only people who saw what was happening on the battlefields were those who were on the ground, experiencing it firsthand. In the 1960s, the war was metaphorically in the living room of most families across the United States. And because the Vietnam War spanned over most of the 60s and into the 70s, it was a prominent news story that received frequent coverage, whether it be casualty counts or a rundown of the events unfolding across the world.

The Tet Offensive, a series of surprise attacks on South Vietnam by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces, can be considered the turning point in American public opinion of the war in Vietnam and of the American government. Televised news coverage of the event shocked Americans back home, and for news companies and journalists, it represented a serious opposition to the campaigning of President Johnson and General Westmoreland that America was winning the war. There is a common misconception that following the Tet Offensive, the news media — including televised news, which was an

important resource for Americans — changed the way it reported the war. The news media supposedly started to engage in rhetoric that promoted opposition to the American government and its continued decision to involve America in the war; however, many prominent historians have refuted this point. Despite how it may have appeared to some Americans and to President Nixon, who inherited the war shortly after the turning point of Tet, and who famously thought the press was his enemy, the televised news coverage remained mostly unchanged in its tenor. The role of television news media during the Vietnam War was not oppositional to the government nor to the President and his administration. Rather, it continued to report the news in a tumultuous time in American history when the administration and its legitimacy were being called into question by the public. For the most part, the news only continued to keep the public informed on what was happening, while keeping subjective opinions to a minimum. From the Tet Offensive and throughout Nixon's presidency, televised news coverage did not oppose the administration. Instead, as public opinion changed, the media followed suit.

On January 30th, 1968, the first night of the Vietnamese Lunar New Year, or Tet, celebrations, the North Vietnamese Viet Cong forces began launching attacks across the northern provinces of South Vietnam, targeting main cities and administrative centers.[198] The following night, the Viet Cong launched a series of near-simultaneous attacks across South Vietnam, not only on the most important cities but also in smaller towns and hamlets. Most of Hue, a small city near the border between North and South Vietnam, was seized, and in Saigon

[198] William M. Hammond, *Reporting Vietnam: Media and Military at War* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 109.

"eleven local force battalions launched attacks on many politically important targets, including the presidential palace, Tan Son Nhut Airport, and the newly constructed U.S. embassy".[199] These attacks, coined as the Tet Offensive, came as a surprise to the allied South Vietnamese and American troops as no one expected the enemy would launch an attack on Tet, the most important holiday in Vietnam. As such, the Viet Cong were able to gain control of the main cities for a short period before the South Vietnamese and American forces regrouped and were able to retaliate. The images of the war were intense and shocking scenes for average American citizens to witness on television in the comfort of their homes. This series of attacks were brutal, and the outcome was a staggering number of injuries and casualties, some being shown on television to millions of people watching the events unfold. The most notable of these instances was the footage of Brigadier General Nguyen Ngoc Loan executing a captured Viet Cong officer by shooting him in the side of the head. The footage, shown on NBC's *Huntley-Brinkley Report*, was taken by cameraman Vo Suu and reporter Howard Tuckner, who allowed the mildly edited video to speak for itself on the popular evening news show.[200]

The Tet Offensive is largely considered to be the turning point of American public opinion in a negative way towards the war in Vietnam. The media coverage of this military campaign was the highest of the entirety of the war. The three main national networks, CBS, NBC, and ABC, responded to the event with the highest rate of coverage on their programs, reporting on the situation in Vietnam "virtually every day from February to

[199] Hammond, *Reporting Vietnam*, 109.
[200] Hammond, 113.

May of 1968".[201] These networks were the backbone of televised news coverage of Vietnam during the war. Several of their anchormen were well-known figures in the average American home. The most frequently mentioned of these anchormen include Walter Cronkite, Chet Huntley, and David Brinkley. Huntley and Brinkley hosted the popular *Huntley-Brinkley Report* for NBC, and Cronkite, who worked for CBS and frequently hosted the network's evening news segment, especially when concerning the Vietnam War, was at the time considered "the most trusted man in America".[202] This was echoed not only by the general public's opinion but also by the government, as President Johnson is quoted as saying "If I've lost Cronkite, I've lost middle America" in the wake of Cronkite's out-of-character criticism of American foreign policy post the Tet Offensive.[203]

After news of Tet broke, Cronkite took it upon himself to fly out to Vietnam and conduct a two-week series of interviews and reports across South Vietnam, including the main cities of Hue, Khe Sanh, and Saigon. Upon returning to the United States, he presented his *Report from Vietnam* in which he shared his findings, but it was the conclusion of the report that really caught the audience's attention. Cronkite ended the report by giving a personal statement, which was very out of character for him as a news personality known for having a very matter-of-fact, traditional style. His concluding statement was: "To say that we

[201] George Bailey, "Television War: Trends in Network Coverage of Vietnam 1965-1970," *Journal of Broadcasting* 20, no.2 (Spring 1976): 152, https://doi.org/10.1080/08838157609386385.
[202] Cronkite was often referred to with this name colloquially.
[203] "Report from Vietnam: February 27, 1968," Voices and Visions, accessed April 14, 2022, http://vandvreader.org/report-from-vietnam-february-27-1968/#:~:text=In%20February%201968%20CBS%20Evening,of%20targets%20across%20South%20Vietnam.

are closer to victory today is to believe, in the face of the evidence, the optimists who have been wrong in the past. To suggest we are on the edge of defeat is to yield to unreasonable pessimism. To say that we are mired in stalemate seems the only realistic, yet unsatisfactory conclusion".[204] Cronkite was certainly not the only reporter to share his opinion following the Tet Offensive, but his words did carry more weight than the average journalist's. It was unusual for news anchormen to give their opinion on the news they were reporting; most of the time they stuck to the facts, such as casualty counts, summaries of combat, and the politics surrounding the war, accompanied by pieces from other correspondents.[205]

Besides the remarks from Cronkite, other televised coverage of the Tet Offensive and its aftermath further impacted Americans back home. The Tet Offensive showed Americans, literally, that President Johnson's confident assertions of US military progress in Vietnam were simply lip service; the "televised accounts of the bloody fighting in Saigon and Hue made a mockery of Johnson's and [General] Westmoreland's optimistic year-end reports, widening the credibility gap".[206] This quote from historian George C. Herring serves as a good segue into the real significance of Tet, especially concerning televised news coverage. There is a common misconception that news coverage of the Tet Offensive changed the media and made it oppositional to the government and the administration. This theory has been debunked by many scholars educated in the field, such as Daniel C. Hallin, who argues that by 1968, and

[204] Daniel C. Hallin, *The Uncensored War* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 1986), accessed April 16, 2022, ProQuest Ebook Central, 170.
[205] Bailey, "Television War," 149.
[206] George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 232-233.

certainly after the Tet Offensive, "the establishment — and the nation as a whole — was so divided over the war that the media naturally took a far more skeptical stance toward administration policy than in the early years", and that because of this "the administration could no longer expect to benefit consistently from consensus journalism".[207] The Tet Offensive was not a turning point more than it was "a moment when trends that had been in motion for some time reached balance and began to tip the other way".[208] The general consensus was changed because it became glaringly obvious, especially thanks to video footage of events in Vietnam, that despite official reports, the United States was not winning the war. Instead, American citizens saw that US military involvement was only prolonging death and destruction, with no real tangible results. After Tet, this continued to be the trend in American televised coverage of the news, although to a considerably lesser extent, as Tet was the most extensively covered event of the war overall. The main outcome of the Tet Offensive was not an oppositional media, but rather a new consensus among the people of the United States: they wanted out of Vietnam.

The Tet Offensive was not the only controversial event in the war which sparked an uptick in critical news coverage by television journalists. Every time a conflicting event occurred, whether it was a concerning battle on the ground in Vietnam, or a controversial foreign policy decision made by Nixon's administration, journalists became more inclined to show more of the opposition to the war in their reports. One such event which caused considerable turmoil in the media, the public, and the government was the My Lai massacre.

[207] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*, 162.
[208] Hallin, 168.

The My Lai massacre took place on March 16, 1968, during the aftermath of the Tet Offensive, but did not come to light until over a year after it occurred. The massacre took place in a small hamlet, My Lai, near Da Nang, when American soldiers murdered hundreds of South Vietnamese civilians. No reporters were present on that day save for one photographer. It was not until much later that a soldier who had not been at My Lai, Ronald Ridenhour, pieced together the story and realized that something terrible had occurred.[209] Even after Ridenhour appealed to Nixon and several other prominent members of the government, including members of Congress, no major news organization would pick up the story. It was thus left to Seymour Hersh, a former Associated Press reporter, who eventually put together a detailed account of what had happened in My Lai.[210] In November 1969, the major news networks finally picked up the story after the antiwar Dispatch News Service agreed to carry Hersh's report. Journalists generally steered clear of atrocity stories and most reporters "discounted as enemy propaganda allegations that American units had committed major war crimes in South Vietnam".[211] This is a good example of the media decidedly not being antagonistic to the government. Coverage of the massacre was "usually cautious and dispassionate", and many Americans did not actually believe the news of My Lai.[212] Regardless of whether the American people believed it or not, the "carefully cultivated image of the good American soldier who sheltered orphans and distributed candy to children was

[209] Clarence R. Wyatt, "The Media and the Vietnam War", in *The War That Never Ends: New Perspectives on the Vietnam War*, ed. John Ernst and David L. Anderson (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2014), 282, https://muse-jhu-edu.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/book/29502.
[210] Wyatt, "The Media and the Vietnam War", 282.
[211] Hammond, *Reporting Vietnam*, 189.
[212] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*, 180.

falling into doubt", and by January of 1970, after extensive reporting on My Lai, most Americans had accepted that the massacre had happened.[213] Clearly, in this case, the news media sought to actively avoid a controversial event because it went beyond the boundaries of just being controversial into being an unimaginable atrocity.

In the early months of 1970, the United States began its incursion into Cambodia. The country's leader, Prince Sihanouk, was overthrown by a pro-American regime, and Nixon sent help in the form of American troops to fight against the North Vietnamese, going against his policy of Vietnamization.[214] Nixon sent the troops into Cambodia on April 30th, 1970, which resulted in a dramatic upsurge in antiwar activity and congressional opposition back in the United States.[215] This is an example of Nixon being contradictory in his policies, creating an environment which made it more likely for journalists to be critical of the administration. By sending more troops into South East Asia, he was directly contradicting his own policy to get Americans out. Near the end of 1970, Nixon's administration began plans for another incursion, this time into Laos. This only added to the growing dissension among the government and the people as news broke. While Nixon might have thought that the media was working against him by always playing stories about Vietnam, the reality was that they were simply relaying important events to the people of the United States. The incursions, unlike Nixon's secret bombings across Indochina,

[213] Hammond, *Reporting Vietnam*, 187-192.
[214] Natasha Bullard, "The Mercurial Role of the U.S. Media in Wartime: The Vietnam War, 1961–1975," ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2010, 83. Vietnamization was the Nixon administration's policy to end American involvement in the war; essentially, it was a plan to expand the South Vietnamese troops while reducing the number of American soldiers in Vietnam.
[215] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*, 189.

were happening very publicly. Several reporters went missing or were injured trying to get footage of the scenes in Cambodia and Laos.[216]

One more event which stands out in the televised coverage of the Vietnam War is that of the battle of Hamburger Hill in May of 1969. The battle became a contentious issue in US domestic politics as it showed a battle of attrition, resulting in death and destruction, for seemingly no good reason. This led to an uptick in television reporters in the field questioning and criticizing military tactics.[217] The coverage of this event further proved to the American people that they needed to get out of Vietnam. Reporting on a precursor battle to Hamburger Hill, called Million Dollar Mountain, CBS correspondent Richard Threlkeld made the comment that the well-fought battle was "for a military objective of doubtful value", and that "After you've been here a while and seen all the casualties…you come away with the distinct impression that the principal reason that these Special Forces have been ordered to take Million Dollar Mountain is simply because it's there".[218] Television news here, it seems, was simply echoing the thoughts of all Americans at the time: there no longer seemed to be a point to the continued fighting. While American casualties had been declining, these battles continued to aid in the collapse of morale both on the ground in Vietnam and back home in the United States.

Richard Nixon became President in January of 1969, almost a year after the Tet Offensive. By the time he took office, television coverage of the war had already reduced, and time spent covering the war was closer to what it had been in the years preceding Tet. As mentioned above, during Tet and in the

[216] Hammond, *Reporting Vietnam*, 203.
[217] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*, 179.
[218] Hallin, 179.

months immediately following it, television networks were covering the war virtually every day. Getting into the summer, the amount of time spent on the war was lower but still relatively frequent, as combat continued and because the war was the major issue revolving around the presidential primaries, conventions, and finally the election.[219] The war became less of a focal point immediately following Nixon's election in November; from then until February 1969, on average, between the networks, the war was covered on only 61% of the days.[220]

Nixon famously believed that the press and the media were actively working against him in his pursuits of ending the war. He exclaimed during the 1971 incursion into Laos that "Our worst enemy seems to be the press!".[221] According to polls and the content of news coverage at the time, however, there seems to be no basis for this exclamation. Over the years, as Nixon continued to announce withdrawals of American troops, he "repeatedly accused journalists of focusing on the problems instead of the achievements of Vietnamization, failing to give him credit for reversing the course of the war, and even hoping for U.S. failure and enemy success in Vietnam".[222] It was not just Nixon who was opposed to the media; his vice president, Spiro Agnew, gave a speech at the Midwest Republican Conference during which he "compared network television reporters to judges presiding over national matters".[223] But what Nixon apparently failed to realize was that the media was focusing on problems that were of such glaring controversy that public

[219] Bailey, "Television War," 152.
[220] Bailey, 152.
[221] Hammond, *Reporting Vietnam*, 293.
[222] Chester Pach, "'Our Worst Enemy Seems to Be the Press': TV News, the Nixon Administration, and U.S. Troop Withdrawal from Vietnam, 1969–1973," *Diplomatic History* 34, no. 3 (2010): 555, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24915901.
[223] Bullard, "The Mercurial Role of the U.S Media," 81.

opinion made it necessary for them to be covered on the news. While neither Nixon nor Johnson were able to stop the media from reporting on the state of the war, Nixon's administration still maintained a decent amount of control. Despite his thinking that the press was ruining him, he maintained an approval rating of 57% in his first term as president and won a landslide victory in the 1972 election against George McGovern, whose main issue was Vietnam.[224] Vietnamization was most likely the reason for his success, because Americans were in the process of being taken out of Vietnam, and as such was not a complete failure.

Any negative perception Nixon felt he received was not the fault of the media, but rather that of his administration's foreign policy decisions that opposed the successful Vietnamization campaign. Nixon's policy towards Vietnam was contradictory in nature, as he wanted "to reduce the size of the American force in South Vietnam, but he also sought to cultivate an appearance of resolution in hopes of persuading the enemy to negotiate terms favourable to American ends".[225] In other words, despite clearly having a strong desire to demobilize American troops, Nixon still wanted a seat at the negotiating table. This obvious contradiction led to criticism, as controversial topics on the war tended to. As has been mentioned previously, the press only really delved into critical coverage of events when there was significant opposition allowing for legitimate controversy.

Nixon was met with the daunting task of taking office as president for a country that was in the middle of a war it no longer wanted to be a part of. As a result, his main objective regarding the war was getting American troops out of Vietnam. He did this by beginning the task of Vietnamization, the process

[224] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*, 182.
[225] Hammond, *Reporting Vietnam*, 293.

of getting the United States out and giving full control to South Vietnam. Vietnamization was forecast by the news companies to be a success with the public, as it received a "public relations blitz that typically accompanies a policy expected to be politically popular".[226] Vietnamization was largely accepted among the public and the government as a good strategy, at least when it was visibly in motion. One example of Nixon's policy decisions working against him occurred after the death of Ho Chi Minh in September of 1969. Out of respect for the leader's death, Nixon suspended B-52 raids in North Vietnam; however, only 36 hours passed before the raids abruptly restarted.[227] On September 12th of the same year, Walter Cronkite invited three government correspondents to talk about foreign policy in the studio: White House representative Dan Rather, Marvin Kalb from the State Department, and Steve Rowan from the Pentagon.[228] In this unusual, at least by Cronkite's standards, critical report, Rather claimed that Nixon's policy was "very tightly kept" between Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, his principal foreign policy advisor. Cronkite responded, looking concerned: "Gentlemen, does this indicate…that the State Department and the Pentagon are not privy to the plans in the White House?".[229] This televised critique of the administration's policies only happened because its legitimacy was called into question. After seeing the raids resume in North Vietnam, Nixon seemed to be shifting away from his Vietnamization program, opening him up to criticism.

Nixon also tried to use television to his advantage, attempting to take control of the press he thought was working

[226] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*, 184.
[227] Hallin, 186.
[228] Hallin, 186.
[229] Hallin, 186.

against him. In November of 1969, he gave his famous Silent Majority speech in which he "tried to neutralize a rejuvenated antiwar movement by appealing to the 'great silent majority' of Americans who did not demonstrate".[230] Afterwards, he complained that the news networks were too quick to criticize his speech, particularly in reference to the critical commentary by W. Averell Harriman on ABC.[231] However, a closer look reveals that the speech actually received a mostly positive reaction on the news; for example, ABC's program the following day was organized contrasting Nixon's newly coined "Silent Majority" with the "Vocal Minority", meaning those who were active in the antiwar movement.[232] The consensus among historians studying this period seems to be that, despite Nixon's feeling that he was villainized by the press, the media only covered his policy decisions with a critical lens when the reasoning behind them was unclear or there was significant opposition, especially among the government.

Before the Tet Offensive of 1968, news coverage of the war on television was frequent but mostly based on giving the facts of combat and foreign policy decisions. In the early years, Americans were still largely in support of the United States involvement in Vietnam. This was because there had, for the most part, not been any indication to Americans that the war in Vietnam was anything but a valiant battle to save another country from Communism Tet, however, showed them that the war was not going to be easily won.

Looking at the numbers from television broadcasts both during and after the Tet Offensive give insight into how the press was reporting on the situation in Vietnam, and how it affected

[230] Pach, "'Our Worst Enemy Seems to Be the Press'," 557.
[231] Pach, 557.
[232] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*, 188.

the wording that reporters used despite not significantly changing their objectivity as journalists. The preservation of news reports on the Vietnam War only began in 1965, when the Department of Defense began to make kinescopes of broadcasts from the main three news networks, CBS, NBC, and ABC, although they only consisted of the parts that were pertinent to the government and the Pentagon.[233] In late 1968, Vanderbilt University began its work of archiving newscasts, and "No other systematic video and audio records of network newscasts are known to exist prior to the Vanderbilt collection", meaning that a lot of news on the war prior to 1968 does not exist.[234] Fortunately, the footage that does exist covers the more influential part of the war, especially concerning television news coverage. The data collected from these kinescopes and from the Vanderbilt Collection give insight into how often and how long the war was shown on television. From the entire period of the Department of Defense kinescopes, August 1965 to August 1970, Vietnam news averaged approximately three minutes per network per day.[235] Coverage also varied by network; CBS covered the war 83% of the time, while NBC showed Vietnam news 78% and ABC 72% of the days included in the kinescopes.[236]

Most who study the role of media during the Vietnam War agree that it remained true to the ideal of objective journalism, for the most part. Most stories on the war fit the traditional "who, what, when, where" model of journalism.[237] The event which caused the most critical news content to be

[233] Bailey, "Television War," 149.
[234] Bailey, 149.
[235] Bailey, 149.
[236] Bailey, 149.
[237] Daniel C. Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media," *The Journal of Politics* 46, no. 1 (1984): 12, https://doi.org/10.2307/2130432.

produced was, of course, the Tet Offensive, as it was the most heavily reported and controversial event of the entirety of the war. Only 8% of Vietnam stories featured explicit comments from the journalist, whether favourable or unfavourable, and this percentage fluctuated around the Tet Offensive. Prior to Tet, 5.9% of stories had opinionated comments, while during the crisis that number reached 20% before reducing to 9.8%, which was still higher than it had been before.[238] According to data presented by author George Bailey, a vast majority of stories on television networks between 1965 and 1970 focused on the actions on the ground in Vietnam rather than any other subject matter.[239] Additionally, stories read by the anchormen, either introducing footage from a journalist or as a talking head, averaged between 15 and 75 words per story, with CBS having slightly longer stories and the stories being longer overall in the later years of the war whenever combat involving American troops heated up.[240]

Despite journalists' tendency to present more of a critical lens to issues if they became controversial, they still maintained a degree of objectivity. Even when journalists tended to become more skeptical of the administration and its policies, it did not seem to translate into "sympathetic coverage of the opposition".[241] It is important to remember that less than 10% of all stories covering Vietnam took an openly critical stance. It could be argued then that the ones that were critical were even more impactful, such as Walter Cronkite's rare departures from his matter-of-fact style of reporting.

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[238] Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support," 12.
[239] Bailey, "Television War," 154-155.
[240] Bailey, 153. The word count of the news stories ranges from short to about average length.
[241] Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support," 18.

Televised coverage of the Vietnam War had a much more nuanced relationship with changing public and official opinion on the United States' involvement in the war. A common misconception among those who have not studied this period in American history is that after the Tet Offensive, because public and government opinion on the war had changed, the media, too, had changed its tone regarding the war, adopting an antagonistic rhetoric towards the administration's foreign policy decisions. While there is some truth to this, overall, television journalists remained mostly loyal to the goal of objective journalism. The Tet Offensive was the most heavily covered part of the war and provided Americans with visual proof that, contrary to President Johnson's optimistic assurances, the United States was not winning the war. Television news journalists did not change their way of reporting and become more opinionated on the war and the administration's foreign policy decisions, rather they continued to report following the consensus on the war. Before Tet, the consensus among Americans was favourable toward the war. After Tet, journalism on the war moved into what Daniel Hallin has called the Sphere of Legitimate Controversy.[242] In the years following the North Vietnamese assault, television reporting followed a trend of picking up whenever a controversial event occurred in Vietnam, as they would often spark controversy and dissent about the war, enabling journalists to include more controversial topics in the news. The war continued to be a pressing matter during Nixon's presidency, whose quarrels with the media certainly did not help the issue. Despite his claims that the media was working against him, data from television broadcasts and ratings disprove this and instead suggest that television news was not actually oppositional to the

[242] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*, 116-117.

government. The real influence of televised news media on the government and public opinion on the war is more nuanced and less straightforward than most people think. It of course had an impact on Americans back home, seeing the war on their screens, and on officials, but it never was the root cause of the United States' decision to leave Vietnam nor was it, as some say, the reason why America "lost" the war.

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The Threat of Imperial Japan: The Predominant Force in the Alignment of Canadian-American Military Relations in the Twentieth-Century

Denham McLean

Few countries' histories have been as interconnected as those of Canada and its southern neighbour, the United States. Modern assessments and evaluations of the bilateral relationship between these two countries overwhelmingly speak to a peaceful and civil coexistence enhanced by joint continental stewardship and further signalled by heavily integrated economies and steadfast cooperation in mutual defence and military planning. These relations and arrangements are known to be beneficially fundamental to the Canadian-American relationship throughout recent history. This notwithstanding, such harmony and good-faith relations had only been reliably experienced and observed since the formative years of the Second World War and the early post-war years. Prior to this period, the fundamentals defining the Canadian-American relationship, and in a broader scope, Anglo-American relations had been characterized by antagonism, mutual suspicion, and antithetical civic virtues and expression.[243] Such a dramatic paradigm shift in the bilateral relations of these two countries over the mere span of the interwar period warrants a thorough re-examination of their interrelated histories. This then invites the question of what relevant and predominant influences so ably compelled the enhanced cooperation and coordination of the Canadian and American militaries as they remain to this day. This work will

[243] Richard A. Preston, *Defence of the Undefended Border*, Montreal: McGill U. P., 1977, 3-5.

advance, through the historical re-examination of the approximate twenty-year period spanning the 1920s and 1940s, that the increasingly bilateral alignment of the Canadian and American militaries can be credited predominantly to the mutual threat posed by Imperial Japan. This position will be sustained through the analysis of Japan's role in North American war planning, Canadian and American observers' commendation of Imperial Japanese aggression in Southeast Asia as a defence of respective national isolationisms, followed by the Ogdensburg Agreement's implications and consequences for joint Canadian-American operations against the Japanese during the Second World War.

The most readily available scholarship pertaining to the current and mutual Canadian-American military partnership, and its origins and evolution indicates a commonplace emphasis on North American bilateral relations spanning the earlier years of the Cold War. Such a focus seems to have taken into account the similarities and differences in approach and priority of militaristic foreign affairs as detailed in Timothy Andrews Sayle's *A pattern of constraint Canadian-American relations in the early Cold War*, or concerns overlapping security and sovereignty as discussed in Raymond B. Blake's *An Old Problem in a New Province: Canadian Sovereignty and the American Bases in Newfoundland 1948-1952*.[244]

On the other hand, Dwight N. Mason takes exception to this seemingly routine periodical focus, framing the genesis of Canadian-American military cooperation as a direct consequence

[244] Raymond B. Blake, "An Old Problem in a New Province: Canadian Sovereignty and the American Bases in Newfoundland 1948-1952," The American Review of Canadian Studies 23, no. 2 (1993): 183-184; Timothy Andrews Sayle, "A Pattern of Constraint: Canadian-American Relations in the Early Cold War," International Journal 62, no. 3 (2007): 689-690.

of the Second World War and shared North American concern for the continent as a newly recognized theatre of war. While acknowledging that this historical hindsight serves as contextualization for his assessment of the Canadian-American alliance in the early twenty-first century, there is no mention or indication of the nuance of the threat posed by the Axis powers to North America, while he does mention the threat of nuclear-armed Soviet bombers in the 1950s.[245] Richard A. Preston's *The Defence of the Undefended Border: Planning for War in North America, 1867-1939*, as one will see subsequently referenced accordingly, reveals notable select anticipations of war with Japan on the parts of Canada and the US, being detailed sparsely within the broader emphasis on the evolution and bilateral scope of North American military relations, casting a wider historical breadth than indicated by the subtitle.[246] It is these sparing and concentrated mentions of Japan as a potential security threat to North America at large that so initially informed and encouraged the pursuit of the thesis and its supporting research to follow.

Contrary to what some may assume, Canadian and American military contribution to the Allied war effort during the First World War saw only the limited development of bilateralism; and notwithstanding new internationalist hopes as signalled and channelled through the newly founded League of Nations, the governments of North America continued to pursue strategic and anticipatory readiness for military conflict. In the case of Canada in the early 1920s, a single officer, one Col. J. "Buster" Sutherland-Brown, as director of military operations

[245] Dwight N. Mason, "The Canadian-American North American Defence Alliance in 2005," *International Journal* 60, no. 2 (2005): 385-387.
[246] Carl A. Christie, "PRESTON, The Defence of the Undefended Border: Planning for War in North America, 1867–1939," *Archivaria* 7, (Winter 1978): 172.

and intelligence, undertook such pursuits on the basis of a strategic understanding as follows: Sutherland-Brown was keen to heed and follow the analysis of Britain's Imperial General Staff in their anticipation of threats to the Empire manifesting in some "European combination," from the United States, Japan, or some intersection of all three, having placed them within this same order of concern. Although Sutherland-Brown believed that the second and fourth mentioned scenarios presented the greatest potential dangers to Canada (and Japan to a lesser extent), he was keen to draw up defensive plans in preparation for each given scenario, chief among them, a two-hundred-page plan for war with the United States, known as Defense Scheme Number One: Prepared between December 1920 and April 1921, the plan called for the mobilization of Canadian militia to seize rally points or to forestall invasion throughout Spokane, Seattle, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Maine, in addition to key points along shared Canadian-American waterfronts.

Though Sutherland-Brown's plan for war with the United States may have been a product of his own obsessive and habitual perceptions of America as a threat to Canada, he simultaneously estimated with accuracy what the American military had already been planning (notwithstanding his likely inaccurate assessment of America in the event of troubled relations with Canada). Between 1919 and 1920, Committee Number One of the first War College course since the First World War conducted a study of Canadian military readiness in anticipation of facing a hostile British-Japanese coalition in the future.[247] Such suspicions were driven by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, signed in 1902 in a series of other subsequent agreements with relevant powers (the *Entente Cordiale* with

[247] Preston, *Defence*, 214-217, 220.

France [1904] and the Anglo-Russian Convention [1907]), as a means to check Germany in Europe.[248] Simultaneously signalling a departure from Britain's doctrine of "Splendid Isolationism,"[249] solicitations of Japan as an emerging power to maintain the security of Britain's local colonial interests spoke to relative British decline as a world power,[250] an analysis which may not have escaped American strategists.

Following the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1923,[251] an American military conference dated March 22nd, 1924 outlined the following war plans stating: "conflict is possible with Japan and with Great Britain, but more probably with Japan. The abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has greatly reduced the probability of a coalition of those powers against the United States."[252] It continued in its assessment that "with Great Britain there is the possibility of conflict under the Monroe Doctrine and with our special interest in the Caribbean and also due to commercial competition." These speculations made by American military strategists factored into the order of priority in American war planning as such, beginning with the most urgent: "1. Mexico; 2. Cuba; 3. Japan; 4. Insurrection in the Philippines; 5. Great Britain; 6. Great Britain and Japan,"[253] Despite American plans made to occupy Canada through regional military deployment,[254] the middle to late 1920s saw a shift in American readiness for war against the British Empire,

[248] Phillips Payson O'Brien, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-1922* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 48.
[249] O'Brien, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, 1.
[250] O'Brien, 48.
[251] Christina L. Davis, "Linkage Diplomacy: Economic and Security Bargaining in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-23," *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2008): 146.
[252] Preston, *Defence*, 221.
[253] Preston, 221.
[254] Preston, 221.

with a new emphasis on ensuring the neutrality of Canada and Australia in the event of war with Britain and Japan. Relevant studies undertaken by the War College pointed to areas of like-mindedness and goodwill between the United States, Canada and Australia, most notably concerning economic relations and shared apprehension of Asian immigration. One such study introduced a new and unique perspective; that the United States's "... interests … demand that we compel her [Canada] to come out squarely as our ally."[255]

Readiness and anticipation of war between Canada and the United States can be attributed historically to Britain's role as a guarantor of Canadian security from external threat, primarily from that of the United States and its aggressive expansionism.[256] The groupings and prioritization of plans against anticipated enemies in the cases of Canada and the United States, speaks to the seemingly or semi-multipolar state of the international order during the interwar and early war years[257] as made clear by both countries' anticipation of war with Japan, as well as each other. Without losing sight of the mutual Canadian-American suspicions examined, the point that both these countries were simultaneously wary of Japan, is illustrative of an early North American consciousness of a Japanese military threat posed to the two nations of the continent. Though still notably possessed by long-held mistrust of the other on the basis of a hitherto contentious history of relations,[258] observed acknowledgement of both North American nations to the potential of hostilities with Japan as a mutually threatening power stands as such: A point of

[255] Preston, *Defence*, 223.
[256] Preston, 4-5.
[257] Stanley J. Michalak, "The League of Nations and the United Nations in world politics: a plea for comparative research on universal international organizations," *International Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (1971): 436.
[258] Preston, *Defence*, 4-5.

relevant significance to an early and growing basis and appetite for closer North American military cooperation.

The stage and processes of international politics were nuanced by the League of Nations; though the product of American effort,[259] their refusal to participate therein[260] arguably cast further ambiguity on the political alignments of the world order. The role and respective regards of the League of Nations would come to intersect with the interests of North America's two distinct countries as well as Japan in light of Imperial Japan's invasion of Manchuria in the early 1930s. Japanese aggression came to notably influence the pundits of distinct visions of North American isolationism such as American journalist Lincoln Ross Colcord, and Canadian social scientist Arthur R. M. Lower. While Japan's invasion of Manchuria was still underway, Colcord wrote and published an article entitled *The Realism of Japanese Diplomacy* in which he argued the blame for the allowance of such an invasion lay predominantly with the League of Nations, having "offered such untenable promises of collective security that it 'undermined any adequate effort to prepare China to protect herself.'" This stance found strong resonance with select contemporary writers including the controversial L. Stoddard.[261]

Colcord went further, decrying the "propaganda" and "delusion of international cooperation" as a "fallacious and nonexistent new world[view]," even praising (though conscious of its controversy) the diplomacy of the Japanese nation as "stark

[259] Clarence A. Berdahl, "The United States and the League of Nations," *Michigan Law Review* 27, no. 6 (1929): 614-615.
[260] Berdahl, "The United States and the League of Nations," 607.
[261] James Spruce, "Two Solitudes Lost: Comparing and Contrasting Interwar American and Canadian Isolationisms," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 48, no. 1 (2018): 2, 4, 16; Lothrop Stoddard, *Lonely America* (New York: Country Life Press, 1932), 255, 311-12.

and unblushing, but practical and realistic," having "done the world a distinct service in stripping post-war thought of its unhealthy illusions." On the subject of Japan's invasion of Manchuria, Colcord concluded that Chinese national strength would prove to the Japanese to be unassailable and that therefore the situation lay in "ultimate terms" between China and Japan.

Lower was similarly influenced by world events throughout the 1930s, casting like-minded skepticism on the feasibility of the management and state of world affairs since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. From 1933 and moving forward, Lower concluded that if Canadians sought to avoid a repetition of "the whole bloody mess of 1914–18," the ideal vision for Canada's future would be the reduction of imperial ties to Britain "and [to] make herself [Canada] in spirit what she was in the letter, an independent nation;" a position Lower was able to take with greater realism and credibility than prior to the passage of the Statute of Westminster.[262] This signalled a key step in the realization of Lower's commentaries in hindsight "that Canada's own vital interests must be the determining factor in her foreign policy."[263] Though Lower and Colcord were of similar mind and expression with regard to matters such as suspicion of Britain, opposition to entanglement in foreign crisis, and possessed by complex nationalist thought, they differed in the absolutism of their respective isolationist sentiments. To speak of Lower specifically, notwithstanding his desire for increased political distance from Britain and the European theatre, he belonged simultaneously to a vast group of Canadian intellectuals holding ever more favourable views of their southern neighbours. Lower, therefore, was gripped not by

[262] Spruce, "Two Solitudes Lost," 4-5.
[263] A. R. M. Lower, "The Foreign Policy of Canada," *New Commonwealth Quarterly* 7 (April 1942): 277.

strictly Canadian isolationism, but perhaps more accurately by an isolationist vision of North America, a reputable variant of continentalist thought; and one in which Lower was himself unsure whether Canada could remain preferably detached from the United States in the event of an American war with Japan.

Though Colcord's American isolationism bore no parallel reflection to Lower's on the point of enduring North American integration,[264] advocacy for concrete alliances with Canada against Japan was sustained by notable American military personnel throughout the interwar years. Appearing before the President's Board on Aeronautic Inquiry (Morrow Board) on September 29th, 1925, American Brigadier General William Mitchell put forth the merits of a bilateral aerial alliance between the United States and Canada: This alliance would have seen Alaska take on a new strategic significance as a base of operations from which aerial campaigns could be waged against Japan's home territories. Beyond the factors of geography Mitchell presented his proposed aerial alliance on the basis that Canada was:

> [As] "much exposed to this danger [Japan] as we are ourselves" and certain Canadians would look to America rather than Britain for protection in such a conflict, … It would be "a perfectly logical and sensible thing, one in accordance with all our traditions and our position in the Northern Hemisphere."[265]

[264] Spruce, "Two Solitudes Lost," 5-6.
[265] Galen Roger Perras and Katrina E. Kellner, "'A Perfectly Logical and Sensible Thing': Billy Mitchell Advocates a Canadian-American Aerial Alliance Against Japan," *The Journal of Military History* 72, no. 3 (2008): 786.

Received unenthusiastically by the American military at the time, any such plans did not come to pass until after Mitchell's death in 1936, up until which he continued to advocate his strategic scheme publicly. Mitchell's fundamental vision was realized in 1957 with the formation of the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), albeit with the threat of Japan then gone and replaced by a shared Soviet threat.[266] Canadian uncertainties regarding attachment to or from the United States in the event of overseas war with Japan,[267] in addition to Japanese anxieties and calls for a strategic military alliance with Canada from within the American military establishment,[268] would seem to indicate a gradual recession of distrust between the North American neighbours. On levels and in capacities social and academic,[269] as well as political and military,[270] the threat posed by Japan to North American security seems to have played a continued, seemingly even increased role in further aligning Canadian-American thought and priorities through the 1930s.

Developments across Europe, as well as Asia throughout and towards the end of this decade, would prove to be of grave concern up until the outbreak of war in September 1939, including Germany's remilitarization of the Rhineland, and Japan's Rape of Nanking. Such events prompted Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's desire to raise the issue of military staff talks with President Roosevelt in March of 1937, which would manifest in late January of the following year[271] in

[266] Perras and Kellner,"A Perfectly Logical and Sensible Thing," 785-787.
[267] Spruce, "Two Solitudes Lost," 6.
[268] Perras and Kellner, "A Perfectly Logical and Sensible Thing," 786.
[269] Spruce, "Two Solitudes Lost," 6.
[270] Perras and Kellner, "A Perfectly Logical and Sensible Thing," 786.
[271] William Thomas Johnsen, "Forging The Foundations of the Grand Alliance: Anglo-American Military Collaboration, 1938-1941 (Warfare, Strategy)" (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1986), 45, 52, 66.

Washington.[272] The balancing of concerns made clear regarding Canadian commitments to the British Empire, in addition to "defence questions with particular reference to the Pacific Coast," resulted in seeming consensus (though pressed thoroughly by American representatives) of the need and feasibility of an alliance that would see "the British Empire and the United States allied against Japan." Such a vision was reaffirmed in a subsequent meeting by American Admiral William D. Leahy, having made clear: "it was his opinion that the English-speaking nations would knowingly make simultaneous and mutual preparations for war with Japan with a complete and frank exchange of information between the Governments of the British Empire and the United States."[273] Such discussions and prospects were undoubtedly buttressed and spoken to with serious commitment by President Roosevelt himself, visiting Ontario on August 18th, 1938 proclaiming: "I give you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."[274] prior to Canada's graduation to war belligerent soon after Britain and France.

The fall of the Low Countries and France to Nazi Germany by June 22nd, 1940, saw undeniable affirmative and aligning arrangements, ushering in a new positively formative era of Anglo-American, and Canadian-American relations and cooperation.[275] On August 17-18th, 1940, just two months

[272] William Lyon Mackenzie King, "The Ogdensburg Agreement, 1940," in *Partners Nevertheless: Canadian-American Relations in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Norman Hillmer (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), 99.
[273] Johnsen, "Forging The Foundations," 67-68.
[274] David Beatty, "The 'Canadian Corollary' to the Monroe Doctrine and the Ogdensburg Agreement of 1940," *The Northern Mariner* 1, no. 1 (January 1991): 4.
[275] Johnsen, "Forging The Foundations," 92.

following the fall of France, at the invitation of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister King travelled to Ogdensburg in New York state to discuss matters of mutual defence.[276] These same discussions resulted in what is known as the Ogdensburg Agreement, whereby it was agreed that a Permanent Joint Board on Defense (PJBD), was constituted by select members of each country's militaries for the purposes of Northern hemispheric defence.[277]

Proponents of the position that the Ogdensburg Agreement was strictly a consequence of ominous developments within the European theatre during the summer of 1940, ought perhaps to reconsider the strength of such a claim given this nuance: Though the security and integrity of the European continent is an element not to be downplayed in the agreed necessity of the Ogdensburg Agreement and its ramifications for cooperative North American defence, the fall of France specifically, seemingly held some relevance to Japanese threat simultaneously. Britain at the start of the war had allied itself with France (among other reasons) to maintain the security of essential trade lines stretching through the Mediterranean to the Far East, as both such regions had come under speculatively increasing threat since years prior, by the fascist European powers in the Mediterranean, and Japan in the Far East respectively. In this way, the conquest of Europe posed a threat to Britain even more meaningful than what may be perceived at face value, demonstrating the combined threat posed by Germany, Italy, and Japan to Britain: A threat that demanded increased Canadian-American military cooperation to ensure the survival of Britain, and the defence of North America

[276] King, "The Ogdensburg Agreement, 1940," 101.
[277] King, 99, 102.

notwithstanding the United States then officially neutral status.[278] Once both North American countries became allied belligerents in the wider scope of the Second World War, shared anxieties and hostilities with Japan seem to have been reflected in much of the early work undertaken by the PJBD centred around the defence of the Pacific Northwest, according to the following recommendations of the PJBD:

> 10. Nov. 14, 1940 - That to implement recommendation in the Board's First Report, suitable landing fields be provided on route across Canada between the U.S. and Alaska.
>
> 11. Nov. 15, 1940 - That an aerodrome be constructed at Ucluelet (Vancouver Island).
>
> 19. July 29, 1941 - In view of Far Eastern situation, completion of both Canadian and U.S. sections of the airway to Alaska now very important.[279]

The comparatively acute and direct Japanese military threat to North America was undoubtedly confirmed on December 7th, 1941, in the wake of Japanese forces' violent descent on America's naval base at Pearl Harbor, drawing the United States into the Second World War.[280] Such an attack from the perspective of the Japanese had been provoked by American embargoes and economic warfare conducted against Japan prior to the attack.[281] The magnitude of Japan's hostile intentions

[278] Johnsen, "Forging The Foundations," 45, 96-97, 297.
[279] C. P. Stacey, "The Canadian-American Permanent Joint Board on Defence, 1940-1945," *International Journal* (Toronto) 9, no. 2 (1954): 123-124.
[280] Galen Roger Perras, *Stepping Stones to Nowhere: the Aleutian Islands, Alaska, and American Military Strategy, 1867-1945* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 54-55.
[281] Robert Higgs, "How US Economic Warfare Provoked Japan's Attack on Pearl Harbor," *Freeman* 56, no. 4 (May 2006): 36-37.

proved credible once more with its subsequent invasion of Alaska's western Aleutian Islands in June 1942. The liberation of Kiska Island stands as a positive and feasible execution of bilateral North American defence, having seen the deployment of specialized and mixed Canadian-American units such as the Special Service Force Amphibious Task Force Nine, alongside Canadian grenadiers on August 15th, 1943.[282] Though resistance was light, on account of the Japanese had decided some months prior to the island's recapture to covertly withdraw, after concluding the futility of continued occupation, early plannings of the invasion, or Operation Cottage, aptly illustrated the intended purpose and utility of the PJBD established via the Ogdensburg Agreement.[283] Beyond serving as a bilateral body through which relevant plans of North American national governments could be advanced and realized, Canadian Major General George Pearkes' enthusiasm to see Canadians participate in such an operation was aided by indirect support lent by John Hickerson, American secretary to the PJBD, and "Canadianist" within the State Department. Canada was, therefore, able to pursue timely goals including though perhaps not limited to raising military prestige, and reducing the controversy surrounding home defence or "zombie" conscription, while simultaneously defending mutual interests of security alongside the Americans.[284]

The Ogdensburg Agreement and the subsequent outbreak of war between Japan and the US stand as historically linked and intertwined in these ways relevant: The nuances of

[282] Otis Hays, *Alaska's Hidden Wars : Secret Campaigns on the North Pacific Rim* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004), 26; Perras, *Stepping Stones*, 55, 138, 145.
[283] Perras, 149, 150-152.
[284] Perras, 139-141.

the fall of France as a military and logistical threat to Britain on the part of Japan and the remaining Axis powers, and by extension its North American Allies;[285] the subsequent establishment of the PJBD "not … for a single occasion to meet a particular situation, but … to deal with a continuing problem;"[286] is one of continental defence as jointly prosecuted in the case of Kiska Island:[287] All such developments and events having held constant the threat posed by Japan to North American security.

This re-examination of the interwar and early Second World War period with regard to both Canadian and American planning and priorities have been demonstrative of a historically broad, yet unique development and observation. The seeming near-full reversal of mutual regard between two countries once considered by each other as real or potential enemies, within a rough twenty-year period, became more closely linked militarily and ultimately aligned permanently in the cause of mutual defence. With Japan as an ever-presently considered, acknowledged and then prosecuted threat,[288] it is in light of this historically observed pattern that we may then chiefly credit the increased and still prevailing military alliance and cooperation between Canada and the United States, in their sharing of the duties and privileges inherent to the New World.

[285] Johnsen, "Forging The Foundations," 45, 96.
[286] King, "The Ogdensburg Agreement, 1940," 101.
[287] Perras, *Stepping Stones*, 150-152.
[288] King, "The Ogdensburg Agreement, 1940," 101; Preston, *Defence*, 4-5.

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Foreign Bayonets & Pageant Princes: Analyzing the British East India Company's Subsidiary Alliance System in India During Richard Wellesley's Governor-Generalship

Drew Carter

Scholars generally consider Lord Dalhousie's "Doctrine of Lapse" as the definitive mechanism under which the last kernels of Indian agency were surrendered to Britain in the mid 19th century.[289] However, years prior, the British East India Company (EIC) rapidly rose to subcontinental preeminence via scores of opportunistic Romanesque manoeuvrings.[290] In the words of academic Edward Ingram, one such manoeuvre was the establishment of the subsidiary alliance system as a means of gaining control over allied states' affairs "without being officially responsible for them."[291] Thus far overlooked in popular historiography, the subsidiary alliance system institutionalized by Richard Colley — the 1st Marquess Wellesley and Governor-General of Bengal between 1797 and 1805 — in 1798, was not only foundational to the East India Company's predatory expansionist tendencies but also equally ruinous to local governing structures, transforming India's geopolitical landscape in less than a decade.[292]

[289] Elizabeth Hamilton, "A New Governor-General," in *The Feringees* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016), 78-82, 216-217.
[290] D.R. SarDesai, *India: the Definitive History* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008), 224-225.
[291] Edward Ingram, *Two Views of British India: The Private Correspondence of Mr. Dundas and Lord Wellesley: 1798-1801* (Bath: Adams & Dart,1970), 3.
[292] A.S. Bennell, "Arthur Wellesley as Political Agent: 1803," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* no. 2 (1987), 273–288.

In total, 108 of these alliance treaties or *sanads* were signed between the EIC and the Indian feudatory states.[293] The subsidiary alliance system was first pioneered by Joseph Francois Dupleix, the French Governor of India (1742-1754), in the 1740s.[294] Subsequently, the notorious English 'Nabob' Robert Clive bastardized and appropriated the system in the 1750s to overcome Franco-Indian coalitions at the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764).[295] Clive's triumphs led to the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765, in which the Nawab of Oudh (Awadh) became the first Indian ruler to enter into a British-designed subsidiary treaty.[296] Warren Hastings infamously adopted Clive's techniques, also to undercut French influence.[297] Even so, the system reached its apex under Richard Wellesley in the late 18th century when it was officially articulated in his "Non-Intervention Policy" with the Nizam of Hyderabad (1798).[298] Thereafter similarly worded arrangements were imposed upon Mysore (1799), Tanjore (1799), Oudh (1801), the Peshwa, and Gaekwad (1802-1803), and Scindia and Bhosle (1803).[299]

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[293] Keralaputra, "The Internal States of India," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 145, no. 2 (1929), 45.
[294]Abraham Valentine Williams Jackson, ed., et al., *History of India* (Grolier Society, 1906-1907), 103-136; Sidney J. Owen, "François Joseph Dupleix," *English Historical Review* I, no. 4 (1886), 730–733.
[295] Clive served as a Major-General and later as the Governor-General of Bengal (1758-1760 and 1764-1767).
[296] P.J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India, 1757-1813* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2018), 18-23, 155.
[297] L. M. King et al., "Warren Hastings, Maker of British India," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 22, no. 3 (1935): 477. Hastings was the de facto Governor-General of Bengal between 1772 and 1785; Ramsey Muir, *Making of British India: Described in Series of Dispatches*, Treaties, Statutes, and Other Documents (Manchester: University Press, 1923), 13.
[298] C.U. Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries Part I* (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1930), 4.
[299] Jackson et. al, *History of India*, 306-343.

Although scholars frequently mention the general importance of subsidiary alliances within the broader processes of the company-state's expansion and eventual hegemony in India, few works are entirely dedicated to investigating the system's inner workings, terms, rationale, and foundational impact on the political conduct of the freshly decapitated native states. As such, a dearth of information has permeated around the system's utilization and its subcontinental ramifications.[300] The subsidiary alliance system was equally efficacious, if not more, than the Company's successor strategies and policies, for its uneven application permanently tipped India's geopolitical balance of power in favour of the EIC by increasing its capacity to dispense power.

Indeed, the term 'subsidiary' invokes illusions of self-governance; nonetheless, Wellesley's aversion to collegiality and subversion of autonomy suggests otherwise. By design, subsidiary alliances were demoralizing colonial instruments superficially dedicated to the maintenance of distinct Indian polities.[301] In exchange for British security guarantees, Wellesley's system, which was nothing short of an imperial control mechanism, internally dismembered and debased the hitherto powerful regional Mughal and Maratha princely states.[302] These alliance treaties rendered the undermining of Indian authorities permissible so long as the ends justified the means. That is to say, the agreements' stipulations were geared toward surrendering indigenous sovereignty to facilitate Britain's monopolization of

[300] James Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," *Contemporary Review, 1866-1900* 6, no. 10 (1867): 172-185. Outside of Hutton's short essay, the topic is largely unexplored.
[301] Henry Montgomery Lawrence, *Essays, Military and Political, Written in India* (UK: W.H. Allen, 1859), 64-73.
[302] George Robert Gleig, *Life of Sir Thomas Munro* (London: J. Murray, 1849), 462, 493.

power. As the contemporary James Hutton succinctly puts it, the system was predicated upon a framework of "subservience rather than the contentment of the subservient."[303] By and large, this was considered a necessary sacrifice to increase Company profit margins, authority, and holdings while simultaneously balancing the commercial and military ambitions of European and non-European subcontinental rivals.[304]

Ultimately, this paper will provide a nuanced description of Wellesley's subsidiary alliance system, examining its characteristics and terms between 1798 and 1805. Furthermore, the system's uses and abuses inherent in its genotype and hypocritical application will be substantiated by exploring the states upon which the "Non-Intervention Policy" was sicced — the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nawab of Oudh, and the Maratha Peshwa of Poona. As Arthur Wellesley summarizes, alliances between Britain and its dependent and tributary states "had always been formed in a moment of extreme weakness, and generally after the Native and dependent state had been conquered."[305]

Wellesley, among others, surveyed the Company's global geopolitical situation in November 1797, at a time when several crises panicked the British: the threat of invasion by republican France, a lack of continental European allies, a mutinous fleet, and the breakdown of peace negotiations with the Directory.[306] Historian A.S. Bennell observes, "Wellesley carried this sense of crisis with him and applied it to the political scene in India."[307] One such product of crisis management was the subsidiary

[303] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 180-185.
[304] Hutton, 180-185.
[305] Muir, *Making of British India*, 208.
[306] A.S. Bennell, "Governor-Generals of India, I: Wellesley," *History Today* 9, no. 2 (1959): 94-96.
[307] Bennell, "Governor-Generals," 94-97.

system. Hyderabad was of particular interest to the future Marquess, for it enjoyed French military support. That, coupled with Tipu Sultan's proposed "treaty of alliance and fraternity," incited Wellesley's territorial insecurities.[308] Yet, Hyderabad was displeased with France's growing demands; this was the angle that Wellesley pursued to persuade the Nizam to exchange French forces for British ones. In October 1798, France's Hyderabadi troops were bloodlessly disbanded, and some were even absorbed into Company ranks.[309] Unable to confront Tipu due to the Monsoon season, Lord Wellesley began his first significant action as Governor-General by negotiating a new treaty with the Nizam.

The development of the subsidiary alliance terms and conditions was the culmination of a 55-year process, driven primarily by prior relations with Oudh and Arcot.[310] Nevertheless, Wellesley's unprecedented Hyderabad Treaty of September 1st, 1798, differed from those previously negotiated; not only did it render the state a subsidiary ally of the EIC, but it also introduced several unique postulations forming the bedrock upon which later treaties were struck.[311] Politically speaking, the Hyderabad Treaty is an illustrative example of the denigrating effects of the system upon local governing structures. Essentially, the state was absorbed into a "British protectorate," in which the Nizam was coerced into handing over the reins of his agency and

[308] Narasingha Sil, "Tipu Sultan in History: Revisionism Revised," *SAGE Open* (2013) 1-3. Tipu is supposed to have conveyed the following to the French: "I want to expel them [the British] from India. I want to be the friend of the French all my life."
[309] Bennell, "Governor-Generals," 94-102; Jackson et al., *History of India*, 306-343.
[310] Henry Smith Williams, *Historians' History of the World* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1904): 89-122.
[311] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 45-58. One such example of a prior agreement is the Treaty of Masulipatam.

stately autonomy.[312] The Nizam was far from naive, acknowledging the reality of the alliance's nuances yet knowingly accepting his subordination to the Company as the only viable solution to his greatest threat, the Marathas.[313]

According to scholar Keralaputra, all of the treaties except for that of Mysore were negotiated on the basis of equality; the greatest of the Maratha powers and the Nizam of Hyderabad included, enjoyed complete internal and external sovereignty due to their coveted positions as important states. Moreover, this collegiality was far from a verbal formality or pittance, for each subsidiary agreement guaranteed "in a most absolute manner" the "absolute authority" of a ruler over his subjects, "unequivocally repudiating any valid British claim to intervene in state affairs."[314] However, Wellesley sought to exploit the Nizam's weakness in anticipation of an impending conflict with the Marathas.[315] Writing in April of 1798, Wellesley's contemporary, John Malcolm, affirmed this motive in a policy survey, stating, "though it is our interest to support the Nizam…it is equally if not more our interest to prevent his becoming formidable, as on his weakness rests the policy of our connection."[316] This opportunistic attitude can be seen in the Hyderabad Treaty and the subsidiary alliance system in general. One of the most pertinent features of the Hyderabad agreement was that it was "indissoluble," making the Anglo-Indian alliance "permanent."[317] The eternal nature of the treaty entrusted

[312] Jackson et al., *History of India*, 315.
[313] As will be explained later, the British intentionally made overtures to states facing existential crises as they were normally more submissive to extractive Company clauses.
[314] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 50-51.
[315] Keralaputra, 50-51.
[316] Bennell, "Wellesley as Political Agent," 277.
[317] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 45.

executive decisions to the British as a result of the Company's monopoly of force and the lack of a formal settlement method to reconcile Anglo-Indian "divergence of opinion."[318] Additionally, permanence ensured the ruler's subordination, unequal status, and inability to exploit loopholes as his forces were indefinitely surrendered to the whims of the British Residents.

During Wellesley's administration, stationing a Resident at a subordinated court had become a core component of the subsidiary alliance's terms and conditions. In theory, this imperial agent promised non-interference in the state's affairs, but in practice, the commitment to impartial guidance and distanced monitoring were frequently circumvented. When the Resident's role was formalized, Arthur Wellesley stated, "the door was necessarily opened to the interference of the British government in every concern; and the result was increased weakness in the Native state, jealousy of this interference, and disunion bordering upon treachery."[319] By overstepping their prerogatives, the Residents offended their charges, which exacerbated pre-existing tensions in Anglo-Indian relations. The Duke of Wellington further suggested that this grave reality required a remedy because the British government sought to avoid involvement "in a most extensive warfare with the most formidable of the Native powers, assisted by the French."[320] When these interferences occurred, Richard Wellesley was sensitive to the dangers present therein to his administration and ambitions.[321]

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[318] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 48. This 'divergence of opinion' can be best witnessed in February of 1802 following the signing of the Treaty of Bassein, see the section on Oudh for more on this topic.
[319] Muir, *Making of British India*, 209.
[320] Muir, 209.
[321] D.R. Bhandarkar, ed., *India* (Philadelphia, MA: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1929), Despatch to the Court of Directors, 3 August

The Governor-General's adamancy on undercutting intervention can be seen in a correspondence, dated October 1st, 1801, addressed to David Scott, in which Wellesley expresses his anxieties regarding Major Kirkpatrick's behaviour in Hyderabad:

> [Kirkpatrick] has involved himself in a connection highly offensive to the prejudices of the Mussulmans and incompatible with his character as the representative of your Government . . . I have instituted an enquiry into the facts alleged by rumour and I fear that result will prove unfavourable.[322]

The insertion of a clause of non-interference was more than a "friendly profession" or act of "mere formality."[323] Wellesley pragmatically recognized the Company's Residents' potentially "baneful influence" and genuinely attempted to counter their misbehaviours to prevent the denigration of Anglo-Indian

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1799. For example, in response to British nonadherence to treaty stipulations in Mysore in 1799, he asserted, recollecting the inconveniences and embarrassments which have arisen to the parties concerned under the double Governments and conflicting authorities unfortunately established in Oudh, Carnatic and Tanjore, I resolved to reserve for the Company the most extensive and indisputable rights of interposition in the internal affairs of Mysore.

[322] Richard Colley Wellesley, 1st Marquess Wellesley, *"Richard Colley Wellesley, 1st Marquess Wellesley to David Scott: Thursday, 1 October 1801" in Electronic Enlightenment Scholarly Edition of Correspondence*, Robert Mcnamee et al. eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press). The rest of the correspondence on the subject is as follows: "Major Kirkpatrick's extraordinarily eminent services . . . have rendered me very slow to credit any imputation against him. I have instituted an enquiry into the facts alleged by rumour and I fear that result will prove unfavourable, in which event it will become as much my public duty to mark my disapprobation as it has hitherto been to bestow my applause upon the most successful of your ministers with the native states."

[323] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 50.

relations, which would have jeopardized both his subcontinental strategic positioning and his reputation in London.[324]

The Treaty of Hyderabad furthermore contains the critical proposal of a subsidiary force exclusively staffed by Europeans, garrisoned in the state, and annually subsidized at the Nizam's expense. For most princes, the cost of doling out a subsidy for foreign forces typically encompassed approximately one-third of the state's revenues.[325] In addition, the pay and allowances of the Company contingent 'enrolled' in the Nizam's service were markedly higher than contemporaneous military rates in both the British army and the Company forces. The Commandant was paid £5,000 per annum, and his officer corps were also paid in proportion.[326] Wellesley shrewdly calculated that the unsustainable financial toll incurred by the subsidy would drive the state to bankruptcy due to the buffeting irregularity of revenues during the Monsoon season. As such, many feudatory polities like Hyderabad fell into economic arrears, forcing princes to cede the most valuable portions of their territory as collateral in lieu of periodical monetary payments.[327] The Company was, therefore, able to annex significant quantities of land within a relatively short window — a practice that was encouraged by Wellesley.[328] Although technically serving in the ruler's service, the loaned army's purpose was to provide state-wide protection rather than pursue Hyderabad's ambitions, acting only to

[324] Keralaputra, "Internal States,"50.
[325] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 180-185.
[326] Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and John William Kaye, *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe Late Governor-General of India, Governor of Jamaica, and Governor-General of Canada, from Unpublished Letters and Journals Preserved by Himself, His Family, and His Friends* (London: R. Bentley, 2018), 15.
[327] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 48-51.
[328] Jackson et al., *History of India,* 306-343; Charles Lewis Tupper, *Our Indian protectorate: An introduction to the study of the relations between the British Government and its Indian feudatories* (Longmans, Green and Company, 1893), 39.

preserve the 'country' by quelling internal intrigues and external existential threats.[329] Unsurprisingly, the alliance purposefully manufactured an Indian dependency on the British, for the security, livelihood, and fate of the locals was entirely placed upon the Company's shoulders. This reality had several dislocating consequences for the princely state.

Due to the army's deployment within the assigned state, the Company could infringe upon Indian internal affairs and expand its sphere of influence outside the state cheaply by using the garrisoned territory as a staging ground to wage low-risk military campaigns.[330] Simply put, the Company could grow its political and military frontiers in regions traditionally outside its purview — Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta (Bengal).[331] The feudatory states served as vessels for expansion, furnishing the British with financially self-sustaining, forward-operating bases. Hyderabad proved to be a tried and true British subsidiary ally, supplying the Company with vital support in many conflicts.[332] In the case of the Nawab of Awadh, for example, the Afghan campaign against Zemaun Shah was pursued by bribing the Court of Teheran and subsidizing the Vizier's (Wuzeer) military capacities.[333] Alternatively, in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, Wellesley called upon the "allies," namely Hyderabad, to

[329] Jackson et al., History of India, 306-343. Note that the Company force was still the *Company's* force. Therefore, it was accountable only to the British despite it being on the Indian payroll. In *The Life of Metcalf*, the objective of the subsidiary force is described as the following: "When for our private views that prince was constrained to support a body of our troops to be stationed near his capital the then Government disguised the interested oppressiveness by the sturdy declaration that His Highness had spontaneously sought the aid of a subsidiary force to secure his person and territories" - see *Bengal Political Letter*, 20 Dec. 1822 - Government of India to Matcalfe.
[330] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 45–58.
[331] Jackson et al., *History of India*, 306-343.
[332] Bennell, "Governor-Generals of India," 95-96.
[333] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 181.

overcome the emboldened 'citizen' Tipu and his "Mysorean rockets."[334] Around the same time, France conducted an Egyptian expedition to destabilize Britain's power in India. Again, Wellesley assembled his subsidiary allies, raising an Indian army of 25,618 men and turning the tide of war at the siege of Alexandria.[335] With the signing of each subsidiary treaty, the EIC fabricated a mutually reinforcing web of amalgamated princely conglomerates. Consequently, the Company's subcontinental influence increased dramatically between 1798 and 1805, predominantly at the expense of its local and global rivals.

Another restrictive characteristic that saw its genesis in the Treaty of Hyderabad was the clause requiring the prince to carry out his foreign relations through the Company explicitly.[336] Following the Nizam's signing, Hyderabad relinquished its capacity to conduct diplomatic missions and pursue foreign policy objectives within and without the subcontinent without

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[334] Bennell, "Governor-Generals of India," 95-96; SarDesai, *India: The Definitive History*, 224-225. In brief, Tipu Sultan recognized the binding nature of the subsidiary system and rejected Wellesley's offer of vassalization. Thus, the Marquess whittled-away Tipu's allies by persuading the rulers of Seringapatam, Karnataka, and Tanjore to enter into subsidiary alliances with the Company. Between February-May 1799, Wellesley mounted an eight-week campaign against Mysore, capturing the powerful fort of Serimpatam and killing the Tiger of Mysore in the process. The tactical and strategic significance of this was not lost on Wellesley, who wrote to several correspondents in London stating, "The event is indeed brilliant, glorious, and substantially advantageous beyond my most sanguine expectations."

[335] John Blackwood, "The Marquess Wellesley," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 59, no. 366 (1846): 400-401. This victory played a role in establishing the short-lived Anglo-Franco peace of Amiens, signed on 27 March 1802. Although peace with France entailed the return of the latter's possessions in India, Wellesley and Clive refused to follow-through with Leadenhall's orders having anticipated another war with France. By using their Indian allies, the Company withstood French retaliation at Pondicherry following Britain's declaration of war on 18 March 1803.

[336] Note that this clause will be explained in more nuance by using the Treaty of Bassein and the Poona context.

British consent.[337] From the outset of Lord Wellesley's governorship, these restrictive characteristics were informed by his personal policy to isolate the French and the Marathas to undercut an alliance between the Deccan sultanates. Wellesley viewed preventing the unification of the Indian feudatory states into an organized confederacy against Company subcontinental supremacy as a paramount British objective.[338] Therefore, the Hyderabad Treaty and its clauses therein served as an extension of that objective, helping to bring the EIC's colonial intentions to fruition. Alongside the system's genetic features, uses, and abuses came several perplexing issues that agitated Anglo-Indian statesmen and jeopardized *Pax Britannica* until the mid 19th century. That is to say, internal interventions, the restriction of sovereign powers, the forced appointment of *dewan,* and the control of princely succession all served to heighten the tenuous subcontinental tensions between the Company and its patrons.[339] In Christopher Bayly's words, "only formal rule could provide stability for the Indian Empire," which was only achievable by one of two methods — annexation or subsidiary alliances.[340]

The demoralizing features discussed in the Hyderabad Treaty were paralleled and exacerbated in the Oudh context. This is demonstrated by a dispatch to the Secret Committee of the Board of Directors, in which Wellesley invoked the "Hyderabad precedent," advising their negotiation of the "commutation of [the] subsidy" with Oudh being based upon it — "In

[337] Though first introduced in 1787 in the treaty with the Nawab of Arcot, this clause had hitherto not been formalized as a subsidiary alliance feature with any other state until the Hyderabadi treaty.
[338] Jackson et al., *History of India*, 306-343.
[339] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 49. Note some of these issues will be discussed in greater nuance later in the paper.
[340] Christopher Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780-1830* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 106.

commutation of 40 lakhs a country rated at the annual value of 62 lakhs of rupees was taken away in full sovereignty in the Nizam's case."[341] Oudh is, therefore, a vivid example of the extractive and hypocritical stipulations of the subsidiary system or, as Hutton claims, the embodiment of its "systematic spoliations."[342]

Oudh suffered under Hastings, Charles Cornwallis, and John Shore; however, under the Marquess, state affairs became "tenfold worse," for "Shore chastised only with whips" and "Lord Wellesley [only] with scorpions."[343] From the outset, Wellesley aimed to substitute the Nawab's troops with his own, as in the case of Hyderabad.[344] Saadat Ali Khan II's army was weak in 1799, and Wellesley viewed this as an opportunity to entice the ruler into modifying the Treaty of 1798. Like the *casus belli* extracted from Tipu Sultan's French connection, Zemaun Shah furnished the Company with an excuse to increase the Company's Oudh contingent beyond its preordained maximum of 13,000 regulars.[345] Simultaneously, the financial rigours of the Napoleonic Wars pressed British demands for revenue from the EIC by 1801. Hence, Wellesley sought to acquire land concessions from the Nawab as an alternative to the less profitable and less reliable monetary subsidy method — a far cry from the modest monthly subsidy sum of £3,000 that the Nawab was required to pay in 1765.[346] Although Sadaat Ali was aggrieved by the

[341] Richard Colley Wellesley, "Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence, &C. &C. &C., Pages 1 to 300," in *The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G., during His Administration in India*, Robert Montgomery Martin, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 205.
[342] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 181. The subsidiary process culminated into the bloody annexation of the territory under Lord Clyde.
[343] Hutton, 181-182; Lawrence, *Essays, Military and Political, Written in India*, 100.
[344] Jackson et al., *History of India*, 306-343.
[345] Lawrence, *Essays, Military and Political, Written in India*, 109.
[346] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 180-185.

alliance's debilitating terms and aired his grievances to 'his' Resident, stating that 'he would rather abdicate the throne to his son than become a British cypher,' a treaty was signed on November 10th, 1801. With the Nawab's hesitant submission, the Rohilkhand, Lower Doab, and the sarkar of Gorakhpur were ceded to the Company in lieu of an annual tribute.[347] In a desperate effort to amend the binding terms of the declaration and deter Lord Wellesley's colonial designs, the Wuzeer communicated his treaty concerns on February 24th, 1802.[348] Still, Wellesley remained unmoved, articulating the ironclad nature of his resolutions in a dispatch to the Court of Directors:

> [His] intention [was] to profit by the event to the utmost practicable extent . . . [entertaining] a confident hope of being able to either establish, with the consent of the Vizier, the sole and exclusive authority of the Company within the province of Oude and its dependencies.[349]

These imperial ends were apparent, for under Wellesley's governorship, annexation and paramountcy had become "a question of convenience and expediency."[350] The process by

[347] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 180-185. In total, these territories combined were worth approximately 1,35,23,474 rupees.
[348] "No. LVI. MEMORANDUM of the final result of the discussions between His EXCELLENCY the MOST NOBLE the GOVERNOR-GENERAL and the NABOB VIZIER of Oudh, -1802," 134-141. The Nawab filed a number of complaints regarding his jurisdiction over judicial and religious affairs ("Mohammedan" faith). To this Wellesley remained aloof, disinterested, and uninvolved, for allowing the ruler to enjoy certain authority facilitated the mirage of equality and reciprocity.
[349] Wellesley, "Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence," 156. If this was not achievable, Wellesley continued that he would at least endeavour to "to place our interests in that quarter on an improved and durable foundation."
[350] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 180-185; Jackson et al., *History of India,* 306-343.

which this was undertaken began with the dissolution of the "rabble rout" (Oudh's army) and its replacement by 12 battalions of Company infantry and four regiments of Company cavalry, increasing Oudh's annual subsidy expense to £1,300,000.[351] Again, the Nawab protested, claiming that his treasury had been bled dry; Wellesley's retort was the territorial dismemberment of the state, which was to serve as collateral worth upwards of £1,350,000 per annum.[352] Wellesley's instructions to Oudh's Resident reiterated his geopolitical objectives related to annexation: "The new possession of the Company should be so arranged as to surround whatever territory remains to his Excellency. With this view, the country to be required, in addition to the Doab, must be Rohileund."[353] Although the acquisition of the territories covered all future expenses incurred by the subsidiary force in defence of the Nawab, it halved his polity, "reduc[ing] his troops to four battalions of infantry and one of *najibs*, 2,000 cavalry and 300 *golandaz*."[354] It further postulated that he also "introduce a good system of government in his remaining territories," and stipulated the unmolested navigation of the Ganges and other rivers, whereupon they

[351] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 180-185. Note that this grand total was offset by the £165,000 due to the disbanding of the Nawab's 'rabble.'
[352] Hutton, 180-185. The total worth of Oudh's ceded territory was estimated to be upwards of £1,350, 000 per annum. In fact, under British management the territory's annual revenues doubled.
[353] Wellesley, "Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence," 438. In this dispatch, Wellesley invokes the Hyderabad precedent once again, "The cession of these two provinces may be made with less violence to the pride and prejudices of the Vizier, inasmuch as they were actually added to the possessions of his family by the British arms. In this respect the arrangement proposed to the Vizier is similar to that concluded with the Nizam. The greater part of the countries ceded to the Company by the Nizam having been originally acquired from the power of Mysore by the assistance of the Company."
[354] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 180-185.

formed a boundary with the British holdings.[355] Collectively, these clauses rendered Oudh a buffer state. Per Hutton, "Lord Wellesley gave with the one hand he resumed with the other, and then took credit to himself for respecting the pride and prejudices of his plundered allies."[356]

In another dispatch, Wellesley conveyed to the Resident in Oudh that it had become feasible to wonder whether the Wuzeer, who adamantly objected to being despoiled by the subsidiary alliance, may require a more 'comprehensive' arrangement. Simply, Wellesley sought to modify the existing treaty with the Wuzeer to achieve 'total Company authority over every part of Oudh.' And the completion of territorial cession, according to the Marquess, would "facilitate any further settlement which may be deemed expedient."[357] Less than two weeks later, in a letter to his brother, Henry Wellesley, Lord Wellesley openly affirmed a "uniform endeavour to secure the civil and military government of Oude [sic] in the hands of the Company" as he had done with the Rajah of Tanjore and the Nawab of the Carnatic.[358] Ironically, Wellesley's colonial designs were obstructed by the Wuzeer's acquiescing to the annexation of half of his dominions because the preserved half was guaranteed. Effectively, this stipulated that the Nawab would never again be charged for the subsidy so long as he endeavoured to always

[355] Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties, Section V.* This treaty with the Nawab of Oudh for the cession of territory in commutation of subsidy was concluded by Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott on 10 November 1801.
[356] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 180-185.
[357] Hutton, 183.
[358] Hutton, 183.

"advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the . . . Company."[359]

Similar to Hyderabad, Company relations with Oudh between 1798 and 1805 emphasized the subsidiary force's role in concocting a pretext for internal interference. Wellesley articulated this reality, "the Nawab's authority [was] upheld by the terror of our name and exercised by the immediate force of our arms . . . sustained exclusively by his connection with the Company's Government and the reputation and honour of the British nation."[360] In other words, the Marquess affirmed British entitlement to state intervention, for it was the Company's exclusive prerogative by virtue of its in-province contingent. The Governor-General indiscriminately pursued this unstipulated clause, applying it to all subsidiary alliances in which it was most convenient for the Company to fabricate a motive for war against a particular ruler. Wellesley usurped and installed whomever the Company saw fit — whomever he deemed amenable to British interests.[361] Sir Thomas Munro, an ardent opponent of the EIC's imperialistic tendencies, observed that the imbalance of force created by the subsidized army dismantled the local rulers' ability to succumb to the elements dangerous to governance. This system interrupted the natural cycle of Indian princes as overwhelming Company power prevented local dissent, agitation, and uprising, thereby artificially stopping the organic toppling of the feudatory patriarchs. Munro maintains that this permanently incentivized a "state of decay" as it tore at the seams of the native prince's hierarchical authority and governing

[359] No. LVI. MEMORANDUM of the final result of the discussions between His EXCELLENCY the MOST NOBLE the GOVERNOR-GENERAL and the NABOB VIZIER of Oudh, -1802. 134.
[360] Wellesley, "Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence," 209.
[361] Jackson et al., *History of India*, 306-343.

structures from within via the jettison of their subjects' right to self-determination.[362]

In a letter to the Court of Directors, the Marquess confirmed that he sought to maintain the Company's right to interfere in the internal matters of the territory still under the control of the Wuzeer.[363] Much like Mysore in this regard, the subsidized force informed a British sense of entitlement to interference as an ambivalent last resort — the legitimate exceptions being that the "sufferings of the oppressed people and the impoverished condition of the country became a disgrace or a potential danger to the Company's assets."[364] Those occasions wherein intervention was deemed applicable were moulded to rationalize annexation. Via these unequal treaty terms, the EIC gradually and intentionally brought about a state of maladministration that also irrefutably justified and demanded 'active' intervention. It was, therefore, behind the veil of the subsidiary system's treaties and protective paternal clauses that the disintegration of the native states' agency took place, preparing their territory for absorption. Oudh, like Mysore, both nominally and virtually became British provinces under Wellesley's boot.[365]

By the system's design, the Company was destined to interfere in the affairs of their vassalized Indian rulers, though the way they accomplished this was covert and a departure from the overt tactics of the Mughals. The Company was a different kind of conquering power, for those they conquered were 'allies,' which consented, sometimes but not always at bayonet-point, to internal partition. Notably, the Court of Directors, far

[362] Gleig, *Life of Sir Thomas Munro,* 463.
[363] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 182-184.
[364] Hutton, 182-184.
[365] Hutton, 184.

disconnected from Indian affairs, occasionally strove, without success, "to moderate the ambition of the satraps, and to plead the cause of the helpless."[366] For example, they condemned the Marquess's heavy-handed and extortive actions in Oudh, stating that:

> . . . the late arrangement with the Nabob of Oude, under the spurious form of a treaty, can be considered in no other light than as a direct infraction of the Treaty of 1798, and as wrestling from him, against his will, a portion of his territorial dominions . . . not as the consequence of any breach of engagement on his part, but in pursuance of views formed by the Governor-General [Wellesley].[367]

In this case, as in many others, the Directors were overruled by the Board of Control, and their sole odium was disapproving of the acts instead of preventing them.[368] It is under this context that the imperialistically asymmetrical stipulations within the Treaty of Bassein must be understood.

After the Battle of Poona on October 25th, 1802, the Treaty of Bassein was signed on December 31st, 1802, between the British East India Company and the hitherto elusive Maratha Peshwa of Poona, Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahaudur.[369] On May 13th, 1803, the Peshwa was restored to his throne with the ousting of Dualat Rao Sindhia (and Raja Berar) and rendered a

[366] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 184.
[367] Hutton, 185.
[368] Hutton, 185; Jackson et al., *History of India*, 306-343.
[369] Williams, *Historians' History*, 89-122. The Peshwa was driven into an alliance as a result of Jaswant Rao Holkar's aggression.

British 'client' by virtue of his subsidiary alliance with the EIC.[370] Wellesley pursued this arrangement to align the other Marathas under the *de facto* Baji Rao II; this treaty was significant due to the accelerating effect its clauses had on the dissolution of the Maratha Empire.[371] Despite opposition to the alliance's terms by several Maratha chieftains (instigating the Second Anglo-Maratha War), Wellesley's Machiavellian calculations made manifest in the agreement's clauses facilitated rapid Company extension across Poona's western territories.[372] Although the treaty was articulated on the grounds of a mutually defensive pact, it serves as the archetype of Wellesley's subsidiary alliance system, for its nineteen articles best illustrate its degrading qualities and unequal nature.

The Treaty of Bassein is rife with contradictory rhetoric in which the British promised to preserve Baji Rao II's legitimate rule "as long as the sun and moon shall endure."[373] Moreover, it guaranteed that the Company would "have no manner of concern with any of his highness's children, relations, subjects or servants, with respect to whom his highness is absolute."[374] Further, the Company stated it would not tolerate interference in state affairs in matters of limited significance, upholding instead the "sicar's just claims."[375] Per the agreement, the prince was to

[370] In the conflict against Dualat Rao Sindhia, Hyderabad once again supported the Company.
[371] Edward Thompson, "The Treaty of Bassein," in *The Making of the Indian Princes*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 1943), 43-48.
[372] Jackson et al., *History of India*, 320-323. The process of annexation would be completed by Lord Hastings.
[373] *Traité d'alliance entre la Compagnie anglaise des Indes orientales et le Peishwah Rao Pundit Purdhaun; signé à Bassein le 31 Décembre 1802*, In "Traités de Paix et d'Alliance entre la Compagnie Anglaise des Indes Orientales et Différents Peuples des Indes; 1802; 1803; 1804," 147-200: Article XIX.
[374] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XVII.
[375] *Traité d'alliance*, Article IX. The specific occasions of disallowed interference cited in the treaty are as follows: "nor like subundy to be stationed in the

receive "[no] less than six thousand regular native infantry . . . field pieces, and European artillery men attached, and with the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunition."[376] The treaty also bound the states to an eternal union of peace and friendship, rendering them "one and the same."[377] According to the postulations, Wellesley's external aims for the state were "to cultivate and improve the general relations of peace and amity with all the powers of India, according to the true spirit and tenor of this defensive treaty."[378] Additionally, Company forces along with local forces were to form a defensive alliance and come to each other's aid in the face of unprovoked aggression.[379] In the event of internal disturbances, the Company's contingent committed itself to the protection of the prince, punishment of rebels, and disciplining of his subjects. "[380] Similarly, the Company committed to preserving the prince's territory as though it was their own.[381]

Ironically, the sentiment of 'protecting the prince's territory as though it was the Company's own' turned into a literal reality. In return for these assurances, the Company was granted several destabilizing privileges and monopolies within the territory. In the event of internal dissent, the prince was to admit as many subsidiary troops as was necessary to quell the uprising.[382] Furthermore, the prince was to indefinitely forgo engaging in commerce or negotiations of any sort without first

country to collect the revenues, nor against any of the principal branches of the Marhatta empire, nor in levying contributions from Marhatta dependants in the manner of Moolkgeery."

[376] *Traité d'alliance*, Article III.
[377] *Traité d'alliance*, Article I, Article XVII.
[378] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XV.
[379] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XII.
[380] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XVIII, Article IX.
[381] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XV.
[382] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XVIII.

obtaining the Company's blessing.[383] In the instance of an attack against the EIC's interests, the prince was to dedicate himself fully to the cause, recruiting as many "*Bunjarees* [itinerant merchants] as possible" and collecting "as much grain as may be practicable in his frontier garrisons."[384] These, in addition to an army of ten thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry accompanied by a train of artillery, munitions, and other goods required for war were to be made available to the coalition.[385]

Wellesley kneecapped the Peshwa's foreign policy and domestic diplomacy to cut costs, stipulating that the prince must make amends with the Nabob Asoph Jah Bahaudur and the Rajah Rao Guikwar Bahaudur.[386] In other words, his territorial claims were now subject to the Company's 'arbitration.' Along those lines, Baji Rao II had to eternally relinquish his 'inconvenient' rights, claims, and privileges to the city of Surat, all Nogabundy, Baroda, and all collections on that account.[387] In the event of differences arising with local factions, the Peshwa was required to "communicate to the . . . East India Company, before any act of hostility [or peaceful negotiation between Poona and Hyderabad] shall be committed [and conducted] on either side."[388] In essence, the prince's foreign policy was to entirely depend on the interests and calculations of the Company.[389] These stipulations collectively demilitarized the Peshwa's

[383] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XVII.
[384] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XVI.
[385] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XV. This article also stipulated that the Company forces and that of the prince's were to be joined together to form a total force of two reserve Sepoy battalions for 'his highness's protection, four Sepoy battalions with artillery, six thousand infantry, ten thousand horses in addition to the prince's troops.'
[386] *Traité d'alliance*, Articles XIII-XIV.
[387] *Traité d'alliance*, Part II: Article X.
[388] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XIII.
[389] *Traité d'alliance*, Part II: Articles XII, XIV.

geopolitical claims; consequently, the Company was less likely to incur expenses associated with the dispensation of its subsidiary force, diverting its resources instead to other campaigns.

Exacerbating this inequity, the prince had to honour the regular payment of the subsidiary force by ceding territories to the Company.[390] Additionally, a clause ensured that any absorbed territory that did not prove valuable or became inconvenient to the EIC may be renegotiated or exchanged for more beneficial territory.[391] Remarkably, an additional preemptive sum was postulated to cover expenses in the event of a poor annual revenue return. Simply put, if the annexed territory that was used to pay for the subsidiary force, evaluated at "twenty-five lacks of rupees," failed to live up to its worth, the total land ceded was estimated at an annual revenue of "twenty-six lacks of rupees" to calculate for such an event.[392]

The prince was required to provide the provisions necessary for the contingent's permanent maintenance, guaranteeing that "the [British] commanding officer and officers . . . shall be treated, in all respects, in a manner suitable to the dignity and greatness of both states."[393] In addition, all forts within the districts, including their equipment, ordnance, and provisions, had to be ceded to the Company.[394] By entrusting the responsibility of national defence to the Company, the British obtained a monopoly of force. The Resident was also to assume command of the feudatory state's forces at the finalization of the treaty, taking control of the ceded districts and facilitating the Peshwa's issuing of "the necessary *purwannabs*."[395] Finally, to

[390] *Traité d'alliance,* Articles IV, V.
[391] *Traité d'alliance*, Articles IV, V.
[392] *Traité d'alliance*, Article IV.
[393] *Traité d'alliance*, Article IX.
[394] *Traité d'alliance*, Article VIII.
[395] *Traité d'alliance*, Article VII.

guarantee ascendancy in the state as the hegemonic entity, thus curbing non-British influence over Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahaudur's court, the Company stipulated that the prince was no longer able to enlist and retain non-British Europeans; those already in his service were to be discharged and dispelled from the territory.[396]

Certainly, there were several issues inherent in the alliance with the Baj Rao II, as articulated by Arthur Wellesley: "[This alliance] will be a useful lesson to governments and to us all . . . avoid entering into a treaty with a prince . . . whose character that is known is a lack of sincerity."[397] Yet, Poona's enrollment as a subsidiary state by Wellesley's plying of inter-Maratha rivalries allowed him to wage a "necessary campaign" against Sindhia and Bhonsle that furthered his scheme of a 'pacified India.'[398] Ultimately, this treaty offers the most complete description of the unequal Anglo-Indian dynamics, commitments, and expectations stipulated within the clauses of the East India Company's subsidiary alliance system. Although Wellesley was required to supply a "perpetual" military contingent of no less than 6,000 soldiers to the Peshwa, the latter was forced to relinquish his military capacity, districts of his territory, his foreign policy, diplomatic abilities, and exclude all non-British European experts, specialists, and mercenaries from his service.[399] As a result, the Company had

[396] *Traité d'alliance*, Article XI.
[397] Bennell, "Governor-Generals," 95.
[398] Williams, *Historians' History*, 89-122. Many scholars suggest that the removal of Holkar from Poona was a necessary action and 'wise measure.' If the Treaty of Bassein had not been made, the Company would have been obliged to engage a more formidable Maratha confederacy.
[399] M.S. *Naravane, Battles of the Honourable East India Company* (A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 2014), 66.

effectively consolidated its stranglehold over all of the most critical functions of the feudatory state.[400]

Perhaps this is not conclusive enough, for some scholars maintain that these restrictive stipulations systematized by Wellesley were truly negotiated with a "spirit of reciprocity."[401] Indeed, Lord Wellesley stated:

> By this [subsidiary] arrangement, the Peishwa would derive the benefit of our support without becoming subject to our control; his jealousy would not be alarmed by the establishment of a British force within his dominions, and his pride would probably be gratified by entertaining British auxiliaries in his service without any sacrifice of his authority, or any diminution of his resources.[402]

True, some treaties were more heavy-handed than others; for example, the Treaty of Salbai, made with Scindia in 1804, "acknowledged and respected his independence as a sovereign."[403] Similarly, the Treaty of Pune struck with Holkar ensured that he was not reduced to a "subordinate ally."[404] And on the coattails of Lord Wellesley's resignation and the death of his successor, Lord Cornwallis, the subsidiary system seemed to

[400] Williams, *Historians' History*, 89-122. As it stood, the stakes were much higher for Indian nonadherence to the treaty's terms and conditions than for the British in the event of Company noncompliance.
[401] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 50.
[402] Wellesley, "Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence," 18.
[403] Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties*, Part I; Keralaputra, "Internal States," 45-58.
[404] Aitchison, 45-58. The Treaty of Pune (Poona) was signed on 3 June 1817 at the end of the Third Anglo-Maratha War.

falter in areas like Central India.[405] The subsequent actions by Lord Minto and others, such as the refusal to ally with Bhopal in 1809, reduced EIC commitments and, in some cases, saw the dissolution of subsidiary treaties.[406] In this period, subsidiary alliances also proved to be a drain on the British economy — while the Chinese tea trade contributed to Company solvency, the subsidiary system contributed to subcontinental insolvency due to high military expenditures. In the short term, at least, Wellesley's expansionist policies geared towards acquiring land revenue based on European soldiery became a depreciating investment, immediately undermining his already unpopular tenure as Governor-General.[407]

Notwithstanding, in most cases, such as that of Mysore, there were long-lasting repercussions associated with the system's ferocious opportunism and undeniable lack of collegiality. These lasting effects are best encapsulated by the Marquess's following dispatch: "I consider . . . the occurrence [Maha-Rajah's 'mismanagement'] . . . a favourable opportunity for the modification of our subsidiary engagements . . . [which] justifies and requires a vigourous exertion of our force."[408] In another damning dispatch addressed to the British Resident at Hyderabad, the EIC made its manipulative subsidiary alliance objectives and designs abundantly clear: "The fundamental principle of . . . establishing the subsidiary alliance is to place the States in such a degree of dependence on the British power as may deprive them of the means of prosecuting any measure

[405] The tensions between London and Wellesley are articulated in the latter's letter addressed to David Scott, dated 17 March 1802. Wellesley states, "My line is plain and direct; I have resigned and have thus removed every obstacle to the free exercise of the discretion of the Court."
[406] Keralaputra, "Internal States," 45-58.
[407] Hutton, "The Subsidiary System in India," 99.
[408] Wellesley, "Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence," 260.

hazardous to the security of the British Empire."[409] Under Clive, the Company of traders became prince-makers in two regions, Bengal and the Carnatic, yet expressed little desire to assume the responsibilities of territorial sovereignty. However, in just seven years under Wellesley's quasi-autocratic direction and subsidiary system, he completely transformed the Company's geopolitical landscape and fortunes in India.[410] Ultimately, the Marquess extended British influence beyond the traditional reaches of the three presidencies, guiding the conceptual inklings and councils of empire.[411] Scholar Ramsey Muir succinctly suggests, "Wellesley was not only a conqueror. He made real contributions to that development of the British system of government . . . without which the achievement of paramountcy would have been neither possible nor justifiable."[412]

The Treaty of Hyderabad set an extractive political precedent, reducing Nizam Ali Khan's royal powers and stately prerogatives to that of a puppet government. The alliance with Oudh's Saadat Ali Khan II rationalized the Company's increasingly extortive behaviours, intentionally driving the state to financial vulnerability to justify territorial annexation. The Treaty of Bassein, signed by the Peshwa Baji Rao II, serves as the premier illustration of the misleading and unequal terms of Wellesley's Anglo-Indian partnerships and the contradictory rhetoric imbued therein. In collection with the Treaty of Seringapatam, among several others, these imperialistic tools shattered the last native bulwarks against British expansion as even the most capable of the princely polities fell under the

[409] Bhandarkar, *India*, 48. Despatch of the Government of India to the Resident at Hyderabad, 4th Feb. 1804.
[410] Bennell, "Governor-Generals," 95; Muir, *Making of British India*, 205.
[411] Blackwood, "The Marquess Wellesley," 407; Muir, 199.
[412] Muir, 205.

Company's suzerainty.[413] Although the subsidiary system was far from a formal political framework, those states under its influence were effectively rendered homage-paying vassals. Arthur Wellesley describes this reality:

> The principal stipulation was uniformly protection by the British government . . . the Native state was declared or was considered to be independent in the management of all its internal concerns . . . [but the] . . . states having in every instance contracted these alliances in a moment of weakness, in which . . . all the powers of their government were paralysed.[414]

In large part, this paralyzing process was facilitated by the Marquess's strength of personality despite his frequent clashes with Company headquarters at Leadenhall and Parliament.[415] During his tenure as Governor-General, Wellesley displayed his "scant patience with Oriental legalism," and his mastery of India's system of government played no minor role in the establishment of the "informal empire" and the laying of a foundation for British paramountcy fifty-eight years prior to

[413] Muir, *Making of British India,* 205. In essence, the treaty with the Nawab of Oudh, the treaty with the Gaekwar, the arrangements with Surat and Mysore, the treaty with the Nizam (October 1800) and most of all, the treaty of Bassein, afforded the most efficient (and successful) means of opposing the confederacy.
[414] Muir, 205.
[415] Williams, *Historians' History*, 89-122. Apart from Munro, Lord Brougham also opposed the subsidiary system as "unjust and tyrannical," stating, "We had been compelled to interfere in their affairs, and to regulate the succession to their thrones, upon each successive discovery of designs hostile to us, nay, threatening our very existence, the subversion of all the fabric of useful and humane and enlightened polity which we had erected on the ruins of their own barbarous system, and particularly the restriction of the cruel despotism under which the native millions had formerly groaned."

Dalhousie's annexation policy.[416] As Bennell asserts, "India lacked a single predominant power . . . [and] Wellesley fought for the contest of that heritage" by making the annexed territories "sources of revenue, able to support the armies upon which his larger schemes depended."[417] Along those lines, the Duke of Wellington also stated:

> The foundation and the instrument of all power [in India was] . . . the sword . . . [and] when these alliances . . . formed, the sword . . . [or rather] the army of the East India Company became the only support and the only efficient instrument of authority of the protected Native states.[418]

As a testament to this, with the exception of Punjab, by 1818, many of the hitherto powerful Indian entities had all but collapsed at the tip of the Sepoys' swords and administrators' pens, granting the EIC ascendancy in approximately two-thirds of the Indian subcontinent.[419] By the assumption of Crown rule over company-state rule in 1858, India's 'pageant princes' found themselves in a humiliating and long-lost battle with the precarious and imperceptibly gradual currents of change, forcefully and irreversibly initiated by Lord Wellesley's foreign bayonets between 1798 and 1805.

[416] Bennell, "Governor-Generals," 94-102.
[417] Bennell, 95-99; SarDesai, *India*, 224-225.
[418] Muir, *Making of British India*, 209.
[419] Bennell, "Governor-Generals," 95-99.

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"Hackneyed Maxims and Dictums": The Mackenzie King Government's Response to Adrian Arcand's Canadian Fascism (1928-1945)

William Patterson

In 1937, the Honourable E.J. McMurray announced to a crowd of unemployed Manitobans that the world was undergoing a struggle between fascism and communism, and that the change was going to be "more rapid than [they] could really imagine."[420] The 17 February 1938 Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) security report to Mackenzie King's Prime Minister's Cabinet states that, of all the Canadian fascist organizations, "only one at present, in fact, may be regarded as possessing any significance at all [...] [Adrien Arcand's] National Socialist Christian [Party] of Quebec."[421] It adds that "one major difference, however, between the N.S.C.P. and other organizations of a similar nature [...] is that it possesses potentialities of comparatively rapid growth."[422] The interwar period saw the rise of many fascist organizations across the world, yet sitting on the brink of war with a militarising Nazi Germany William Lyon Mackenzie King's government was shockingly dismissive of Adrien Arcand and his fascist parties. So just how big of a threat was Arcand's Canadian fascism, and why was the government unconcerned with its apparent potential? This essay focuses on the period between

[420] Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *The RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part IV, 1937* (Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1997), 39.
[421] Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *The RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part V, 1938-1939* (Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1997), 72.
[422] Kealey and Whitaker, eds., *The Depression Years, Part V*, 72-73.

1928 to 1945 and examines the elements of Arcand's Canadian fascist ideology and how they appeared to Canadian government threat assessments. The first part of this essay will define the nature of Arcand's Canadian fascism, considering the core tenets of the ideology, and explain a proposed definition of an 'inwards-facing' ideology. Part two will examine the Mackenzie King government's core beliefs, predicated largely on the quasi-sympathetic views of the prime minister himself. Part three will look to see what the Mackenzie King government's assessment of Arcand's fascists was, and will attempt to explain why this was the case considering its organizational and ideological weaknesses as well as the impact of contemporary events.

This hybrid paper considers both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are, generally, twofold. The first group is Arcand's political writings. These writings will help to establish a concept of Arcand's conception of Canadian fascism. The second group is the RCMP security bulletins compiled by Gregory Kealey and Reginald Whitaker. The bulletins considered generally range in the late 1930s. Kealey and Whitaker, along with Andrew Parnaby, also wrote *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada from the Fenians to Fortress America*, a book on political surveillance in Canada that provides context to Canadian political surveillance history. This essay will also consult Hugues Théorêt's *The Blue Shirts: Adrien Arcand and Fascist Anti-Semitism in Canada* to provide a comprehensive account of Arcand's life and political career with which to support the primary source evidence. The analysis of Mackenzie King is based mostly on secondary sources, as he is not the focus of this paper. Proper primary source research on him would require a paper of its own. The two somewhat flawed secondary sources on Mackenzie King are Robert Teigrob's *Four Days in Hitler's Germany:*

Mackenzie King's Mission to Avert a Second World War and Roy MacLaren's *Mackenzie King in the Age of the Dictators: Canada's Imperial and Foreign Policies*. Both sources display obvious bias against Mackenzie King, Teigrob's more so than MacLaren's. Both sources were also reviewed by J.L. Granatstein, who pointed out a few errors and methodological flaws, but when cross-referenced the books present a functional picture of the prime minister.[423] This essay also considers two of Mackenzie King's 1942 speeches as a way of understanding how he wanted the Canadian public to perceive fascism by that point in World War II.

Fascism as a whole is a difficult ideology to define. There have been a number of definitions offered over the years, and while there is far too much to cover in the span of one article a rough picture can be drawn from Roger Griffin's book *The Nature of Fascism*. He makes the point that the exact definition of the term 'fascism' depends on the user's political alignment: Marxists often used it to define any anti-Marxist movements, for example. Griffin reminds the reader that if this is the case, then "most of [twentieth century] Europe could be seen as threatened by 'fascism' in one form or another."[424] Fascist thinkers, on the other hand, saw the term as a "badge of honour" and as a symbol that they were emulating Mussolini's "manifestation of a positive new force in modern politics."[425] Griffin explains that fascism was

[423] J.L. Granatstein, "Review: Robert Teigrob. 'Four Days in Hitler's Germany: Mackenzie King's Mission to Avert a Second World War.'," *Canadian Jewish Studies / Études Juives Canadiennes* 30, (November 30, 2020), 181-183; J.L. Granatstein, "MacLaren, Roy. Mackenzie King in the age of the dictators: Canada's imperial and foreign policies.," *CHOICE: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 57, no. 1 (2019): 94.
[424] Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, 1st ed., (London: Routledge, 1993), 2.
[425] Griffin, *Fascism*, 1. It is of tangential note that fascist thinkers understood their movements as positive and beneficial.

generally antagonistic to "*laissez-faire* economics, consumerist materialism and the bourgeoisie," something we see manifested in Arcand's political ideology.[426] One of the major historiographical debates on the subject of fascism is whether it can only be defined within the context of the twentieth century or whether the term 'fascism' accepts any ideology that fits a loose framework.[427] In this case, the answer is simple: Arcand was a twentieth-century fascist and so the former definition is sufficient.

Adrien Arcand's brand of fascism was, above all else, Canadian. While it was certainly not the interwar period's only Canadian interpretation of fascism, it was unique in its beliefs. In his *Programme du Parti de l'Unité Nationale du Canada*, Arcand argues that, even after the Treaty of Westminster that made Canada an independent state, Canadians were not actually Canadian; they were British subjects that happened to live in Canada.[428] He was not against Commonwealth membership but simply sought to reverse the formula by placing Canadian citizenship and identity before the identity of a British subject.[429] He also states that Canadian citizens should come from Canadian citizens, limiting immigration to carefully selected individuals and only as required by demographics.[430] But who could be a Canadian citizen? In Arcand's opinion, this fell only to Canada's two founding nations, Anglo-Canadians and French Canadians. He believed that the 1763 Treaty of Paris, the 1774 Quebec Act,

[426] Griffin, *Fascism*, 4. See footnote 7. For more discussion on the nature of fascism, Griffin's book is an informational source.
[427] Griffin, 4-5.
[428] Adrien Arcand, *Exposé des principes et du programme du Parti National Social Chrétien* (Montréal: Le Patriote, 1934), 14-15; Adrien Arcand, *Programme du Parti de l'Unité Nationale du Canada*, n.d, 2.
[429] Arcand, *Programme du PUNC*, 2.
[430] Arcand, 3.

and Confederation in 1867 were an agreement between the two nations that left no space for other groups who had not sacrificed for the country.[431] Canada, he argues, is a bilingual Christian country with only two peoples, one that speaks English and one that speaks French, and that is either Catholic or Protestant.[432] His ideology also has strong authoritarian leanings. Arcand advocates an innately authoritarian Canadian corporatist system, as evidenced by his pamphlet *Corporatisme Canadien*. While he claims that his corporatist system aims to free the workforce from the control of the government, he aims to do so by dismantling liberal democracy, individualism, and party-based parliamentarism, replacing them with a system that organizes the state's various industries into unions and associations that regulate themselves under the government's control for national interest.[433] This system is, by his own admission, a voluntarily self-imposed dictatorship.[434] Arcand makes it clear that Canadian corporatism is diametrically opposed to communism, however. Communism, he says, is anti-Christian and aims to destroy family, tradition, morality, and religion, as well as being a failed Jewish conspiracy that has only ever led to blood and ruin.[435] Arcand's fascist philosophy is thus predicated on three pillars: nationalism, authoritarianism, and anti-communism. The first two orient the nation's attention inwards; they ask what the

[431] Adrien Arcand, *Chrétien ou Juif: Les juifs forment-ils une "minorité" et doivent-ils êtres traités comme tels dans la province de Québec?, Précédé du discours prononcé par M. Joseph Ménard au Monument National, le 3 novembre 1930* (Montréal: Adj. Ménard, éditeur, 1930), 19-20. For the question of sacrifice, see: Arcand, *Programme du PUNC*, 3.
[432] Arcand, *Chrétien ou Juif*, 36-37; Adrien Arcand, *Fascisme ou Socialisme? Précédé d'une allocution par Joseph Ménard* (Montréal: Le Patriote, 1933), 59-60.
[433] Adrien Arcand, *Corporatisme Canadien* (Montreal: Parti de l'Unité Nationale du Canada, Comité d'éducation nationaliste, 1938), 2.
[434] Arcand, *Corporatisme Canadien*, 10.
[435] Arcand, *Chrétien ou Juif*, 30; Arcand, *Corporatisme Canadien*, 2.

nation can do for itself, and how it can stop others from influencing it. The third pillar is the rejection of the universalism of communist philosophy. The ideology thus faces inwards; it is 'inwards facing.'

Adrien Arcand's fascist movement was the most prolific Canadian fascist movement of the interwar period.[436] The way the movement was treated by the Mackenzie King government and the RCMP varied based on the time period, but can largely be considered tame given the extreme suspicion and policing with which other radical political groups were treated. The government did not see Arcand and his fascists as an existential threat to Canada, and it was only as pre-war tensions grew in Europe that they came to regard them with caution. Before European fascists became the enemy, the government understood Canadian fascism for what it was—weak, underfunded, impotent, and ultimately inconsequential. Once fascism became the enemy, Mackenzie King's government shut down Arcand and his party so quickly and definitively that they held little importance post-1940 to totally minimize any possibility of subversion, no matter how small.[437] Essentially, in the eyes of the government and the RCMP, Canadian fascism was insubstantial until associated with the threat of European fascism at which point it was rapidly swept aside.

A journalist by trade, Arcand began his independent

[436] Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part V*, 407. The RCMP points out that in 1939 the only Canadian city with any sizeable supporter base for the NUP and Canadian fascism was Montreal, despite the fact that it was formed of small parties all over the country, notably from major immigrant hubs like Toronto.

[437] Hugues Théorêt, Ferdinanda Van Gennip, and Howard Scott, *The Blue Shirts: Adrien Arcand and Fascist Anti-Semitism in Canada* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2017), 191-193; After his arrest, Arcand spent the war in Canadian government internment camps achieving even less than he had before the war.

fascist career by founding newspapers and editing for them under a pen name. He founded his first two newspapers in 1929 named *Le Miroir* and *Le Goglu*, the latter being more satirical than the former. He also formed a social group based on *Le Goglu*, named *L'Ordre patriotique des Goglus* in 1929. By 1930, he had published a third newspaper named *Le Chameau*. There was a slew of newspapers for which he published or edited, though individual titles are not as important as understanding that his background was in what amounts to political propaganda and that most of his money came from his newspapers. None of the newspapers were particularly popular or well-funded at any point in his career, mirroring the future economic condition of his fascist parties.[438] As his reach grew in the typically Liberal-Party-oriented Québec, he sought and acquired funding from the conservative candidate for the federal government, R.B. Bennett, who wished to make a drive for the Québec electorate. Arcand also received support from individual donors such as Dr. Paul-Émile Lalanne, an eccentric man with a Nazi-themed private island.[439]

Arcand's career as a true political figure began in 1934 when he founded the NSCP. The NSCP was nationalist, had a paramilitary wing known as the *Casques d'acier* (Steel Helmets), and was intensely Christian. It aimed to grant Canadian citizenship exclusively to Anglo and French Canadians, but was willing to admit others as long as they renounced their ethnic identities in favour of one of these.[440] The NSCP "expressed strong resistance to the abuses of capitalism, to economic

[438] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, *The Blue Shirts*, 10-11, 50-52.
[439] For a citation and more information on R.B. Bennett's involvement, see: Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, 50-59; for a citation and more information on Dr. Paul-Émile Lalanne's involvement see: Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, 60-64.
[440] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, 84-89.

liberalism, and to materialism."[441] They were not the only fascist organizations in Canada, though they were the largest.[442] Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists had inspired the Canadian Union of Fascists which had branches in Ontario and Western Canada, and there was also the Canadian Nationalist Party (CNP) based out of Winnipeg. In 1938, along with newly-established branches of the NSCP in Ontario and a variety of localized fascist clubs, the NSCP formed the unified National Unity Party (NUP) at a convention in Kingston and Toronto.[443]

Arcand's fascism was not an extension of German Nazism or Italian fascism in Canada. Arcand was a French Canadian, a Catholic, and a devout anti-Semite.[444] The preeminence of Arcand's Catholic faith over his international fascist associations cannot be overstated. For example, Arcand originally used the Nazi's Swastika icon in the NSCP's imagery and uniforms. But in 1937, when Pope Pius XI condemned Nazism, Arcand sidelined the Swastika and more blatant fascist identification.[445] Arcand had also been labelled the "Canadian Führer," a reference to Adolph Hitler's title of *Führer*, but Arcand himself dismissed this nickname out of hand.[446] This is because Arcand was not tied to Nazism or any foreign manifestation of fascism as anything other than a convenient blueprint and circumstantial ideological ally for his own particular Canadian brand. Arcand criticized Paul Bouchard, a political opponent and supporter of Mussolini's Italian fascism,

[441] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, *The Blue Shirts*, 86. This strongly reflects some of the definitions of fascism in Griffin's book.
[442] Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part V*, 407.
[443] Kealey and Whitaker, 153-156.
[444] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, *The Blue Shirts*, 8.
[445] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, 8.
[446] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, 8.

for his beliefs. Arcand wrote in the November 1936 issue of his newspaper *Le Fasciste Canadien* that:

> [Bouchard] wants Canadians to follow Italian fascism! When he grows up, [he] will learn that in the thinking of the greatest Italian fascists, Italian fascism is made for Italy, German fascism for Germany, Portuguese fascism for Portugal, Greek fascism for Greece, and that Canada must have its own Canadian fascism, adapted to the Canadian mentality and conditions, because in Canada it is not a question of governing and administering Italians but Canadians. That is the supreme genius of fascism, being able to adapt to all the national traditions and nuances.[447]

Arcand, like the "greatest Italian fascists," felt that uniting fascist organizations across borders was at best unreasonable and at worst delusional. Arcand's desire for an indigenized Canadian fascism meant that he had little reason to seek a united front with fascist parties abroad. Arcand's segregation from Italian and German fascism is corroborated in the April-June 1939 RCMP security bulletin, where it is asserted that "there is little or no liaison or co-operation between the National Unity Party and the German and Italian [fascist] organizations in Canada."[448] Because of this, the government and the RCMP knew that Arcand's movement did not threaten national integrity by cooperating with emerging Axis powers. Additionally, they were not as suspicious of their economic

[447] Parti National Social Chrétien, "'Ti'Boutte' Bouchard, 'Goglu', 'Miroir', Juifs, Intelligence Services, etc.," *Le Fasciste Canadien*, Novembre 1936, 5. Translated by author.
[448] Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part V*, 408.

motivations. A letter from the head of the RCMP's intelligence branch to Norman Robertson, one of Mackenzie King's advisors, stated that fascism was far less of a threat than communism because it was "at least a modified form of capitalism," though given his writings Arcand may not have agreed with this interpretation.[449] Arcand saw French Canadians as the inheritors of history's two greatest cultures, the Latins and the Anglo-Saxons.[450] He was also not opposed to being a member of the British Commonwealth but sought more independence from the British in order to solidify the crucial idea of a Canadian citizen along the lines of the 1931 Treaty of Westminster.[451]

The RCMP may not have feared Arcand's fascists, but they certainly did not trust them. Before the war, the Mackenzie King government had a remarkably difficult time cracking down on the NSCP/NUP. Generally speaking, Arcand and his followers encouraged the party to follow the law. It is unclear whether this was because of their social conservatism or a strategy of avoiding negative governmental attention—presumably both—but either way, there were no real grounds upon which to arrest or ban them.[452] After Canada's declaration of war on Germany in September 1939 things changed for the NUP. The Canadian government published the Defence of Canada Measures under the War Measures Act, allowing the government to react to perceived threats with draconian measures such as indefinite incarceration without trial and outlawing certain political organisations.[453] Arcand

[449] Cited in Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, *The Blue Shirts*, 175.
[450] Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part V*, 256.
[451] Kealey and Whitaker, 165-166. Interestingly, the current state of Canadian independence is not all too far from Arcand's vision.
[452] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, *The Blue Shirts*, 171.
[453] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, 187-188.

and his supporters were forced underground when the NUP was banned. They rebranded themselves as anti-communist and anti-war advocates as a way to retain legitimacy. Shortly after the start of the war, the NUP's headquarters were raided, followed by raids on the houses of many fascist leaders including Arcand himself. In May 1940, Arcand and other leading members of the NUP were arrested and interned.[454] Further detainment of NUP members was done on the basis of war industry and sabotage concerns.

The RCMP was not generally concerned about NUP supporters and their movements before the war or, as evidenced by the case of his wife, during it. At the party's peak, the RCMP and independent Jewish activist groups were aware of no more than approximately 6,000 members. 5,000 of them lived in Québec, and even then their meetings only ever saw an attendance of 400 or 500 members.[455] A possible reason to account for low membership rates, given that the Great Depression had pushed many Canadians to believe in outrageous anti-Semitic conspiracy theories as an explanation for their hardship, was the lack of a longstanding cultural link to the land. Canadian nationalism is not particularly ergonomic; there are many different nationalities that make up the Canadian state despite Arcand's claim of two founding nations, and there was no Canadian parallel to the close ethnic and national ties to the land seen in Europe.[456]

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[454] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, *The Blue Shirts,* 191-193.
[455] Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part V*, 10-11.
[456] In this case it may be even more topical to refer to it as a Canadian immigrant state, seeing as the vast majority of the Canadian population is from a lineage that immigrated within the past few centuries. Of course the original nations tied to Canadian land are Indigenous, but in the case of this paper the 'Canadian nation' refers to the mainly British and French settlers that founded the modern European-style state.

The RCMP's security bulletins to the Cabinet reflect the force's lack of concern with fascist groups and with Arcand's fascist movement in particular. The first time Adrien Arcand and the NSCP are mentioned by name is in October of 1936, almost three years after the party was founded. Even then, the mention is not even in the context of the party itself but in that of an anti-communist message in Arcand's *Le Fasciste Canadien* newspaper. The report only runs for six-and-a-half lines, and Arcand is only mentioned as the paper's editor and not as the leader of the party.[457] Canadian fascism virtually disappears from the RCMP security bulletins again in 1937, reappearing with a great deal of negative coverage in the immediate pre-war 1938-1939 reports. Arcand's fascists were not the only fascist group under observation in the interwar period, either. There are early mentions of the Winnipeg-based CNP in 1933 and 1934, for example, though these are typically in response to communist activities and are admittedly biassed. The 22 December 1933 report written for the Prime Minister's Cabinet records that a communist at a CNP assembly who cursed the King during the singing of "God Save the King" was "given a much needed lesson in manners," a euphemism for a violent beating, by members of the CNP's Brown Shirt paramilitary.[458] Gregory Kealey and Reg Whitaker, the editors of the record compilation, explain that in the reports from 1933 and 1934 the fascists were faced with limited surveillance and even some

[457] Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part III, 1936*, (Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1996), 454.
[458] Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part I, 1933-1934* (Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993), 62, 66.

praise for acts such as the one mentioned above.[459] It is also notable that Arcand's wife, alongside other unincarcerated NUP members, was surveilled by the RCMP during the war. Despite actively working against the war effort, however, these sympathizers were deemed unworthy of "undue alarm" and remained free.[460]

The reappearance of fascism in the RCMP security bulletins of 1938-1939 is the most coverage fascist movements in Canada had received to that point, but generally addressed the movement's instability, unpopularity, and eccentricity. A 'smoking gun' for many of the points made in this paper is the April-June 1939 Civil Security Intelligence Summary, an 18-page entry of which four are dedicated to the NUP.[461] The bulletin describes the party's difficulty in recruiting and retention, listing various reasons such as a lack of support outside of Montreal and, interestingly, the incongruity of demanding party dues from mostly poor and unemployed supporters.[462] Another element of the NUP's supporter base were some of Québec's small business owners, though these generally offered only financial support and did not provide numbers at rallies or any particularly strict adherence to the party.[463] The bulletins also describe many incidences of what they refer to as either "boastful desperation or [...] foolish delusions" expressed by Arcand of inflated party numbers and

[459] Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part I*, 8.
[460] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, *The Blue Shirts*, 205-206.
[461] Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part V*, 393-410.
[462] Kealey and Whitaker, 407-410.
[463] Kealey and Whitaker, 407-408. Their support was likely rooted in the conspiracy theories of large Jewish businesses running small, individually-owned businesses out of the market. It can then be seen as a desperate attempt to retain their livelihoods founded on misguided anti-Semitism rather than an expressed sympathy for fascist ideology.

influence.[464] The RCMP refers to "the hackneyed maxims and dictums of the Fascist ideology," implying that the fascists do not have any new material with which to recruit potential candidates.[465] There is also recorded disunity between various Canadian fascist organizations, including the NUP, and no real association between Canadian fascists and Italian or German fascists operating in Canada.[466]

The following June-September 1939 bulletin continues to deplore the NUP.[467] Drafted after the start of World War II, the fascism section of the bulletin paints a rather grim picture for the party under the subtitle "CANADIAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM IN RETREAT."[468] The bulletin describes the party as "inefficiently organised and never holding a position of great importance in Canada," adding as well that "for some time prior to the outbreak of the war, it had been clearly seen that National Socialism had no place in this country and that it was making little or no headway in Canada."[469] It is notable that the RCMP chose to focus on Arcand's NUP in their report, implying that they believed them to be the most notable example of Canadian fascism. Finally, the bulletin showed a change in the RCMP's stance on the interaction between Canadian and European fascism by pointing out that the Nazi

[464] Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part V*, 407, 409-410. Support outside of Montreal's already limited supporter base was very small. The April-June 1939 report explains that "The activities of the National Unity Party remain localized in Montreal and, to a lesser degree, in Toronto and Quebec [City]; in other parts of the Dominion the movement remains virtually nonexistent." They do not even seem to consider the major Western parties involved in forming the NUP popular in their own regions.
[465] Kealey and Whitaker, 407.
[466] Kealey and Whitaker, 408.
[467] Kealey and Whitaker, 411-434.
[468] Kealey and Whitaker, 424.
[469] Kealey and Whitaker, 424-5.

Party had been supporting the NUP's propaganda efforts.[470] While this does not mean that there was anything more than ideological cooperation between international groups, it acknowledges that the idea of entirely isolated fascist movements is not quite accurate. While allegiances made along political lines between fascist organizations for immediate practical and strategic purposes did occur, there is no reasonable inference to be made of a uniform international ideology.

When Arcand dropped the Swastika in 1937, he is also said to have attempted to distance himself from the fascist label. This is a false equivalence, however, as a label cannot be dropped the way a symbol can. Removing the Swastika from the uniform is simple—once the Swastika patch is removed, it is reasonable enough to claim that it is no longer part of the movement. One cannot simply drop the fascist label and stop being a fascist, however, as it is rooted in political philosophy. To recall, the working definition of fascism in this paper comprises three pillars: nationalism, authoritarianism, and anti-communism. The NSCP/NUP's nationalist bent is clear—Arcand wanted Canada to be an exclusively Anglo and French Canadian state. He sought to enforce this through authoritarian practices like his encouragement of a cult-like following, his establishment of the *Casques d'acier*, and his frequent expulsion and banning of party members that deviated from his ideology.[471] Arcand was also, of course, an anti-communist. This not only relied on the incompatibility of the two ideologies but on communism's strong anti-religious views. Communist philosophy is diametrically opposed to both

[470] Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part V*, 426.
[471] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, *The Blue Shirts*, 116.

Christianity and fascism, to which Arcand was wholeheartedly devoted. Atavism, while not one of the pillars of the working definition, is common in fascist ideology and particularly interesting in the case of Canadian fascism. Pure atavism, the desire to return to a primal ethnocultural connection to the land, cannot apply to Canadian fascism. This is for the same reason that Canadian nationalism is so difficult to anchor in the Canadian identity—unlike Germanic or Italic atavism and despite his best efforts, Arcand's conception of a Canadian has no convincing primaeval connection to the land.[472] Anglo and French Canadian settlers are relatively recent immigrants whose roots in the area end well within the bounds of recorded history. Instead, it seems that he and the NSCP/NUP filled the atavistic 'gap' with an agricultural parochial Christian lifestyle, given that this at least offered a traditional system of dividing and working the land.

Besides a slight peak in 1939 and 1940, the government's threat assessment of Arcand and his party was low. As much as he would have liked it, Arcand's purist ideals simply did not work in the aptly- if somewhat erroneously-named 'New World.' The country was not fertile for nationalist rhetoric—there was no irreconcilably foreign neighbour pressing the country, and in spite of unifying events like the Battle of Vimy Ridge and vague political or cultural similarities in lifestyle between the peoples of Canada there was no national identity strong enough to anchor Canadian fascism. There was also no strong tradition of fascist authoritarianism in the

[472] European atavism may or may not be accurate in its claims of ancestral land relations, but that is besides the point. In those cases, there is a reasonable claim that those ethnic groups occupied the lands in which they live before the modern period and even before the historical period. This simply cannot be claimed by Canadian nationalists—the migration of Europeans to the Americas happened well within heavily recorded history.

Anglosphere. There was no connection between the people of the weakly-identified Canadian nation and the land, besides notions like the long-gone *seigneurial* land system of New France or vague ideas of *coureurs des bois* and fur traders that did not fit into his Catholic agricultural utopia anyway. There was some history with the land, perhaps, but nothing that could equal that of other nations like the Germans or the Italians who had occupied the same general regions since prehistory. The only part of the fascist ideology that could have hooked a strong body of new followers was its anti-communist preaching, but the government and countless other organizations were already more well-represented in that realm than the NSCP/NUP. There were other larger and less contentious bodies through which individuals could support anti-communism—it was not exactly an unpopular political philosophy. The fact of the matter is that Arcand and his parties were never a serious political threat to the Canadian government, least of all in the tumultuous period of the 1930s and early 1940s when there were far larger issues to worry about like communism and World War II. Even when compared to other fascist threats, external actions from German or Italian agents were more insidious and dangerous than Arcand's small movement.

The Liberal government under William Lyon Mackenzie King during the interwar period was also sympathetic to some of the views held by Arcand's organization, perhaps lightly tempering any pressing urges to silence them. Mackenzie King's case is one that demonstrates these existing fascist sympathies in Canada during the interwar period, but importantly the rapid shift towards anti-fascist hostility after the declaration of war as well. Teigrob's *Four Days in Hitler's Germany* will be consulted first, though given the bias mentioned before it will be

cross-referenced afterwards with MacLaren's *Mackenzie King in the Age of the Dictators* in order to draw a clearer picture. First, it is important to remember that the Canadian government followed Neville Chamberlain's British government's strategy of appeasement when dealing with an expansionist Germany in the 1930s. Mackenzie King was a strong believer in appeasement, and this informed his actions during the period. Consider also his attitude towards anti-Semitism, as it is present both in Nazism and in Arcand's fascism, even if it is not integral to fascism as a political ideology. Mackenzie King was neither as hateful towards Jews as most fascists nor as open to them as one might expect from a modern prime minister. Simply, Mackenzie King was anti-Semitic to the point of avoiding association with Jews, once buying a property neighbouring his estate at over three times its appraised value to prevent Jewish or other "unwelcome people" from moving in, but did not wish any particular ill on them either, opposing the Nazi regime's mistreatment of Jews even in his personal diaries.[473]

Mackenzie King is immediately and evidently favourable to nationalist rhetoric. While the prime minister and others like him may have sat anywhere on the spectrum between patriotism and nationalism, many facts point to the idea that Mackenzie King and his government were sympathetic to the general concept of nationalist premises present in Canadian fascism. It is commonly asserted in Canadian historiography, for example, that the Canadian government took the time to deliberate joining the war after the British already had, partially as an assertion of independence. A more mundane example of this nationalist sympathy, drawn from

[473] Robert Teigrob, *Four Days in Hitler's Germany: Mackenzie King's Mission to Avert a Second World War* (University of Toronto Press, 2019), 62, 117.

Teigrob's work, is the time that Mackenzie King decided to board alone instead of in the British embassy on his visit to Germany. Typically, Canadian diplomats would board at the British embassy on foreign visits, reflecting the country's status as a Dominion and not a fully autonomous state.[474] Given Arcand's desire to establish a more independent state within the Commonwealth, one must assume that Mackenzie King was more-or-less in-line with this aspect of the Canadian fascist ideal. He may not have accepted Arcand's extreme Anglo and French Canadian nationalist beliefs, but he would not have been opposed to his strong sense of Canadian identity. Mackenzie King's attitude towards authoritarianism is slightly more complicated. Teigrob indicates that Mackenzie King was generally opposed to it, such as in the case of a notably brief and cursory passage from Mackenzie King's journal about his guided tour of a Hitler Youth camp. Teigrob notes the relative silence about the camp in the otherwise verbose diaries, and supposes it is due to the fact that "the prime minister had long disdained militarism."[475] Militarism is an important aspect of authoritarianism as armed forces are one of the tools that can be used to forcefully assert will. One must also consider Mackenzie King's apparent admiration for the German cult of personality. While his particular affinity for Adolf Hitler seems to be based in their shared mysticism and not his falling victim to propaganda, Mackenzie King was enthralled by the fit, energetic personality of the German nation put on display for him.[476]

Teigrob explains that despite widespread apprehension for Nazi Germany's growing aggression, "[Mackenzie King's]

[474] Teigrob, *Four Days*, 50-53.
[475] Teigrob, 36.
[476] Both men were known for being deeply spiritual.

own survey of Hitler's Germany led him to dismiss these dire warnings and to confidently submit a rather different set of prognostications for international affairs."[477] He noticed the signs of militaristic authoritarianism—considering the world's fear of pre-war Nazi Germany, they must have been difficult to miss—he just did not see them as a problem.[478] While Mackenzie King was clearly not an authoritarian man, it is difficult to dismiss the suggestion that he held a certain amount of empathy for its practice elsewhere.

Another evident point of agreement between Mackenzie King and the fascists was their anti-communist sentiment. While in Germany, Mackenzie King met with Spanish royalty and discussed the ongoing Spanish Civil War. The royals condemned the mostly communist and Soviet-backed Republican forces in the discussion and, within two weeks of his return from Germany, Mackenzie King's government had passed legislation banning Canadian participation in the war.[479] While it is difficult to attribute this decision solely to this encounter—it is in fact unlikely to be the case—the move was certainly intended to hamper Canadian communist attempts to support Spanish communism and to prevent a possible return of enthusiastic and battle-hardened communist veterans to Canada.[480]

MacLaren's book first addresses the difference between the foreign policies of Mackenzie King as an individual and of the Canadian government itself. This distinction, he argues, is actually nonexistent—like so many prime ministers before him,

[477] Teigrob, *Four Days*, 10.
[478] Whether or not this was due to gullibility or personal conviction is a topic of debate, but suffice to say that one way or another Mackenzie King approved of some of the authoritarian practices he saw.
[479] Teigrob, *Four Days*, 78-80.
[480] Teigrob, 80.

Mackenzie King maintained control of the state's foreign affairs portfolio to the point that "whatever foreign policy or policies Canada did have during [the interwar decades] were of King's near-exclusive formulation."[481] Any foreign policy was acceptable to Mackenzie King and to his government, including their stance on foreign fascism. His stance on nationalism can be understood in MacLaren's work through his foreign policy towards the US. While there was an official policy of maintaining friendly relations, Mackenzie King was privately wary that the Americans wanted to influence Canada and its cultural makeup.[482] While this is not nationalism in its purest sense—outward friendliness towards the Americans implies the motivation was more patriotic than nationalistic—it is evident that Mackenzie King wanted to maintain the cultural makeup of Canada and its independent identity. In addition to the desire for further independence from Britain as mentioned by Teigrob, it is clear that Mackenzie King sought a uniquely Canadian Canada. Neither he nor Arcand were interested in a British or Americanized Canada, and certainly not in a Soviet Canada. One would be hard-pressed to argue that Mackenzie King's headstrong will for cultural independence was incompatible with Arcand's nationalist rhetoric, even if the two views were far from the same.

Lacking once again any expressed opinions on interwar Canadian authoritarianism, one must turn to Mackenzie King's opinions on authoritarianism elsewhere. MacLaren, like Teigrob, highlights Mackenzie King's unsoldierly character, though when faced with authoritarian actions from Germany or

[481] Roy MacLaren, *Mackenzie King in the Age of the Dictators: Canada's Imperial and Foreign Policies* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 3.
[482] Maclaren, *Age of Dictators*, 4.

Italy Mackenzie King was quick to blame anyone else for the trouble that inevitably arose. When Hitler annexed the Sudetenland in 1938, for example, Mackenzie King blamed Czechoslovak inflexibility instead of Hitler's aggressive drive to unite Europe's German-speaking peoples.[483] MacLaren's evidence corroborates that of Teigrob in arguing that Mackenzie King was, while not an authoritarian himself, empathetic to its practice elsewhere. Mackenzie King's anti-communist sentiment is displayed in the account of his visit to Mussolini in 1928. He wrote in his diary:

> I saw what government by a dictatorship meant, but when one hears how he came with his Blackshirts to the King, offered his services to clean up the [government] & House of representatives [which was] filled with communists, banished them all to an island, cleared the streets of beggars, & the houses of harlots one becomes filled with admiration. It is something I have never seen before and one feels it, in one's bones. [....] I feel the deepest sympathy for the man. I know what his work is.[484]

The use of force he praises in this anti-communist passage also speaks to his views on authoritarianism. While there is nothing here to support a claim that he would attempt any similar unjust actions in Canada nor hope to see anyone else do so, his praise for the authoritarian measures taken by Mussolini indicates a certain favour towards the efficiency and

[483] Maclaren, *Age of Dictators*, 7.
[484] William Lyon Mackenzie King, "Tuesday, September 25, 1928," in *Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King*, ed. Library and Archives Canada.

effectiveness of its application. This sort of speed in enacting such a drastic measure is essentially impossible in a more democratic framework like Mackenzie King's Canada. His use of the word 'but' in the first line of the quotation indicates that he did not like the dictatorial application of force Mussolini demonstrated. Instead, he seems to appreciate the aforementioned efficiency with which the authoritarian measures allowed the dictator to efficiently control his country for, at least in Mackenzie King's mind, the better. The Prime Minister would get the chance to do this himself in a fairer and more democratic way when he implemented the War Measures Act to shut down dissident political parties during World War II, a time during which speed and centralization were of the utmost importance.

Mackenzie King's government's interwar treatment of fascism is characterized by latent support for major aspects of foreign fascist movements. While Canadian fascism was apparently too small to warrant a large-scale reaction, the government's acceptance of these listed aspects of fascism suggests that, while never supporting Canadian fascist movements, they did not always work against them. At best, the movements were dismissed as too small to be of consequence. At worst, there was latent governmental acceptance of some of Canadian fascism's milder beliefs or mild versions of their extremist beliefs. The government's treatment of Canadian fascism would change, however, with the onset of war and fascism's new position as the ideological enemy.

Once the war started, not even Mackenzie King could dismiss the fact that the fascists in Europe were a threat to international security. And regardless of what he believed motivated the German *blitzkrieg*, he had to condemn his new enemy's aggressive, militaristic actions and the ideology that

drove them. He decries fascism in two speeches from 1942: one to the American Federation of Labour's 1942 convention, and another to Canadians at large on the opening of the 1942 Victory Loan Campaign. These speeches offer us a certain kind of information that is not immediately clear in Teigrob and MacLaren's books; they tell us what Mackenzie King's government wanted the Canadian people to think about fascists. The first point on fascism Mackenzie King makes in his address to the American Federation of Labour is that the Nazis, and presumably all fascist movements, owed their success to understanding that "man is only free to the extent that he has eliminated fear."[485] The Nazis, he is saying, use fear to encroach on the freedom of their people and that of those around them, since those that are afraid lash out at the unknown and surrender their freedom for safety. Secondly, he argues that fascist military power is based on despotism.[486] He argues that fascism is inherently unjust, unjustifiable, and invalid. He then claims that once the fascists are defeated the new order will be based on faith and international cooperation. The fascists, he claims, propagandize in the hopes of drawing the war to a stalemate. This, however, would only result in a new Axis order based on racial and power inequality.[487] While what he means by 'faith' is vague, Mackenzie King is clearly implying that fascism is an obstacle not only to peace but to international cooperation. Ultimately, this speech frames fascism as a power that seeks to use fear and underhanded tactics such as propaganda, despotism, racism, and inequality to subjugate the

[485] William Lyon Mackenzie King, *Labour and the War* and *Nothing Matters Now but Victory* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1942), 4.
[486] King, *Speeches*, 5.
[487] King, 6-8.

world instead of equality and international cooperation to elevate it. This is a far cry from what has been covered on Mackenzie King during the interwar period, though it is important to note that this speech is designed to encourage the labour force to unite against the fascist threat. Of course, since the 1930s and 1940s labour federations tend to have left-leaning sympathies, Mackenzie King frames the Allied side as one that promotes their values. Since fascism is anti-communist and anti-leftist, Mackenzie King is purposefully appealing to the left. While this does bring into question the motivation he has for portraying the fascists in this manner, it is simple enough to see that his views on fascism have shifted dramatically since the interwar period.

Mackenzie King addressed the second speech, *Nothing Matters Now but Victory*, to the Canadian public only months after such disastrous events as the raid on Dieppe, the beginning of Operation Barbarossa, and the worst of the Battle of the Atlantic. It was made in the face of defeat and desperation. It was given in Montreal, which while home to a large Anglophone population is also the heart of the Québec economy.[488] Québec was generally suspicious of supporting what they saw as a British war effort, and so he is also attempting to convince French Canadians that fascism was a cause worth fighting against. Mackenzie King's first anti-fascist point in the speech is that Canada's two founding nations, Anglo and French Canadians, have made Canada a safe place for other 'races' to come to and escape the evils of the world.[489] "Germany and Japan," however, "have made of

[488] It was also Arcand's home base, but this is of little consequence as Arcand was by then incarcerated and had never really had much support anyway.
[489] Interestingly, this 'founding nations' point is the same as the one made by Arcand. Where they differ is over the question of whether or not other groups should be allowed to stake their nations' claims in the state, the negative answer to this being a core tenet of fascism.

nationality an evil thing."[490] He argues that in those countries, nationality has been made the "master" of humanity whereas in Canada nationality has been made humanity's "servant."[491] He then argues that the Germans will not stop at conquering Europe. He decries their militarism and imperialism, arguing that if they win it will only be a matter of time before they come for Canada, exterminating and subjugating people along their way.[492] He emphasizes the nature of the Nazi doctrine of the 'master race' as a vile thing, pointing out that it is a materialistic attempt to dominate by brute force. He also points out their use of concentration camps, disease, mass killings, enslavement, and starvation to persecute minority groups, though notably he stops short of mentioning Jewish persecution outright.[493] While the first speech characterized the fascists as an ideological threat, *Nothing Matters Now but Victory* focuses on their visceral brutality. This is likely done partially to instil fear in the listeners in the hope that they will buy war bonds, but there remains the undeniable fact that Mackenzie King depicts the fascists as an inherently evil force. The difference between Mackenzie King's opinions on the fascists between the interwar period and 1942 cannot be overstated. The content of these speeches is a long shot from the interwar Mackenzie King of a few years earlier, who "prided himself on never having said anything derogatory about Hitler or Mussolini."[494]

There are very few necessary similarities between Canadian fascism and other forms of fascism. One might wonder, then, if there is not an inherent contradiction in assuming that

[490] King, *Speeches*, 4.
[491] King, 4-5.
[492] King, 5-7.
[493] King, 7-9.
[494] MacLaren, *Age of the Dictators*, 7.

while the two are different the government's response to them was similar. This is not so; the war did not only set the European fascists as the enemy, it caused an ideological galvanization. It did to fascism what had already happened to communism; it grouped all factions of the ideology together and presumed cooperation between them, if only as a precaution and not as a given fact. While individual forms of fascism remained functionally distinct, there was a mental realignment on the part of the government that set all fascist groups together and thus against Canada and the Allied war effort. The government did not believe Arcand when he expressed loyalty to them at the beginning of the war, a disbelief that proved correct once he was incarcerated and began outwardly expressing pro-Nazi sympathy.[495] Given his earlier attempts at dissociation with the Nazis, it is of interest that he was immediately assumed to be sympathetic to them. At the beginning of the war and before his incarceration, Arcand called for Canadians to be ready to defend the homeland against Canada's new Axis enemies, though he does this while implying that any fighting that arises is the fault of the Canadian government in the first place. He also advocates for public order and the support of the government.[496] While it is likely that he was actually supportive of the Nazis and only avoided expressing this to the public for fear of drawing negative attention from the government, the fact remains that his and the NUP's official stance was not openly pro-Nazi until after he was interned and so the government's incarcerations and bans were due to his party's association with the fascist ideology.[497] While Mackenzie King may still have agreed with small elements of Canadian fascism like its anti-communist tendencies

[495] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, *The Blue Shirts*, 187-188.
[496] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, 187-188.
[497] Théorêt, Van Gennip, and Scott, 187-188.

(notwithstanding the current alliance of convenience between Canada and the Soviets), groups like Arcand's were more ideologically opposed to the Canadian government than they were in line with them and were, therefore, state enemies.

In conclusion, the idea that the Canadian government's treatment of Canadian fascism was light is misinformed, though not entirely inaccurate. First, there was not much of a Canadian fascist movement to begin with and the government knew it. The RCMP's security bulletins were quick to highlight the failures and unpopularity of Canadian fascist groups to the Cabinet. There was, however, pre-war gullibility towards the depravity inherent in fascism that was supported by sympathy for some fascist ideals. The government's treatment of Canadian fascists was only truly light, however, in comparison to their treatment of communist factions or European fascists. This can all be blamed on the NSCP/NUP's political impotence. Canadian fascism was never truly supported by the government, except for exploitative cases like R.B. Bennett's in which political reach was the objective, not ideological support. The Canadian government was tolerant rather than supportive of certain key elements of Canadian fascism simply because these ideals were not assessed as being as threatening to the established order as those of other ideologies like communism. Additionally, fascist groups were generally smaller, less politically active, and perceived overall as less dangerous than communist ones. Furthermore, the Canadian fascist threat was unlike the communist threat in that it was essentially internal—the government had to worry about external actors influencing Canadian political sovereignty through Canadian communist groups, but not through Canadian fascist ones. Canadian fascism was homegrown and willing to sever ties with international fascist organisations to maintain their independence. Canadian fascism was organized by Anglo-French

Canadians, for Anglo-French Canadians, and against non-Anglo-French Canadians. The Canadian government treated foreign fascists like Italians or Germans differently because those fascists were not Canadian, and had after all started a war. Still, similar patterns of latent approval for foreign fascism appear—in those cases, however, the government was motivated not by inherent support for the fascist ideals but by a gullible belief in fascism's ability to maintain a peaceful and stable Europe.

When war broke out, this opinion obviously changed. Regardless of personal opinion, both Canadian and international fascists became the enemy. Almost immediately after war was declared, Canadian fascist organisations were banned and leaders like Arcand were jailed for the duration. The treatment they received was not as harsh as one may expect, but that is due to the fact that Canadian fascists were really just not enough of a threat to warrant it. Eventually, the ideology's horrifying logical conclusion manifested itself in the form of the atrocities committed by the Nazis during the war. After the war ended and fascism was ostensibly defeated, Canadian fascists fell off the map. Arcand, now freed from captivity, had a lacklustre career and died, forgotten, in 1967. Canada quickly moved on from the old fascist threat—communism had returned to the forefront as the West's enemy. Arcand, his parties, and mainstream Canadian fascism were relegated to history, where one hopes they will remain.

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The Negotiation of Treaty 8: A Case in Treaty Principles and Practice

Georgian Parkes

The case study of Treaty 8, and the circumstances of its production, speak to wider questions of colonial power and imposition. By examining this example of treaty making, we may better understand the way colonial authorities interacted with Indigenous communities in post-Confederation. Treaty 8 was an agreement between the Indigenous inhabitants of the land and the Queen of Great Britain, concerning a large territory including parts of present day Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and the Northwest Territories. The treaty was signed on the 21st of June, 1899, after a period of negotiations between the treaty commissioners who represented the Crown, and a council representing the Indigenous communities. According to the terms of the treaty, the Indigenous Peoples agreed to "cede, release, surrender, and yield up…all their rights, titles, and privileges"[498] to the territory, giving sovereignty over to the Crown. In exchange, the Crown agreed to a one-time payment, annuities, provisions of supplies, and to set aside portions of land as lands in severalty and reserves. Although the treaty was mutually agreed upon and signed, it is important to understand the processes and power dynamics that form the context of this document. This paper will discuss the motivations of each party and the conditions of the negotiations, before looking at wider power relations and their influence on the final treaty document. This analysis reveals that the colonial figures who were involved in the making of Treaty 8 controlled the negotiation of the treaty

[498] Treaty 8, June 21, 1899. LAC, RG 10, Vol. 1851, IT 415.

so that they were able to draft the final document according to the terms that suited the government that they represented. Therefore, the resulting treaty was not made according to the principles of equality and respect which were supposedly the main principles of treaty making.

In the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*, King George III recognized Indigenous land title and set the foundation for relations between Indigenous communities and the British Crown. The document states that Indigenous Peoples had claim to territories unless they were formally ceded or purchased by the Crown, "any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians."[499] Having clearly established the rights of Indigenous Peoples, the proclamation goes on to ensure just treatment and to protect against possible "Frauds and Abuses" by outlining the procedure for exchanges of land, "[the land] shall be purchased only for Us, in our name, at some publick Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians to be held for that Purpose."[500] Thereby, the Crown declared that Indigenous Peoples had the rights to land unless the territory was formally purchased by the government, and set the procedure for treaties. In doing so, the document treated Indigenous communities as sovereign nations, and highlighted the principles of respect and fairness which were meant to be the foundation of colonial-Indigenous relations, and, in particular, treaty making.

In the case of Treaty 8, the respective parties approached the negotiations with different motivations and intentions. Indigenous communities in the area northwest of Treaty 6 had

[499] "The Royal Proclamation - October 7, 1763" (transcript), The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, accessed December 8, 2022, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/proc1763.asp.
[500] "The Royal Proclamation - October 7, 1763."

sought to enter into a treaty with the government as early as 1883. This was reported to the Prime Minister John A. Macdonald by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Lawrence Vankoughnet, who cited the poor condition of the peoples and intrusions into their territory as reasons for a treaty.[501] No action was taken at that time, but concerns about the state of the Indigenous Peoples remained. A Hudson's Bay Company Report from 1888 highlighted a lack of food, as well as a decline in fur-bearing animals, which would further affect the welfare of certain individuals who had come to utilise the fur trade as a source of income: "There cannot be a doubt but that the Indians at our posts on Peace River…suffered severely from want of food, but the chief cause of the decline in our Returns is in consequence of the great scarcity of fur-bearing animals."[502] Moreover, the Hudson's Bay Company had transferred its charter to Rupert's Land in 1870, and was less willing to provide support to its Indigenous contacts, as it had done in the past.[503] In the prairies, recent treaties included provisions and annuities which helped support the Indigenous communities and protected their rights to traditional hunting and trapping. Aware of the benefits afforded to communities in the territories of Treaty 6 and Treaty 7, the communities in the Athabasca and Peace River districts hoped to establish a treaty with similar supports.[504] The condition of the Indigenous population was therefore a dominant factor in their request for a treaty with the government,

[501] Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, *Treaty Research Report - Treaty Eight (1899)* (Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1983), 5.
[502] Hudson's Bay Company District Report, Lesser Slave Lake, September 26, 1888. LAC, MG20, B.115/e/7, Reel 1M1256.
[503] Arthur J. Ray, Jim Miller, and Frank J. Tough, "Treaty 8," in *Bounty and Benevolence: A History of Saskatchewan Treaties,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 153.
[504] Ray, Miller, and Tough, *Bounty and Benevolence*, 153.

which is recognized in the report of the treaty commissioners, who stated:

> Some expected to be fed by the Government after the making of treaty, and all asked for assistance in season of distress and urged that the old and indigent who were no longer able to hunt and trap and were consequently often in distress should be cared for by the Government. They requested that medicines be furnished.[505]

Despite ongoing requests for a treaty (bolstered by pressure from other parties, such as missionaries and representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company), the government did not choose to pursue treaty negotiations until the discovery of valuable natural resources in the region.[506] Although the government was aware of its obligations to support the welfare of Indigenous communities, including those beyond treaty limits, John A. Macdonald was hesitant to commit to treaty terms until the territory was needed for colonial settlement, as relayed by Vankoughnet, "the making of a Treaty may be postponed for some years, until there is a likelihood of the country being required for settlement purposes."[507] In *Bounty and Benevolence*, the authors describe how the development of the treaty was closely based on the changing interests of colonial expansion: "significantly, the 1891 proposal [an early proposal for Treaty 8]

[505] "Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8," in *Treaty Texts: Treaty No. 8,* edited by Roger Duhamel. Canada, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, Last modified August 30, 2013, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100028813/1581293624572#chp2.
[506] Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs, *Treaty Eight Research Report*, 5.
[507] For clarification, this quote is attributed to John A. Macdonald, but relayed through Vankoughnet, as found in Ray, Miller, and Tough, *Bounty and Benevolence*, 153-4.

excluded British Columbia, because development interests were focused on the Mackenzie River valley. Nonetheless, by this time interest in northeastern British Columbia was beginning to develop."[508] The discovery of precious minerals finally provided incentive for the government to access the land, and the process of treaty making began shortly after.[509] This clearly demonstrates the motivations which guided the government in making the decision to negotiate Treaty 8.

In sum, the reason that the Indigenous communities wanted to enter into a treaty with the government was to ensure their physical well-being and positive relation to the state. On the other hand, the government was interested in signing a treaty as a means of securing their claim to the lands in that territory, allowing the furtherance of colonial interests such as settlement and resource extraction. This discrepancy in the intentions and motivations of the two parties informed how each approached the negotiations; while the Indigenous Peoples intended to come to a mutual agreement, the government's representatives sought to gain rights to the territory.

The treaty commissioners were tasked to obtain a treaty which would adhere to the expectations of the government that commissioned them. To achieve this goal, the negotiations were organised and led by the colonial figures, and did not allow for significant input from the Indigenous communities. This is reflected in the text of Treaty 8 itself, which reads: "Whereas the Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commission that it is Her desire to open for settlement,

[508] Ray, Miller, and Tough, *Bounty and Benevolence*, 155.
[509] Jessie Hohmann, "The Treaty 8 Typewriter: Tracing the Roles of Material Things in Imagining, Realising, and Resisting Colonial Worlds," *London Review of International Law* 5, no.2 (2017): 380, doi: 10.1093/lril/lry001; Ray, Miller, and Tough, 154.

immigration, trade, travel, mining, lumbering and other such purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet."[510] As this statement suggests, the government approached the treaty with specific objectives in mind—they sought to come to an agreement which would allow the government increased authority and the ability to expand operations in the territory.

At the first meeting between the treaty commissioners and the Indigenous communities, on the 20th of June, the commissioners presented the terms of the treaty, reading from a document composed in advance: "Laird then rose, and having unrolled his Commission, and that of his colleagues, from the Queen, proceeded with his proposals."[511] This account by a member of the commissioners' party, Charles Mair, is consistent with that of Laird himself, who stated "I out-lined to them the terms in which we were purposed to make a Treaty."[512] By beginning negotiations with such prescribed points, the government's representatives asserted their own position and guided the dialogue. This is certainly how it seems to be perceived by the Chief Keenooshayo, who is quoted by Mair as responding "I can only understand that the Indians will benefit in a very small degree from your offer…We surely also have a right to say a little as far as that goes…do you not allow the Indians to make their own conditions, so that they may benefit as much as possible?"[513] While this narrative by Mair may not be an exact account of the dialogue that occurred, the sentiment expressed does suggest that the Indigenous community perceived this reading of treaty terms as a rigid proposal.

[510] Treaty 8, June 21, 1899. LAC, RG 10, Vol. 1851, IT 415.
[511] Charles Mair, *Through The Mackenzie Basin: A Narrative of the Athabasca and Peace River Treaty Expedition,* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908), 56.
[512] Treaty Commissioner David Laird to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, June 23, 1899. LAC, RG10, Vol.3848, File 75,236-1, Reel C-10149.
[513] Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, 59-60.

It has also been claimed that Laird and the commissioners read directly from a finalised treaty document, thereby bypassing negotiations entirely; an observer, James K. Cornwall stated that "The treaty, as presented by the Commissioners to the Indians for their approval and signatures, was apparently prepared elsewhere, as it did not contain many things that they held to be of vital importance to their future existence as hunters and trappers and fishermen."[514] My understanding of this inconsistency is that Cornwall was mistaken, believing that the document that was read on the first day was the same as the final document that was signed, when it was really a rough draft which was then officially typed up on the night of the 20th of June.[515] Nonetheless, this confusion furthers the idea that the main elements of the treaty were decided in advance of the negotiations, and did not undergo significant alterations based on the input from the Indigenous communities. As articulated by Hohmann, the Indigenous Peoples were "induced to sign the treaty as presented."[516]

Not only did the commissioners present the treaty as a nearly complete document, they also actively minimised the requests of the Indigenous Peoples. As noted by Cornwall above, a main concern of the Indigenous communities was the maintenance and insurance of their rights to continue with their

[514] Richard Daniel, "The Spirit and Terms of Treaty Eight," in *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, ed. Richard T. Price (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1979), 83.
[515] The sources by Laird and Mair are consistent in their account that Laird first presented a general document to the assembly on June 20, and then typed the official document in preparation of its signing on the 21st. Laird writes: "the meeting was dismissed to assemble the following day at 3 o-clock to sign the treaty which was to be drafted in the meantime." Treaty Commissioner David Laird to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, June 23, 1899. LAC, RG10, Vol.3848, File 75,236-1, Reel C-10149; Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, 64.
[516] Hohmann, "The Treaty 8 Typewriter," 390.

traditional ways of life—their ability to hunt, trap, and fish. Great emphasis is given to this in the report by the commissioners: "there was expressed at every point the fear that the making of a treaty would be followed by the curtailment of the hunting and fishing privileges."[517] In response to this concern, the treaty commissioners pointed to the treaty's provision of ammunition and twine, which

> Went far in the direction of quieting the fears of the Indians, for they admitted that it would be unreasonable to furnish the means of hunting and fishing if laws were to be enacted which would make hunting and fishing so restricted as to render it impossible to make a livelihood by such pursuits. But over and above the provision, we had to solemnly assure them that only such laws to hunting and fishing as were in the interest of the Indians and were found necessary in order to protect the fish and fur-bearing animals would be made, and that they would be as free to hunt and fish after the treaty as they would be if they never entered into it.[518]

This quotation demonstrates how important this clause was, and yet the actual document of Treaty 8 maintains that the government could impose restrictions on these rights "subject to regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of the country…and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for

[517] "Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8."
[518] "Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8."

settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes."[519] In short, the commissioners convinced the Indigenous Peoples that their rights would not be affected by the signing of the treaty, and yet the treaty grants the government authority over those rights.

Other requests were similarly eluded by the commissioners, who offered verbal assurances in the place of amending treaty terms. The Indigenous communities wanted the government to commit to social services such as medical services and relief programs.[520] Rather than including these services as terms within the treaty, commissioners told the communities that they would receive assistance "without any special stipulation in the treaty," and that medical services would be provided, at the discretion of a person "selected by the government."[521] If the government was already providing these services, it would not have been consequential for the commissioners to include them as clauses. By stating that these services were already covered, it seems that the commissioners deliberately skirted the request, and bypassed obligating the government. Controlling the negotiations in this way allowed the commissioners to achieve the main goals of the treaty without making significant concessions to the appeals of the Indigenous communities.

The commissioners presented the treaty so that it seemed to be the best way for the Indigenous people to preserve their way of life, despite knowing that the treaty would have a drastic impact. To make their point, the commissioners highlighted the beneficial aspects of the treaty and downplayed the negatives, as summarised by Commissioner Ross, "As all the rights you now have will not be interfered with, therefore anything you get in

[519] Treaty 8, June 21, 1899. LAC, RG 10, Vol. 1851, IT 415.
[520] "Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8."
[521] "Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8."

addition must be a clear gain.[522] Moreover, it is implied that the Indigenous communities would face interference by white settlers unless they secured the protection of such an agreement: "the white man is bound to come in and open up the country, and we come before him to explain the relations that must exist between you, and thus prevent any trouble."[523] In theory, the Royal Proclamation protected against the intrusion of white settlers in the absence of a treaty, so it was a failure of the government not to prevent such incursions. In any case, the commissioners leverage this to urge the Indigenous communities to sign the treaty, drawing directly from their concerns. Their actions are particularly problematic considering that the Indigenous peoples had expressed their discontent with the actions of white settlers, and that this was even a significant factor in their desire to sign a treaty.[524] This pressure is reflected in Moostoos's response: "Our country is getting broken up. I see the white man coming in, and I want to be friends. I see what he does, but it is best that we should be friends.[525]

While the commissioners assured the Indigenous Peoples that the treaty would not have negative consequences on their lives, there are clear hints that they were aware of its potential impacts. This is evident in the example above concerning the limitations on hunting and fishing rights, as well as in the discussion of reserves. In the commissioners' report, they relay that "it would have been impossible to make a treaty if we had not assured them that there was no intention of confining them to reserves," and yet they acknowledge that they expect the land to

[522] Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, 61.
[523] Mair, 61.
[524] Fumoleau, *As Long as this Land Shall Last*, 41; Ray, Miller, and Tough, *Bounty and Benevolence*, 156.
[525] Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, 60.

be used for "advancing settlement."[526] The contradictions between the commissioners' promises and the actual applications of the treaty are now known, as described in *Bounty and Benevolence:* "The oral histories of treaty 8 people make it clear that the descendants of those who agreed to the treaty believe that this promise was not kept."[527] This is echoed in *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, "Whatever the government's intentions might have been in giving these assurances, the Indians saw them as guarantees of freedom to hunt, fish, and trap throughout the area–an assurance that they would be able to continue their way of making a living if they chose."[528] By suggesting that the treaty would not have negative effects on the Indigenous communities, the treaty commissioners misrepresented the actual terms of the agreement and thereby demonstrated bad faith.

The issue of communication was likely compounded by the use of interpreters. The treaty talks were conducted in English and translated to the Indigenous communities, which may have impacted the power dynamic between the parties as well as their ability to convey complex and nuanced concepts. Whether or not the interpreters intentionally introduced confusion, Rene Fumoleau suggests that the legalities of the treaty may have been difficult for the Indigenous peoples to recognize, as they were not familiar with European legal traditions, nor the idea of land ownership.[529]

The commissioners' late arrival was yet another obstacle to treaty negotiations. Whereas the commissioners were expected to arrive on the 8th of June, they did not reach the meeting place

[526] "Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8."
[527] Ray, Miller, and Tough, *Bounty and Benevolence*, 155.
[528] Daniel, "Spirit and Terms of Treaty Eight," 82.
[529] René Fumoleau, *As Long as this Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11*, 1870-1939 (Calgary, AL: University of Calgary Press, 2004), xxvi, xxiii.

at Lesser Slave Lake until the 19th of June, confining the negotiations to a period of a few days and making the commissioners late for subsequent meetings.[530] Part of the reason for these delays was the poor planning on the part of the government. It had anticipated that each nation could be dealt with within a few days, and decided on a schedule without considering the possible effect of delays or the seasonal cycles of the First Nations they intended to meet with.[531] Despite their mistake, the commissioners' actually refer to the meeting schedule as a way to coerce the communities at Lesser Slave Lake to agree quickly, as recorded by Mair: "Others are now waiting for our arrival, and you, by deciding quickly, will assist us to get to them."[532] By encouraging the Indigenous peoples to sign on quickly, the commissioners pushed them to act hastily and added pressure to the negotiations.

While the commission had originally intended to tour the surrounding region and seek input from each of the groups they met with, they concluded that "it would be best to make one treaty covering the whole of the territory ceded, and to take adhesions thereto from the Indians to be met at the other points rather than to make several separate treaties"[533] However, this action further restricted negotiations with the individual nations, as described in *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*: "The Indians of each local area undoubtedly considered these local meetings to be just as important, if not more so, than the Lesser Slave Lake meeting. However, the treaty commissioners expected that, once it had been learned that the lesser Slave Lake treaty

[530] "Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8." records that "the date fixed for meeting" was the 8th of June, 1899, but that they were unable to meet until the 20th.
[531] Ray, Miller, and Tough, *Bounty and Benevolence*, 165.
[532] Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, 62.
[533]"Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8."

had been signed, there would be less difficulty in obtaining the adhesions of the others."[534] Similar logic is articulated by Mair: "The satisfactory turn of the Lesser Slave Lake Treaty, it was felt, would have good effect elsewhere, and that, upon hearing of it at the various treaty points to the west and north, the Indians would be more inclined to expedite matters and to close with the Commissioners' proposals."[535] Here again, we see that the commissioners were more interested in obtaining signatures than in creating a document which accomplished the objectives of each party.

So far this paper has examined the ways that the colonial government handled the process of treaty making so that the government's interests were secured and Indigenous input was minimised. These interactions were also underpinned by a wider power imbalance which granted the colonial figures a level of authority over the negotiations. As treaty talks began, the commissioners directly asserted colonial rule by stating "The Queen owns the country, but is willing to acknowledge the Indians' claims."[536] Hohmann argues that this sets a backdrop "where any pretence of equality in sovereignty and rights has been dispensed with," effectively undermining the negotiations as a whole. This imposing attitude is also expressed in the insistence that the Indigenous Peoples would be subject to colonial rule either way: "One thing Indians must understand, that if they do not make a treaty they must obey the laws of the land—that will be just the same whether you make a treaty or not; the laws must be obeyed."[537]

[534] Daniel, "Spirit and Terms of Treaty Eight," 85.
[535] Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, 64.
[536] Mair, 59.
[537] Mair, 57.

The inequality of the two parties is clearly displayed in the difference in their motivations and approach to the negotiations. As described above, the Indigenous nations sought a treaty with the government for the protection of their people, while the government was motivated by financial opportunity and territorial gain. Even though both sides desired a treaty, the Indigenous Peoples had much more at stake, which gave the commissioners higher bargaining power. The Indigenous communities proposed terms which focused on social assistance and preservation of their rights. On the other hand, the commissioners expressed a clear take it or leave it attitude which indicated that they did not feel they had to produce a treaty, and would therefore only bargain to a certain extent.[538] Even the purpose of the treaty was a source of misunderstanding. It has been suggested that the Indigenous communities understood the treaty as a "friendship pact" which would signify the establishment of a positive and respectful relationship.[539] According to this interpretation, the Indigenous communities may not have understood that they would lose their right to the land. Furthermore, the commissioners ultimately had the power to include or exclude clauses as they saw fit; the actual structure of the treaty was set by the government, and was officialized according to their legal customs. As the formalised document is a distinct feature of European law, even the format of the treaty is representative of colonial control. In other words, the treaty document which is meant to represent an equal agreement between the two parties is itself positioned on the side of the

[538] This is directly stated in the account by Mair, who attributes these words to Commissioner Laird: "The treaty is a free offer; take it or not, just as you please." Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, 56.
[539] Fumoleau, *As Long as this Land Shall Last*, 108; Hohmann, "The Treaty 8 Typewriter," 379.

government. As described by Hohmann, legal documents in this form are symbolic of "legal authority;" the "practices of record-keeping and storage…became gradually institutionalised and legally-mandated aspects of colonial rule."[540]

The dilemma surrounding the medium of the document is also demonstrated in the signatures on the treaty. The signatures are meant to mark the agreement between the two parties, but the Indigenous signatories were unfamiliar with the action of writing, and are therefore represented by an 'x' in the place of their name. Fumoleau remarks that signing with an 'x' was a common practice in Canadian treaties, however a comparison against other treaties shows that these marks are unique and individualised, while the marks on Treaty 8 are perfectly regular.[541] Therefore, it has been speculated that the signatures were not made by the Indigenous People at all, but were forged by a "practised hand."[542] This doubt about the validity of the signatures speaks to a wider conflict in the mutuality of the document. If the signatures are indeed forged, it further indicates that the Indigenous parties did not have equal representation on the treaty, and were not afforded the opportunity to consent to the final terms.

By exercising control over the treaty making process, the colonial government limited the contributions of the Indigenous signatories. To accomplish this, the commissioners avoided integrating the requests made by the Indigenous representatives and misrepresented the terms proposed by the government, thereby disregarding the principles of respect and equality which should have guided their interactions, as laid out in the Royal Proclamation. From the outset, the motivations of the Indigenous

[540] Hohmann,"The Treaty 8 Typewriter," 383.
[541] Fumoleau, *As Long as this Land Shall Last,* 104.
[542] Hohmann, "The Treaty 8 Typewriter," 392.

peoples and the motivations of the colonial government were diametrically opposed–the Indigenous communities sought to maintain their rights, while the colonial government sought to gain jurisdiction from them. The final treaty document, which ultimately did revoke Indigenous title, therefore reflects the priorities of the colonial government and symbolises colonial imposition. Analysis of this case study demonstrates the subliminal ways that colonial authorities asserted their position and took advantage of the Indigenous communities' need for a treaty.

As an important legal document, the interpretation of Treaty 8 has far-reaching consequences for "the legal and political authority of the (post-) colonial Canadian state."[543] Many of the primary archival sources pertaining to the treaty and the negotiation process are representative of colonial perspectives, as the majority of these records were produced by government officials or other white settlers, and "reflect the interests of the author."[544] However, from the late 1960s onwards, scholars and other organisations have made efforts to record oral history from the Indigenous communities that participated in the treaty. This representation of Indigenous perspectives may be understood as a turning point in the study of Treaty 8, as it presented evidence for a more critical evaluation of the negotiations and the resulting document. Subsequent scholarship incorporated these accounts and took on a more critical lens, as demonstrated in the 1970s works of Rene Fumoleau and Richard Price which each utilised documentary sources as well as the oral histories. These studies

[543] Hohmann, "The Treaty 8 Typewriter," 394.
[544] Daniel, "Spirit and Terms of Treaty Eight," 73. This issue with the historical record is also explored by Hohmann ("The Treaty 8 Typewriter,") and other historians.

are considered seminal, having taken broad historiographical approaches and including the perspectives of the Indigenous communities as well as the government. More recently, Treaty 8 has been examined in context with the modern repercussions that result from the 1899 agreement. Significantly, contemporary scholars have found that the Canadian Government has continually failed to consult the Indigenous communities living on Treaty 8 territory. While this is not within the scope of my paper, it is interesting to consider how this marks/contributes to a long-standing pattern of minimising and reducing indigenous input.[545] In this sense, our understanding of Treaty 8 and its negotiations has implications for modern treaty relations. By conducting close-readings and critically assessing the broader dynamics at play, we may better understand the relationship between Indigenous communities and the colonial government, as expressed in the form of Canada's treaties.

[545] More specifically, interviews with lands managers in Treaty 8 territory indicate that the legal standards for meaningful consultation are not sufficient to ensure that treaty rights are maintained. (Kathyrn Garvie and Karena Shaw, "Shale Gas Development and Community Response: Perspectives from Treaty 8 Territory, British Columbia," Local Environment 21, no. 8 (2016): 1013).

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Evolving Material Identity: The Object Biography of Samuel Black's Octopus Bag

Kaitlin Gallant

The "S BLACK" octopus bag belonged to Samuel Black, a Scottish fur trader and Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) from 1825 to 1841 (figure 1). Octopus bags were often worn by men in the fur trade to carry their tobacco, pipes, flint, steel, and ammunition. This black woollen cloth bag was presumably sewn and gifted to Black by an unknown Métis woman, either his daughter or wife. Upon Black's death, the bag was collected by his colleague, Edward Martin Hopkins, an associate of the Hudson's Bay Company who presumably put the bag on display in his home. After Hopkin's death, the bag was then purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford, where it remains today. This bag is particularly interesting to study because unlike most octopus bags, much of the origins and lifetime of the "S BLACK" octopus bag are known. This work will explore the materiality, creation, historical contextualization, and lifetime of the bag as it travelled from North America to England, while examining its shifting meaning throughout time and place. A comparison will be drawn with other octopus bags in western North America, and an ultimate conclusion on the significance of the bag will be made. The hybridity of the "S BLACK" octopus bag ultimately reveals the cross-cultural ties of the fur trade, while embodying shifting meanings of existence and its role as a marker of identity.

Octopus Bags in Métis Society

Octopus bags served many purposes in Métis society during the fur trade. Otherwise known as "fire bags", they are a small to midsize bag that carried tobacco, pipes, flint, tinder, steel and ammunition, and later came to be known as octopus bags for their four double tabs.[546] They are similar in form and purpose to Indigenous panel bags and pipe bags. Both Métis and Europeans prided themselves in wearing decorated objects, projecting a statement of their true or adopted identity as members within fur trade societies. Men often wore octopus bags with their European-tailored coats embellished with beads and quillwork. Since it was common practice for Métis wives and daughters to create these bags for their fathers or husbands, who were often European fur traders, these men wore these bags while working in the trade. The sewing of octopus bags required many hours of labour, artistic talent, and skill, which is why the creation of these bags was limited only to intimate gifts. They thus also symbolize cross-cultural relationships and women's care for their loved ones.[547]

The origins and evolution of octopus bags in northern North America were influenced by nature and contact with Europeans. Before the nineteenth century, octopus bags were made from the entire skin of a small-sized mammal and the dangling tabs were originally made from the skin of their four limbs, thus taking on their shape from nature.[548] The earliest record of an octopus bag of this type was recorded by artist John

[546] Laura Peers, "'Many Tender Ties': The Shifting Contexts and Meanings of the S BLACK Bag," *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (October 1999): 291, https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.1999.9980447.
[547] Peers, "'Many Tender," 293-294.
[548] Oliver J.T. Harris and Graig N. Cipolla, "Chapter 5: Secret: Secret lives of things: object agency and biography," *Archeological Theory in the New Millennium: Introducing Current Perspectives*, 81.

Smith among the Carolina Algonkians in the sixteenth century.[549] As wool became more popular in the nineteenth century, octopus bags began to be made of wool, but maintained their physical shape of the animals previously used; this demonstrates the agency animals had in the cultural practices of the Métis. Samuel Black's bag, for example, follows the shape of the original animal skin bags. Around this time they also began to include more beaded tassels and fringe, along with a rounded top. These bags were first associated with the James Bay Cree, then the Ojibwa and Métis of the Red River. They then traveled in the northwest to the Athabascan peoples and those of the Northwest coast, such as the Tlingit—where these bags received their name—and then the Plateau by the end of the nineteenth century.[550]

Along with the replacement of cloth and more embellishments in the early nineteenth century, Indigenous women also began decorating octopus bags with floral motifs inspired by objects acquired from the fur trade.[551] It was originally thought that the floral designs on these objects were traditional Indigenous motifs, but historians realized that these patterns were never seen on items predating 1800 nor were present in prehistoric Indigenous art. As such, compositions seen on octopus bags represent not only Indigenous plants but European plants and flowers that are reminiscent of colonial folk art. Indigenous women, however, unsurprisingly attributed Indigenous meaning to these designs, as nature was and continues to be spiritually important. They incorporated designs learned from spirit helpers or their knowledge from harvesting

[549] Michael Johnson, *Ojibwa: People of Forests and Prairies* (Buffalo, NY: Firefly Books (U.S.), 2016), 110.
[550] Johnson, *Ojibwa: People*, 110.
[551] Peers, "Many Tender," 292.

plants as food and medicine.[552] Floral art originated in the Great Lakes region in the late eighteenth century at missions and fur trade posts.[553] When these fur trade posts eventually expanded westwards, they brought along their schools taught by English school mistresses, such as the schools at Red River.[554] Ursuline nuns in Quebec in the mid-seventeenth century also established mission schools that taught embroidery to Indigenous girls.[555] As such, Indigenous women had the opportunity to incorporate their own patterns and techniques into those learned and observed from their interactions with European settlers, missionaries, traders, and goods. Interestingly, however, by the time the Métis had settled on the Red River, their floral artistry was so distinctive that they came to be known as the Flower Beadwork People by some Plains tribes. The floral motif style gradually spread throughout northwestern Canada due to trade and intermarriage.[556]

The "S BLACK" Octopus Bag

As with most octopus bags in the early eighteenth century, the "S BLACK" octopus bag was made using black woollen cloth adorned with silk embroidery, ribbon, worsted woollen tassels, and beads imported from Europe presumably through the fur trade. The striking gold embroidery is done in a floral motif on both sides. On the front, it has a spray of flowers and "S BLACK" embroidered in gold with red and white stems embroidered on

[552] Peers, "Many Tender," 292.
[553] "Treasures Gallery: Métis Octopus-Type Pouches," Canadian Museum of History, accessed March 6, 2022, https://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/tresors/treasure/247eng.html.
[554] Peers, "Many Tender," 295.
[555] Richard Green, "'Plant-in-pot' imagery in Native North American decorative art," *Whispering Wind* 45, no. 2 (April 2017).
[556] Green, "'Plant-in-pot' imagery."

the four tabs. The back contains a heart surrounded by floral and double-curve motifs.[557] Its edges are lined with small white beads, and the gold worsted woollen tassels have glass blue beads attached, potentially Venetian beads imported from Italy.[558] The bag's length measures 61 cm long and 28 cm wide.[559]

In 2005, members of the Stroud Embroiderers' Guild studied the bag, and concluded that it is made of very high-quality woollen cloth and the embroidery included several types of stitches. They noted that a chain stitch was used in several areas, especially at the edges of the motifs, the closed feather stitch was used at the centre of the leaf motifs, and that the stems of the cloth tassels were made of sewn plaited thread—an unseen technique by the Guild that resembles braids used in officer's uniforms. They also remarked that each tassel was strengthened with a leather tab and the fringes include hide. A truly hybrid object, the bag combines European motifs, the heart and non-native tulips, along with Indigenous motifs such as prairie roses, beaded edges, and florals pointing in the four sacred directions that represent the four stages of life: the stems, leaves, buds, and blooms.[560]

The "S BLACK" octopus bag had an extroadinary life, travelling across the Atlantic from North America to England. Unlike most octopus bags, much of the origins and lifetime of the "S BLACK" octopus bag are known due to its inscription on the front, "S BLACK". Samuel Black was the only fur trader in North America bearing the name; as such, historian and curator Laura Peers believes this bag belongs to him.[561] Born in Aberdeen,

[557] Peers, "Many Tender," 288.
[558] University of Oxford, "1893.67.183," Pitt Rivers Museum, accessed March 4, 2022, http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID4644.html.
[559] Peers, "Many Tender," 288.
[560] University of Oxford, "1893.67.183," Pitt Rivers Museum.
[561] Peers, "Many Tender," 292-293.

Scotland, Black had familial links to the fur trade and joined the XY Company in Montréal in 1802, at the age of 22. In 1804, the XY Company was absorbed into the North West Company, where he worked until 1823 when he joined the Hudson's Bay Company. As chief trader and later chief factor, he worked at various posts in North America throughout his career.[562]

During this time, Samuel Black must have earned the affection of one of the Métis women at a post. As it was common practice for fur traders to receive octopus bags from their wives or daughters, it is presumed that it was gifted from one of his two wives or daughters.[563] Black's bag has a heart embroidered on the side worn closest to the body, away from public eyes, demonstrating the maker's affection for him.[564] Furthermore, the embroidery was done in gold, which was rare and expensive at the time. This unique quality of the bag further anchors its significance and the relationship that connected its maker to Samuel Black. It is thought that this bag was sewn in the 1830s, but unfortunately the identity of the maker is unknown. However, it can be assumed that they were Métis as many fur traders married Métis women.[565] Additionally, historians suspect the maker was not literate as literacy would have been rare for a woman at the time. Without knowing how to spell, the maker may have instead copied the lettering "S BLACK" onto the bag from Black's trunk used in his travels.[566] Finally, as the bag was

[562] George Woodcock, "BLACK, SAMUEL," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 1988, accessed March 11, 2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/black_samuel_7E.html.
[563] Oliver J. T Harris and Craig N. Cipolla, "Chapter 5: Secret lives of things: object agency and biography," in Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium: Introducing Current Perspectives (London: Routledge, 2017), 81.
[564] Peers, "Many Tender," 294.
[565] Peers, 288.
[566] Peers, 294-295.

collected in western North America in the 1840s, there were very few women living in the region at the time apart from the Red River Settlement, so it is presumed the bag came from there.[567] Black's adult daughter, Jean Black Ballenden, was living at the Red River Settlement at the time, so she could have been the maker. However, it could have also been one of his wives, and given their possible origins, they could have been Métis, Western Woods Cree, Ojibwa, from one of the Athabascan or Plateau groups, or from another prairie group between the Red River and Thompson River.[568] The embroidery style is similar to a group of bags produced at the Red River Settlement in the 1830s and 1840s, further validating the hypothesis that the bag originated from this region.[569] Whoever the maker of the bag was, they either learned embroidery from school at the Red River post or from their kin.

Although Samuel Black earned the affection of a woman to receive this bag, his relationships with the Indigenous people he traded with were hostile. In 1841, Black was murdered at the Thompson's River Post by an Indigenous trader over a personal grievance. Inexplicably, his personal belongings were then auctioned a year later, in 1842, at Jasper House, a post run by the HBC and located 290 kilometres northeast of Thompson's River Post.[570] Sometime between his death and the auction, the bag was acquired by Edward Martin Hopkins, the private secretary to George Simpson, who was the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company at the time. In 1841, Simpson was making his annual inspection of the fur posts he governed, but afterwards continued to travel around the world. During this time, Hopkins acquired a

[567] Peers,"Many Tender," 292.
[568] Peers, 298.
[569] Peers, 294.
[570] Peers, 295.

large collection of almost 200 objects throughout his travels, including a cradleboard, Plains and Plateau men's shirts, a dress, leggings, parfleches, a Northwest Coast carved mask, and numerous arrows.[571] It is uncertain whether the identity of the woman who fabricated the bag was known when Hopkins acquired it. If Hopkins knew, he clearly did not deem this information important enough to be recorded.[572] Unlike many senior traders, Hopkins and Simpson did not enter the fur trade in their teens and were not born into it. Instead, they joined as outsiders, like Black, but they did not understand or approve the social customs of the fur trade. While Métis women often entered in relationships with fur traders, both men were racist and sexually maltreated the women they took on as their partners.[573] It is ironic the bag landed in the hands of Hopkins and Simpson who were fairly cruel men, a stark contrast to the symbolism of the bag as "an intimate, loving, family gift" that represented the cross-cultural ties of the fur trade.[574] Peers presumes that the bag remained in Hopkin's possession for five decades in his home outside Montréal in Lachine, Quebec, where he continued to work for the HBC, later being promoted as Chief Factor. Upon his resignation in 1870, the bag was brought with him to Kent, England, where he settled with his second wife.[575] As per common practice back then, he presumably displayed the bag as an exotic souvenir in his home to represent his travels, status and work for the HBC. Hopkins died in 1893 and the Pitt Rivers

[571] Peers, "Many Tender," 288.
[572] Peers, 296.
[573] Peers, 295.
[574] Peers, 295.
[575] Province of Manitoba, "Hopkins, Edward Martin," Archives of Manitoba, accessed March 11, 2022, http://pam.minisisinc.com/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/125217191/AUTHORITY_WEB/HEADING/Hopkins,~20Edward~20Martin?JUMP.

Museum at the University of Oxford purchased the bag that year, where it remains today in the textile storage area.[576]

As such, the significance of Samuel Black's octopus bag shifted throughout time and place. It stands out for being hybrid not only in its associations and identity, but also in its material amalgamation of two cultures. The shifting meanings of the bag can be easily traced as it aged and came into contact with new sets of individuals and institutions over time throughout North America and England. Initially, the bag represented the affectionate relationship between the Métis maker and Samuel Black, while simultaneously representing the hybridity of Métis culture and identity as it combined both European and Indigenous materials, patterns and techniques. Additionally, its unique handwork foregrounds women's agency and skill at the time. It also represents the long-term Indigenous history of the Red River area and cross-cultural colonial ties, including the "exchange—both forced and voluntary—of materials, ideas and genes." Furthermore, when Black would have worn the bag, it would have marked his adopted identity and assimilation into fur trade society among one of the many European fur traders who created ties with the Métis community.[577]

Upon Black's death the bag then came to symbolize more than Black and his relationship to the Métis community as a European fur trader. To Hopkins and Simpson, colleagues of Black, it came to represent the way the two viewed Indigenous peoples and their cultures, which they saw as "primitive" and "exotic" ways of life that they encountered while working in the fur trade.[578] This is a major shift, one that "transitioned from representing a complex and long-term set of colonial and

[576] Peers, "Many Tender," 297.
[577] Harris and Cipolla, "Chapter 5: Secret," 81.
[578] Peers, "Many Tender," 296.

culturally plural interactions to representing only Indigenous cultural traditions."[579] Further than that, it is presumed Hopkins' then displayed the bag in his home, as it was common to do so. Thus, it became a symbol of his status and travels, but also in his view, "of the anonymous, timeless, 'primitive' societies that produced them and of the courage and fortitude of the 'civilised' people who worked with them."[580]

Upon the bag's acquisition by the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1880 due to Hopkins' death, it was transformed into a museum artifact for British viewers and researchers. There, it represented Indigenous people from North America in general, being valued for "its potential connection to 'pure, authentic, localised' tribal history rather than the complicated and plural colonial interaction that led to its manufacture."[581] During this time, the bag also became disassociated with the woman who created it. Whether Hopkins' knew the identity of the maker or not, it was clearly not important enough to be recorded.[582] Instead, it came to symbolize Indigenous women's crafting more generally. This lack of recording names highlights the insignificance fur traders attributed towards Indigenous women creators, fitting within the broader trend wherein Indigenous objects have lost their attachment to the identities of their creators. While historians hypothesise the bag was created by Jean Black Ballenden, it will never be known.

For many decades, curators and researchers attempted to establish the tribal identity of the bag while it remained an anonymous "tribal" artifact.[583] However, while the bag continues

[579] Harris and Cipolla, "Chapter 5: Secret," 81.
[580] Peers, "Many Tender," 297.
[581] Harris and Cipolla, "Chapter 5: Secret," 81.
[582] Peers, "Many Tender," 296.
[583] Peers, 298.

to remain at the Pitt Rivers Museum, in the past two decades some of its meaning has been restored. For example, Laura Peers reexamined the bag in 1999 and restored some of its original meaning. She corrected some of the interpretations by the Museum, thus "restoring some emphasis on the "S BLACK" bag's connection to the plural fur-trading society of nineteenth-century Western North America."[584]

Different meanings of octopus bags elsewhere

An interesting comparison can be drawn between the octopus bags of the Métis in the Red River area and those of the Tlingit. An Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest Coast, their octopus bags, otherwise known as "devilfish finger" bags, were initially worn by the clan leader to indicate their community status. By the early twentieth century, however, they began to incorporate them into their regalia, suggesting that these bags had become deeply meaningful on multiple levels. They would be worn by itself or as a pair by both women and men over their tunics or under button robes and naaxein. For example, figure 2 depicts Tlingit potlatch dancers in 1904 wearing their ceremonial dress. The two women are wearing octopus bags draped around their necks and sitting at their hips.[585] Tlingit women made these bags to express their worldviews while Indigenizing this hybrid settler-colonial object.[586]

For the Tlingit, several clan histories express that octopuses are "powerful and dangerous supernatural creatures

[584] Harris and Cipolla, "Chapter 5: Secret," 81.
[585] Alaska State Library and Archives, "Yakutat potlatch dancers, Sitka, 1904," Alaska's Digital Archives, accessed March 6, 2022, https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/1.
[586] Megan Alice Smetzer, *Painful Beauty: Tlingit Women, Beadwork, and the Art of Resilience* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2021), 76.

able to destroy entire villages."[587] Furthermore, the numbers four and eight are culturally significant to the Tlingit, as they are used in anatomy, death rites, house-building potlatches, shamanism, magic and female seclusion. Eight "represents completion and fulfilment because of an analogy with the "eight bones" of the body and the eight arms of the devil-fish (octopus) gave it a special status among the Tlingit, who regarded this number as auspicious."[588] Hence, this is where octopus bags gained their name. It is no wonder that octopus bags were seamlessly integrated into Tlingit regalia as they exemplified their worldviews. While there are similarities, there are contrasts to the meaning of these bags for the Métis people; they were gifts to Métis fathers and husbands, symbols of their adopted Métis identity to be worn during their trading and hunting. For the Tlingit, they too were an indicator of status until they became widespread in wear and in cultural ceremonies.

Conclusion

The "S BLACK" octopus bag is an object of highly skilled artistry that has encountered an extraordinary life, experiencing all the life stages an object can: "a gift, a *memento mori*, a souvenir, a curio, a commodity, a specimen, and a primary source."[589] From an intimate gift for a fur trader representing hybrid Métis identity and the colonial cross-cultural ties of the fur trade, it became a Victorian curiosity representing the anonymous and timeless "primitive" Indigenous societies and cultural traditions Hopkins' encountered as a fur trader. It then became a museum artifact representing pure and authentic Indigenous history before much of its meaning was restored. As such, the bag's

[587] Smetzer, *Painful Beauty*, 77.
[588] Smetzer, 77.
[589] Peers, "Many Tender," 289.

purpose, representations, and meaning have profoundly shifted throughout the decades as it encountered new contexts of people and places. While many questions remain unanswered, this hybrid object remains one of the few octopus bags where most of its lifetime is known; its complex past and significance should be cause for celebration.

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Appendix

Figures

Figure 1. The "S BLACK" octopus bag, Pitt Rivers Museum, 1893.67.183, c. 1830, black wool and embroidery. Pitt Rivers Museum, Accessed March 4, 2022. http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID4644.html.

Figure 2. Image of Yakutat Potlach Dancers, Alaska State Library and Archives, "Yakutat potlatch dancers, Sitka, 1904," c. 1904, Case & Draper Photo Collection. Alaska Digital Archives, Accessed March 6, 2022, https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/1.

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Bronwyn is currently in her second year of her Honours B.A. in History at uOttawa. She has recently developed an interest in Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian history, although she tries to expand her knowledge by studying a variety of historical eras and cultures. She hopes her degree will lead to a career in teaching or archeology in the future. In her spare time, she enjoys playing pixel art indie games, practices Kyudo, and volunteers to help new immigrants to Canada learn English. She is also currently writing a book which she hopes to see published one day.

Claire Park, *Editor* (they/them)

Claire Park is a fourth-year Honours in History student with a minor in Feminist and Gender Studies. This is their first time editing for CLIO. Claire's major research interest is medical history ranging from the Victorian era to present day, focusing on how the medical field and disease has interacted with race, gender, class and sexuality. Upon graduation Claire is hoping to pursue further education in History, continuing to learn and educate others about history.

Erin Annika Peter, *Editor* (she/her)

Erin Peter is a third-year Health Sciences student with a special interest in writing and history. Her favourite topics include ancient history and Middle Eastern history. She is a first responder and frequently writes news articles. She hopes to continue to pursue her interests in both writing and research after she graduates.

Daniel Skavych, *Editor*

Daniel Skavych is a third-year student, the program of study being Joint Honours in Political Science and History. In the field of history, Daniel's specialization is the history of warfare and military conflicts, as well as European political and social history. His hobbies are walking outside, reading philosophical and political works, as well as playing hockey and going to the gym. He also enjoys studying and observing international conflicts and resolutions. Upon graduation Daniel will further his education in law, and pursue a career in the political landscape, primarily with international relations.

Sophie Soulière, *Éditrice* (elle/elle)

Sophie Soulière est une étudiante de deuxième année dans le programme spécialisé bidisciplinaire en histoire et en science politique. Ses intérêts sont variés et elle profite du milieu universitaire pour explorer divers sujets, dont l'histoire du Moyen-Orient et la pensée politique. Sophie compte poursuivre ses études dans un domaine liant ses passions pour l'histoire, la politique et l'éducation.

Angelina Viduka, *Editor* (she/her)

Angelina is a fourth-year Joint Honours in History and Political Science student with French Immersion. This is her first time working as an editor for CLIO. Her areas of specialization include classical and anti-colonial history. She enjoys reading and traveling in her spare time. She plans on working for the government post graduation.

Michael Wang, *Editor* (he/him)

Michael has just completed his program of Joint Honours in History and Political Science as of December of 2022 and is expected to graduate in June 2023. He is currently a Teaching Assistant for two history courses. Michael has been a publisher and an editor for Clio XIII and Clio IX. In the field of history, Michael is interested in the history of the development of Chinese fascism, a topic he will explore in Postgraduate studies in September of 2023.

Directeurs / Directors

María Carrillo, *Co-Director* (she/her)

María Carrillo is a fourth-year History student at the University of Ottawa. While her historical focus is not exclusive to a particular era, her areas of interest include American history, contemporary history, and, recently, medieval studies. After doing research based on Montreal newspapers, she subsequently developed a curiosity around history having to do with the media, especially journalism. Currently, María works at the community radio station CHUO 89.1 FM as an Associate Producer in the News Department. Her work focuses on giving a voice to marginalized people and minority groups at the local and national level. After finishing her undergraduate degree, María plans on pursuing a master's degree in Archival Studies in Montréal.

William Moran, *Co-Directeur* (il/lui)

William Moran est étudiant de quatrième année en histoire avec une mineure en science politique à l'Université d'Ottawa. Il s'intéresse principalement aux périodes modernes et contemporaines, plus particulièrement sur le développement des empires coloniaux européens entre les XVIe et XXe siècles. En plus de l'histoire et de la politique, il est passionné de linguistique, notamment de linguistique comparée. Celui-ci entreprendra, à partir de septembre 2023, une maîtrise en études internationales.