

CLIO

Volume XI

Dir. Katie Harwood & Bradley Laferrière-Boileau



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

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CLIO

The word "CLIO" in a bold, sans-serif font, with a small graphic element resembling a quill or pen nib integrated into the letter "O".

Couverture : Nous remercions Finn Howes pour la couverture de *Clio XI*, inspiré par le style des enluminures médiévales. Nous sommes reconnaissants que quelqu'un si important à l'équipe puisse être impliqué dans ce processus.

Cover: A special thank you to Finn Howes for designing *Clio XI's* cover which was inspired by the style of medieval illuminations. It is so meaningful that someone so important to the team could be part of this process.

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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Affirmation Autochtone // Indigenous Affirmation

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

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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

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*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 endàwàdjìn 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.

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Remerciements // Acknowledgements

Avec ce volume, *Clio* entame maintenant la deuxième décennie depuis sa première publication en 2014. C'est un énorme honneur pour nous d'avoir mené à bien ce projet cette année. Nous avons été ambitieux et le résultat, nous l'espérons, plaira à nos lectrices et permettra de faire rayonner la qualité de la recherche au premier cycle à l'Université d'Ottawa.

We could not have done all of this alone. A first thank you must go out to our editorial board and to the authors themselves who put in a huge amount of work in the last few months to ensure that all of the articles were ready for publication on time. Without you or your fervent engagement, *Clio*, volume XI, would not exist.

We would also like to thank the Department of History of the University of Ottawa, the professors and the department's chair Dr. Eric Allina for the help with the promotion of *Clio*, for financing the Gaston Héon Conference, and for allowing us to present our journal to history classes to spread the word and boost engagement.

Nous tenons particulièrement à remercier les professeures Kouky Fianu et Heather Murray pour leur soutien tout au long du processus de création de la revue. Elles ont gracieusement donné de leur temps pour offrir des ateliers à notre comité éditorial. De plus, elles étaient présentes pour nous appuyer et nous offrir de précieux conseils. Nous remercions aussi la professeure Corinne Gaudin qui, avec professeure K. Fianu, a accepté de relire notre introduction et nous a offert de la rétroaction, nous permettant de raffiner celle-ci.

Un dernier merci à Nicolas Michaud, président de l'Association des Étudiant.e.s en Histoire (AÉHSA) de l'Université d'Ottawa, et aux membres du conseil exécutif de l'AÉHSA pour

leur appui indéfectible et leur confiance tout au long de ce processus.

Finally, thank you to you all, our readers, and supporters, who make this journey worth it.

Sincèrement,

Sincerely,

Katie Harwood et Bradley Laferrière-Boileau

Co-Direction *Clio volume XI*

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Introduction

Katie Harwood et Bradley Laferrière-Boileau

*L'incompréhension du présent naît fatalement de l'ignorance du passé.
Mais il n'est peut-être pas moins vain de s'épuiser à comprendre le passé,
si l'on ne sait rien du présent¹.*

- Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'Historien*

Dans son ouvrage maintenant devenu indispensable aux historiennes, Marc Bloch présente la dualité qui gouverne notre vie: celle du passé et du présent. Sans présent, il n'existe pas de passé à analyser. Toutefois, en tant qu'historiens, nous avons parfois tendance à concentrer l'intégralité de notre regard sur le passé. Or, comme l'affirme Bloch, notre compréhension du passé ne peut être comprise que dans le contexte historique de notre présent. Tout comme nos sources ne sont pas des traces dénudées d'un contexte, le regard des historiens sur le passé n'est pas immuable au fil des siècles.

Chaque société a sa propre façon de concevoir et de hiérarchiser le passé, le présent et le futur. Alors que la Grèce Antique se tournait plutôt vers le passé des héros mythiques comme Héraclès et Achilles, le Moyen Âge occidental fixait son regard vers la fin des temps annoncée par Saint Jean l'Évangéliste. Ces dynamiques de perception temporelles sont tout aussi vivantes aujourd'hui².

¹ Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'Historien*, 2^e éd. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1952), 27.

² Voir notamment les travaux de François Hartog à ce sujet.

Aux notions de présent et de passé s'ajoute celle de la mémoire. Comme le note Jacques Le Goff, la mémoire est, depuis les débuts de l'humanité, intrinsèquement liée à l'histoire (par le biais du passé)³. C'était grâce à la mémoire collective que le passé vit dans le contemporain. La mémoire occupe encore aujourd'hui une place importante dans la rédaction et la compréhension de l'histoire. Le Goff, s'il met en garde contre la monopolisation de la mémoire collective par une classe au détriment des autres, ne nie assurément pas qu'il y ait une relation symbiotique entre l'histoire et la mémoire⁴. Il est donc important de comprendre que si le monde d'aujourd'hui est bel et bien un produit du monde d'hier, notre vision du monde d'hier est aussi en quelque sorte une réflexion du monde d'aujourd'hui.

Bloch and Le Goff's ideas that history and memory are intrinsically linked in this way works in the opposite direction as well. Jeremi Suri is among the first of a new school of American historians confronting memory's impact on hindsight and historical self-perceptions in scholarship on the American Cold War. His 2003 book *Power and Protest* demonstrates the need for a separation between the living memory of historical events and their representations in prevailing historical narratives. Against the backdrop of the Kennedy years, Suri makes the reader acutely aware of the proverbial rose-coloured glasses worn by writers of that era: the idealism that was characteristic of the administration was reinforced by a new sense of exceptionalism in the American

³ Jacques Le Goff, *Histoire et mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998), 115.

⁴ Le Goff, 177.

psyche as the country's citizens began to see themselves as the protectors of liberty at home and agents of democracy abroad.⁵

This began not only a new era of American state building, but also a new era of American historiography. As the Vietnam War raged on through the late 1960s and early 1970s, the way American thinkers, statesmen, and historians wrote about the United States in the 1960s reflected the exceptionalism espoused by Kennedy in his inaugural address. Books like *In Memoriam* by Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara or former *New York Times* journalist David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest* betray a saccharine longing for an older, brighter period, since blighted by the passage of time, a feeling which is now baked into the historical narrative of America's 1960s.

Where does all this leave us as a new generation of historians? For one thing, we are blessed with the awareness of this hindsight-driven dislocation of mainstream historical narratives and the actual events they depict, without the bias that comes with having lived through them. Having such an abundance of primary sources so readily available in our digital age may seem daunting at best and an oversaturation at worst, but in fact it encourages the use of fresh eyes and places a higher value on new perspectives.

Trop souvent, nous entendons le refrain de la "nouveau". Or, toujours mettre de la pression sur les historiens pour trouver et analyser une "nouvelle" source ou un "nouveau" événement assigne une certaine permanence aux sources que nous avons déjà ainsi qu'au passé qui a déjà été écrit. Rien n'est plus faux. Il est tout aussi

⁵ Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003) 126-7

important et enrichissant de revisiter les “vieilles” sources et les interprétations des historiens du passé. C’est ce que nous espérons transmettre dans ce volume de *Clio*. Par le biais de quatre sections thématiques, nous explorerons comment l’histoire a été écrite et interprétée et nous analyserons les lacunes de certaines interprétations du passé. Tout ceci nous permettra d’approfondir la relation que nous entretenons entre le passé et le présent.

La partie I, “Au-delà du cadre binaire : réexamen des conflits et des luttes de genre au fil de l’histoire”, invite une réflexion sur la place du genre dans les sociétés du passé. Le genre étant une construction sociale, la compréhension de celui-ci est indissociable de son contexte historique. De plus, même si nous ne pouvons pas projeter notre compréhension du genre dans le passé, un bon travail historique permettra tout de même de tisser habilement des liens avec la conception contemporaine du genre. L’article “Le viol en France du XVIII^e siècle : les victimes responsables d’un crime” de Prénecka Mayer-Pacheco explore la conception du viol et la façon dont celle-ci affecte forcément le comportement des femmes dans la France des *Lumières*. Elle démontre adroitement que la compréhension du viol est entièrement fondée sur le portrait qui est établi de la victime avant, pendant et après le crime, offrant, par le biais d’un sujet peu exploré, une meilleure compréhension des attentes sociétales envers chaque genre. Le travail de Shana Quesnel, “Les lieux de socialisation pour les femmes lesbiennes au Canada de 1950 à 1980” présente lui aussi une façade moins explorée de l’histoire du genre : l’espace occupé par les femmes lesbiennes. Shana Quesnel démontre l’importance d’une analyse intersectionnelle dans l’histoire du genre qui prend en compte la différence entre

l'expérience des hommes gais et des femmes lesbiennes ; l'histoire des dernières ayant trop souvent été ignorée au profit des premiers.

Favorisant une approche plutôt microhistorique, Amilia Matheson ("Eroding Barriers") et Anne St-Aubin ("Comment genrer les hommes ?") invitent leurs lecteurs à comprendre l'impact du genre et des "rôles de genre" dans la vie des Canadiennes de la fin du XX^e siècle. Elles explorent magistralement des histoires qui jusqu'à présent ont été peu ou pas écrites et nous offrent un portrait de la manière dont la conception du genre a évolué au tournant des années 1970.

Part II, "New Players in the Great Game: Expanding Statecraft in Hindsight," deconstructs popular notions of diplomacy and state building and reconstructs them through a lens tempered by a distanced yet measured perspective and use of traditional and non-traditional primary sources. Opening the section in the XVI century, Darwin Pitts in "Typologizing the Tsar: Explaining Judgments about Russian 'Tyranny' in Sixteenth-Century European Travel Accounts" invites us to scrutinize sources and narratives that we as historians often take for granted, wittily calling for a re-evaluation of the histories we examine and the ways in which we examine them. William Patterson ("'God made most of them to fall in the wilderness and in the sea': The Environment's Effect on the Failure of the Darien Scheme (1698-1700)") makes similar strides in the rewriting of the colonial narrative, taking the reader on a journey through the jungles of New Caledonia and providing an insightful marriage between the fields of diplomatic and environmental history. Together, both provide holistic alternatives to dated perceptions that colour historiographies of the XVI and XVII centuries, as well as the legacies they carry.

Maria Carrillo ("Benjamin Franklin as a Fashion Icon") goes a step even further and challenges the reader to reimagine the very act of diplomacy itself. By using material primary sources, textiles, and clothing, she paints Benjamin Franklin not only as a master of political diplomacy, but, perhaps even more importantly, as a juggernaut in the realm of cultural diplomacy. This approach is a more dynamic portrayal of statesmen and statecraft than is used in more mainstream writing on the American XVIII century. Joshua Fuhr's "Imperialism, French-Canadian Nationalism and the South African War: A Principled Man's Rejection of the Imperialist's 'Megalomaniac Ambitions'" embarks on a similar mission, this time in the context of the First Boer War, providing a well-rounded perspective on the scope of war beyond the battlefield and highlighting its oft-forgotten subconscious legacies that evade traditional perspectives on the history of diplomacy and national security.

La partie III, "Les luttes que nous choisissons d'oublier : la persistance des conflits dans la mémoire" offre une nouvelle perspective sur certains des conflits qui ont déchiré le monde au XX^e siècle. Dans "The Cartographic Soldier: The use of cartographic material during the Battle of Vimy Ridge, April 1917", Ethan Coudenys présente une nouvelle facette de la célèbre bataille de Vimy: celle de la cartographie. L'étude de la cartographie offre une fraîche interprétation du succès canadien lors de ce combat. L'article de Graciella Martinez, "The Precarious Portuguese Position - Radio, Nationalist Aid and Political Agendas - The Spanish Civil War through Luso-Radio", offre, lui aussi, une perspective peu connue d'un conflit bien connu. Elle nous permet de mieux appréhender comment la radio portugaise fut utilisée comme arme favorable à la cause des nationalistes espagnols. Ainsi,

elle démontre que si le Portugal est aux périphéries de la péninsule ibérique (tant au niveau géographique, qu'au plan politique dans l'historiographie de la Guerre civile espagnole), il a néanmoins joué un rôle important dans le conflit qui a déchiré l'Espagne de 1936 à 1939.

Les contributions de Kiran Dutton ("Rising Sun, Falling Plague") et de Julien Bergeron ("Étude de la combativité des Juifs d'Europe") présentent des expériences complètement différentes de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Alors que Kiran Dutton explore les utilisations secrètes de la peste par l'armée japonaise, Julien Bergeron étudie un aspect moins bien connu de la résistance juive en France, soit l'Armée Juive. Les deux cas sont des contributions qui prennent des sujets jusqu'ici peu étudiés et cherchent à les ramener au centre de l'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale afin de leur donner leur juste place dans l'histoire.

The journal's fourth and final section, "Immortalising Past, Present and Future: Human Perceptions of Their Own History," is a true showcase in the use of often overlooked or discounted primary sources to round out and recontextualize diverse histories. "The Hereford World Map: Asia as a Geographical Backdrop for Eschatological Fears" by Anika Audet serves as a perfect point to jump into this concept: by using details of the fourteenth century map as a source, she provides astute context for a keen perspective on the culture that created it. Nicholas Natale ("Architecture to Unify a Nation") takes a source just as ubiquitous and unsung, architecture, to uncover once lost pieces that make up the historical puzzle that is the establishment of fascism in Italy, from Benito Mussolini's ascent to power in 1922 to its entry into WWII in 1940.

Historical introspection is often best represented in the fine arts, and authors Kristine Feria and Anys-Jean Dagher use these sources to illustrate to their readers the importance of self-perception in the writing of history. In “Castro’s Cultural Policy: Cuban Ballet as a Symbol of Resistance,” Feria demonstrates the importance of art as a vehicle for the expression of the self to the self, and the expression of the self to the world, using the establishment of the National Ballet in Cuba as a case study in the intersection between the expressions of national character and of national ideals. Dagher’s “*Apocalypse Now*: The Societal Impact of the Vietnam War as Expressed through Cinema” uses its own temporal removal to its advantage, in a Lynchian retelling of the history of retrospect itself against the backdrop of the Vietnam War and its portrayals in film.

Clio XI is a behemoth, not only in the number of articles it contains, but also in what it aims to accomplish. Memory is often a white whale for historians: ever-present, deeply influential, but a nevertheless forgotten tool in the historian’s repertoire. For the historians that have contributed to this year’s edition of *Clio*, from its authors to its editors to its co-directors, the challenge of using that tool is not daunting but invigorating. This year, *Clio* has challenged its contributors and its readers to eschew what they have learned about prevailing historical narratives and to face head-on the undertaking that is reimagining them, no stone left unturned, and no voice left unheard.

We thank you for embarking on this journey and hope sincerely that the contents of this journal can inspire you as they have inspired us.

Katie Harwood (elle/she/her)

Katie Harwood est étudiante en cinquième année de B.A. spécialisé en histoire et codirectrice de *Clio : la revue d'Histoire de premier cycle de l'Université d'Ottawa*. Elle s'intéresse aux affaires internationales pendant la Guerre froide, la politique étrangère américaine et l'histoire culturelle et intellectuelle des États-Unis. Elle commencera son doctorat en histoire à l'Université de Texas à Austin cet automne !

Katie Harwood is a fifth-year history honours student and co-director for *Clio: The Undergraduate History Journal of the University of Ottawa*. Her historical interests include Cold War era international relations, United States foreign policy, and American thought and culture. She will begin pursuing her PhD in history at the University of Texas at Austin in September!

Bradley Laferrière-Boileau (il/he/him)

Bradley Laferrière-Boileau termine actuellement son baccalauréat spécialisé en histoire avec une mineure en science politique. Il s'intéresse à l'histoire sociale de la France du Moyen Âge tardif, aux enjeux de mémoire et de commémoration du passé (en particulier au médiévalisme). Il entamera une maîtrise en histoire avec spécialisation en études médiévales et de la Renaissance à l'Université d'Ottawa en septembre 2024 sous la direction de la professeure Kouky Fianu.

Bradley Laferrière-Boileau is completing an honours B.A. in history with a minor in political science. His historical interests include the history of French late-medieval society, the issues of memory and commemorations of the past (particularly of the Middle Ages). In September 2024, he will start a master's in history with a specialization in medieval and Renaissance studies at the University of Ottawa under the direction of Professor Kouky Fianu.

**Partie I. Au-delà du cadre binaire : réexamen des
conflits et des luttes de genre au fil de l'histoire**

**Part I. Beyond the Binary: Revisiting Gender
Struggles and Conflicts Through History**

Le viol en France du XVIII^e siècle : les victimes responsables d'un crime

Prénecka Mayer-Pacheco¹

La sexualité sous l'Ancien Régime français est un sujet avec énormément de complexité. Les rapports entre les participants sont très strictement dictés et les codes sociaux se doivent d'être respectés. Ainsi, lorsqu'un rapport s'éloigne des normes, la société doit s'adapter pour s'attaquer à ce nouveau problème. C'est ainsi que la question des crimes sexuels entre en jeu. Ces rapports ne sont pas considérés comme normaux, puisque la sexualité est un domaine qui est censé être intrinsèquement lié au mariage. Le contexte social et religieux de la France du XVIII^e siècle, toujours très fortement catholique, explique largement ce lien. En effet, selon la doctrine catholique, les seuls rapports sexuels qui ne sont pas considérés comme des péchés de la chair sont ceux qui se produisent dans le contexte conjugal. Alors, les autres relations sexuelles sont proscrites, qu'elles soient homosexuelles, entre deux individus non mariés ou avec des prostituées. Toutefois, malgré la pression du clergé sur les mœurs sociales, les individus ne s'empêchent pas nécessairement d'avoir des relations sexuelles, consentantes ou non. D'ailleurs, il faut comprendre une notion importante au sujet de la sexualité sous l'Ancien Régime : le consentement aux rapports individuels ne fait pas partie des textes

¹ Prénecka Mayer-Pacheco (elle) a un baccalauréat en Histoire avec une mineure en Études médiévales et à la Renaissance. Elle est présentement en train d'effectuer une maîtrise en enseignement de l'Histoire au secondaire. L'auteure focalise ses recherches surtout en histoire sociale et folklorique, et se questionne surtout sur la place qu'occupent les femmes dans les sociétés d'antan.

juridiques, surtout pas dans l'union conjugale². Ceci peut sembler surprenant, surtout considérant que le droit canon établi par le Concile de Trente en 1553 considère que les rapports entre les époux doivent être fait avec un consentement libre et mutuel³. Toutefois, le droit canon n'est pas représentatif de la réalité juridique. Les tribunaux, pour leur part, considèrent que le mariage est synonyme de consentement à vie. Alors, la femme doit accepter l'ensemble des rapports sexuels qui lui sont proposés par l'époux, à l'exception de relations qui constituerait une forme d'adultère. Donc, le viol conjugal ne peut exister⁴. Cette situation nous mène donc à nous interroger sur la question suivante : comment est-ce qu'un rapport sexuel peut devenir un crime sexuel, plus précisément un viol? La réponse à cette question, comme il sera démontré tout au long du présent article, se trouve surtout dans le comportement des victimes, exclusivement féminines dans la France des Lumières. Afin d'analyser ce sujet, il sera question de se pencher sur l'interprétation du viol selon les différents groupes impliqués. Il s'agira d'abord de comprendre comment les victimes qui portent plainte conçoivent le crime de viol. Dans un deuxième temps, la perspective des agresseurs et leurs moyens de défense seront analysés pour bien marquer leurs différentes perspectives. Enfin, il sera nécessaire d'analyser le point de vue des juristes sur le sujet, afin de bien comprendre comment les tribunaux agissent sur les plaintes de viol.

² Maëlle Bernard, « De l'innocence juridique à la suspicion judiciaire: Le consentement à l'acte sexuel des fillettes dans les procès pour viol du Châtelet de la seconde moitié du 18e siècle », *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, no. 53 (2021): 357.

³ Marion Philip, « "Une action dont on rougit mesme dans les solitudes les plus secrètes" : enquête sur les violences sexuelles conjugales (Paris, XVII e- XVIII e siècle) », *Clio* 52, no. 2 (2020): 95.

⁴ Sylvie Steinberg *et al.*, *Une histoire des sexualités* (Paris: PUF, 2018), 190.

Les victimes

Afin de comprendre comment l'acte est interprété par les victimes, il faut d'abord faire un tour d'horizon sur leurs caractéristiques. Le premier point, et le plus important, est la question du genre de la victime. L'individu qui est violé va toujours être de genre féminin, peu importe les circonstances des personnes impliquées ou les conditions du viol. Le viol est toujours perpétré à l'encontre d'une femme par un homme dans les plaintes. Alors, les rapports pédophiles faits sur des garçons ou les rapports homosexuels qui ne sont pas consentis sont disqualifiés de la définition de viol. Puis, l'autre facteur important est celui de la classe sociale. En effet, une grande attention est portée à la condition sociale de la victime, à un tel point qu'une hiérarchie est construite autour des viols⁵. La crédibilité des viols y est alors attachée. D'abord, les victimes les plus pures de ce crime sont les jeunes filles, puisque cette jeunesse n'est pas corrompue par le « péché originel ». Donc, plus elles sont jeunes, plus elles sont crédibles. Leurs accusations sont généralement prises en compte peu importe leur classe sociale, bien que le statut de l'agresseur puisse tout de même l'innocenter du crime. Ensuite, il y a les jeunes femmes vierges, préférablement, vivant chez leurs parents. Ces femmes sont donc prises en pitié par la communauté, ayant perdu par la force leur vertu, et donc leur meilleur atout avant d'entrer dans un mariage. Enfin, l'ensemble des autres femmes adultes forment le dernier groupe. Nous retrouvons dans cette catégorie les « vieilles filles », des femmes plus âgées qui ne sont toujours pas mariées, les femmes mariées, mais violées par des hommes qui ne sont pas leur époux, et les veuves. Ce groupe est généralement celui pour lequel les accusations sont les moins souvent prises au sérieux. Les contemporains estiment qu'une fois que la femme a passé la

⁵ Scarlett Beauvalet, *La sexualité en France à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Colin, 2010), 294.

puberté, surtout une fois qu'elle a fait l'expérience de la sexualité, elle est facilement corruptible et qu'elle est susceptible de succomber au péché de la chair. Ainsi, pour des femmes mariées qui portent plainte pour viol⁶, elles sont plutôt soupçonnées d'être complices d'adultère⁷.

Enfin, une prostituée peut être victime de viol tant que l'acte n'est pas commis dans un lieu de débauche. Toutefois, considérant la situation précaire et l'opinion négative du public envers ces femmes, leurs cas ne sont pas pris en compte par les autorités. Les femmes violées ont donc plutôt tendance à être des jeunes femmes isolées, sans protection masculine et sans réseau familial, telles que des orphelines ou des domestiques travaillant loin de leur région natale⁸.

La situation sociale de la victime en rapport avec l'agresseur est aussi un facteur très important. Ainsi, dans l'interprétation d'une plainte de crime sexuel, la crédibilité de la victime va être déterminée selon la classe sociale⁹. Par exemple, si une jeune femme noble est attaquée par un vagabond, il n'y a que très peu de doute quant au récit de la victime. Toutefois, si l'on parle plutôt d'un cas où une domestique est prise de force par son maître, alors cette situation est beaucoup moins crédible.

Avec cette conception de la victime, nous pouvons ainsi analyser les comportements qu'une victime de viol doit adopter afin que sa plainte soit interprétée comme étant véridique. Il faut

⁶ Rappel que le viol conjugal n'est pas un concept qui existe lors de la période.

⁷ Sylvie Steinberg, « Lire et interpréter les récits de viol dans les archives judiciaires (Europe, Époque Moderne) », *Clio* 52, (2020): 169.

⁸ Jean-Pierre Allinne, « Imaginaire collectif et discours judiciaire sur la violence sexuelle : Le procès d'un violeur en Couserans à la fin du XVIIIe siècle », dans *Droit, histoire & sexualité*, textes réunis et présentés par Jacques Poumarede et Jean-Pierre Royer (Toulouse: Publications de l'espace juridique, 1987), 155.

⁹ Beauvalet, *La sexualité en France*, 295.

garder en tête que le procès de viol est surtout un combat pour l'honneur des partis : l'honneur de la femme a été souillé par le crime, et risque d'être souillé à nouveau si elle est considérée comme mensongère, alors que l'honneur de l'homme et de son clan est menacé s'il est reconnu coupable¹⁰. Il est donc impératif que la victime se soit comportée d'une manière très précise lors de l'acte lui-même. Il faut catégoriquement que la victime ait exprimé le plus de résistance possible. Ceci est possible avec divers moyens. Par exemple, lors de l'attaque, elle doit faire le plus de bruit possible, et crier de manière continue. Ces cris sont la démonstration explicite de son opposition à la relation sexuelle tout en permettant d'alerter des voisins, des proches ou des passants qui pourraient alors témoigner du crime¹¹. Les témoignages sont très importants dans les plaintes de viols, puisque sans eux, l'accusation est simplement un cas d'une parole contre une autre. Cependant, les tribunaux ne prennent pas en compte qu'une victime peut être contrainte au silence lors de l'acte. Ainsi, si une victime est paralysée, inconsciente ou est menacée de mort avec une arme, que ce soit une lame ou un pistolet, et qu'elle ne peut s'écrier, l'on considère sa plainte comme moins crédible¹². L'accusatrice doit également porter sur elle les marques de résistance sous forme de blessures. Que ce soit avec des ongles arrachés, des coiffes défaites, des ecchymoses ou des contusions sur le corps, surtout dans les environs des parties génitales. Les maladies vénériennes peuvent aider à soutenir le cas, mais elles ne sont pas suffisantes comme preuve en soi. Bien qu'elles soient la preuve de relations sexuelles, les maladies

¹⁰ Alexis Bernard, « Les victimes de viols à Lyon aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles », dans *Les victimes, des oubliés de l'histoire?*, dir. Benoît Garnot (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2000), paragraphe 5. [<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.18644>].

¹¹ Steinberg, « Lire et interpréter les récits de viol », 167.

¹² Mathieu Laflamme, « Un viol dénoncé dans une déclaration de grossesse à Toulouse en 1742 », *Clio* 52, no. 2 (2020): 211.

transmises sexuellement ne permettent qu'à soutenir qu'une relation sexuelle extraconjugale a eu lieu, en présumant que les époux n'étaient pas déjà porteurs d'infections. La seule exception de ce fait se trouve dans les cas concernant les fillettes. En effet, ces victimes, considérées comme pures, innocentes et incapables de consentir ou de raisonner les relations sexuelles, peuvent baser leurs accusations entièrement sur la présence de maladies vénériennes¹³.

Un autre aspect du comportement de la femme violée est très important : les actions de la victime après son agression. Les tribunaux attendent des femmes violées qu'elles agissent rapidement et portent plainte dans les jours qui suivent le crime. Le fait d'agir rapidement permet de démontrer la sincérité des victimes. De plus, la femme doit faire la plainte de manière sereine, sans aucun signe d'émotion extrême ou d'exagération. Ceci permet de prouver que l'acte n'est pas le fruit d'un coup de tête, d'une hallucination ou d'un regret, donc que la femme a réellement subi une agression. La rapidité de la plainte permet aussi de prouver que la femme n'agit pas selon un désir de vengeance ou dans le but d'atteindre à la réputation de l'accusé¹⁴. Elle agit alors pour corriger une injustice qui lui a été faite. De plus, lorsque la plainte est déposée rapidement, la victime peut se servir de ses blessures en preuve. Les contusions et les marques de résistances que la victime a tendance à avoir sur son corps sont encore fraîches et peuvent afficher la violence et la barbarie de l'acte. Ainsi, à Lyon, les deux tiers des plaintes sont déposés dans les dix jours suivant le crime, dont 40% sont faites le lendemain même¹⁵. Le groupe qui porte plainte le plus rapidement est celui des femmes mariées et des

¹³ A. Bernard, « Les victimes de viols à Lyon », paragraphe 7.

¹⁴ Steinberg, « Lire et interpréter les récits de viol », 166.

¹⁵ A. Bernard, « Les victimes de viols à Lyon », paragraphe 6 ; voir aussi Steinberg, « Lire et interpréter les récits de viol », 167.

veuves. Une des raisons pour lesquelles elles agissent rapidement est parce qu'elles ont tendance à être moins prises au sérieux, puisqu'elles ont déjà eu des relations sexuelles, ce qui rend la plainte moins crédible selon les mœurs de l'époque. Le raisonnement est qu'elles ont connu le péché originel, et qu'elles pourraient être amenées à le répéter avant de le regretter. Les épouses vont porter plainte généralement le lendemain, alors que les veuves le font dans les deux jours suivants l'attaque¹⁶. La victime, lors du dépôt de la plainte, doit aussi clairement désigner qui est son agresseur et ne doit montrer aucune hésitation à cet égard. Encore une fois, une exception est faite pour les enfants, à qui on peut laisser quelques mois, voire des années, avant qu'une plainte soit déposée. C'est donc dans ces cas que la présence de maladies transmises sexuellement est utile aux plaignants : elles sont la preuve qu'une fillette, censée rester vierge tant qu'elle est prépubère, a vécu une relation sexuelle.

Ainsi, nous pouvons déceler, dans le comportement que les femmes qui portent plainte pour viol, un désir précis qui anime leurs choix : elles veulent être crues. Puisque le système juridique est très hautement codifié, et qu'elles sont conscientes de ces codes et des attentes des tribunaux, elles savent comment agir lors de l'agression, mais également comment se comporter devant les juges afin que leur plainte soit prise au sérieux et qu'elles soient compensées.

Les accusés

Le viol étant toujours perpétré par des hommes au XVIII^e siècle, il est important de comprendre le profil des accusés. Ceci est

¹⁶ Enora Peronneau Saint-Jalmes, *Crimes sexuels et société à la fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Perrin, 2021), 61.

toujours un peu difficile, puisque la grande majorité des cas d'agressions n'ont pas de plaintes qui leur sont rattachées. En effet, au XVIII^e siècle, il n'y a qu'environ mille cas de viols par an qui sont rapportés aux autorités¹⁷. Toutefois, la littérature nous démontre que les crimes sexuels étaient beaucoup plus fréquents. Certains cas qui nous parviennent aujourd'hui se trouvent dans des journaux intimes ou des correspondances masculines, où y sont décrites des relations sexuelles au caractère très violent et où le consentement féminin est douteux¹⁸. Souvent, on y retrouve aussi des épisodes de viols collectifs, surtout dans des contextes de crises ou de guerre¹⁹. Il est aussi important de noter que bon nombre de cas non rapportés aux autorités ont comme agresseur un étranger qui était de passage ou un soldat ennemi reparti dans les jours suivants. Encore une fois, ces agresseurs s'en prenaient aux femmes isolées, surtout dans les régions rurales, où le viol est presque impossible à signaler²⁰. Cependant, lorsque l'accusé n'est pas un étranger, il profite tout de même généralement du privilège du rang social afin d'échapper à la condamnation. Alors, puisque le viol est considéré en rapport avec la victime, bon nombre d'hommes vont profiter de leur situation pour commettre des crimes sexuels en sachant que la victime ne peut l'accuser sans être remise en doute. La peine infligée aux agresseurs dépend aussi du rang social : un homme d'une classe inférieure est plus à risque d'être banni ou pendu à mort, alors que les individus des classes supérieures sont souvent capables de régler l'affaire à l'amiable, parfois sans l'implication des

¹⁷ Allinne, « Imaginaire collectif et discours judiciaire », 165.

¹⁸ Steinberg *et al.* *Une histoire des sexualités*, 191.

¹⁹ Beauvalet, *La sexualité en France*, 298-300.

²⁰ Jean-Christophe Robert, « Le viol et sa répression par les juridictions intermédiaires du Roussillon au XVIII^e siècle », dans *Les justices royales secondaires en Languedoc et en Roussillon, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles*, éd. Gilbert Larguier (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan, 2008), paragraphe 2. [<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pupvd.5034>].

tribunaux²¹. Certaines de ces tentatives consistent à payer la victime, mais également à la fiancer²². Il est d'ailleurs intéressant de noter que bien que les concepts de « viol » et de « violée » existent, le concept de « violeur » n'existe pas. Le viol est considéré comme un crime passif, où la victime subit l'acte, et est la personne au cœur de l'affaire, alors que l'agresseur n'est qu'une figure abstraite²³.

En ce qui concerne les cas précis, l'agresseur construit sa défense de manière différente, mais généralement en relation aux accusations faites par la victime. La première tactique de défense utilisée et celle qui est la plus fréquente est la fuite. Parfois, elle est utilisée inconsciemment : dans les plaintes pour viols contre des vagabonds ou des étrangers, il est fort probable que l'accusé a pris la poudre d'escampette avant que la plainte ne soit déposée, simplement parce que leur style de vie le dictait. D'autres vont prendre la fuite lorsqu'ils sont avertis de l'existence de la plainte, afin de ne pas avoir à être impliqués dans l'affaire. Bien que le taux de réussite soit assez bon pour cette tactique, elle n'est pas nécessairement la meilleure pour l'honneur de l'accusé. En effet, l'action de fuir équivaut, pour la communauté, à un aveu. Si l'individu fuit à cause de la simple plainte de la victime, c'est bien la preuve que ce dernier a quelque chose à cacher, ou bien qu'il est lâche. Dans tous les cas, cette tactique mène donc à l'exil de la communauté²⁴.

Cependant, d'autres tactiques sont plus efficaces pour le maintien de la position de l'accusé dans la société. D'abord, il y a le simple déni des faits, tantôt total, tantôt partiel. Cette tactique

²¹ M. Bernard, « De l'innocence juridique à la suspicion judiciaire », 370.

²² A. Bernard, « Les victimes de viols à Lyon », paragraphe 10.

²³ Robert, « Le viol et sa répression », paragraphe 3. ; à noter que cette formulation de l'acte sexuel non consenti est encore utilisée de nos jours.

²⁴ Steinberg, « Lire et interpréter les récits de viol », 178.

repose surtout sur l'existence d'un alibi : l'accusé affirmant ne pas avoir pu être présent pour commettre le crime. Les témoins aident à soutenir cette affirmation. Ainsi, plusieurs accusés vont se tourner vers la remise en question de l'honnêteté de la victime. Une défense qui revient souvent est d'alléguer que la victime exagère les faits. Dans un cas du Roussillon, l'accusé Joseph Cloques affirme qu'il n'a pas violé une certaine Rose Bonafos, mais plutôt qu'il n'a que caressé ses cuisses²⁵. Dans un autre cas, Jean Blaincourt, accusé du viol d'une fillette de trois ans et demi, refuse d'admettre le viol, tout en avouant avoir déjà levé les jupons de la victime²⁶. Ce déni partiel permet de défendre l'accusé, qui reconnaît qu'il a fait une erreur, mais que la victime, ou ceux qui portent plainte en leur nom, exagère l'interaction. Finalement, l'autre grande tactique utilisée est de s'en prendre directement à la victime et à son honneur bien que l'on admette la relation sexuelle. L'accusé entreprend alors de salir la réputation de la victime, mettant ainsi la responsabilité de l'acte sur ses épaules. Évidemment, l'accusation de prostitution est celle qui est le plus souvent utilisée : l'accusé prétend que la femme avait peut-être des difficultés financières qui l'ont poussé à prendre des clients, et parfois l'agresseur lui-même va prétendre être un de ses clients. Si la femme, avant l'agression, tenait beaucoup de compagnie masculine, surtout si elle n'est pas mariée, alors ces fréquentations vont servir à solidifier la défense de l'agresseur. Il en va de même pour certains lieux de mauvaise réputation que la victime aurait pu fréquenter, peu importe si ce n'était que de passage. Dans un même ordre d'idée, l'accusé peut tenter d'argumenter que la victime n'a pas résisté à la relation une fois qu'elle a commencé. Un aspect important de la conception du viol, qui sera développé en plus amples détails plus tard, est la résistance claire et continue au crime. En affirmant que la victime a arrêté de

²⁵ Robert « Le viol et sa répression », paragraphe 22.

²⁶ M. Bernard, « De l'innocence juridique à la suspicion judiciaire », 369-370.

résister, l'argumentaire permet donc de conclure que la relation a arrêté d'être contre le gré de la femme. Si des témoins affirment également qu'ils ont vu la victime en train d'avoir du plaisir pendant l'agression, le crime cesse d'en être un²⁷. L'accusé peut aussi argumenter qu'il est en fait la victime de la séduction de la femme. Cette démonstration dépeint donc la femme comme participante dans l'acte, incitant l'agression avant de porter plainte et d'attenter à l'honneur de la « véritable » victime. Ceci est apparemment encore plus flagrant dans les cas où la femme devient enceinte suite à la relation sexuelle, puisque les tribunaux peuvent reconnaître qu'elle a une motivation à poursuivre l'agresseur²⁸. On tient aussi pour responsable la victime si l'accusé avance l'argument que c'était à elle d'avoir de la protection masculine, que ce soit un père ou un époux²⁹.

Alors, ce que la défense des hommes nous indique sur leur conception du viol, c'est surtout que pour ceux qui admettent avoir eu des relations sexuelles avec les victimes, elles n'étaient pas criminelles. Les hommes comprennent plutôt que la femme demandait la relation, et ont plutôt tendance à se voir eux-mêmes comme victimes de fausses accusations. Plusieurs vont également essayer de se défendre en affirmant que, bien qu'il y a eu contact, le viol n'a pas été fait parce qu'il n'y a pas eu de pénétration des membres génitaux³⁰. Ainsi, ils se donnent le droit de prendre plaisir dans le corps de la femme jusqu'à la frontière de la pénétration, et ce sans remords.

²⁷ Robert « Le viol et sa répression », paragraphe 22.

²⁸ Peronneau Saint-Jalmes, *Crimes sexuels et société*, 77.

²⁹ Steinberg, « Lire et interpréter les récits de viol », 178.

³⁰ Peronneau Saint-Jalmes, *Crimes sexuels et société*, 76.

Les juristes

Enfin, il faut se pencher sur le sens juridique du viol. Puisque la France d'Ancien Régime n'a pas de code de loi standardisé à travers l'ensemble du royaume, il y a plusieurs interprétations qui ont été faites concernant le crime. Ces définitions sont élaborées par des juristes, puis transcrites généralement dans des dictionnaires ou dans des répertoires de jurisprudence afin que les magistrats puissent les consulter et s'y appuyer dans les décisions à prendre. Cette partie de l'analyse est plus corsée que celle concernant les individus impliqués directement dans les cas, puisque ces juristes n'ont pas d'attachements personnels ni de motivations précises lors de l'élaboration de ces définitions. Cela étant dit, il est bon de mentionner que, bien que la loi puisse sembler neutre jusqu'à un certain degré, l'ensemble du système juridique est élaboré par des hommes. Pour les juristes, alors, le viol existe, contrairement à la conception que les hommes qui sont accusés ont de la relation sexuelle. Toutefois, le barème que les juristes ont, concernant qu'est-ce qui est ou non un viol, est beaucoup plus précis que celui des victimes. Ici, il sera question d'analyser quatre entrées dans des dictionnaires et répertoires juridiques afin de comprendre comment le droit de l'Ancien Régime conçoit le viol, mais aussi de voir l'évolution de l'imaginaire à travers le XVIII^e siècle. Il est important de noter que la philosophie des Lumières, qui à première vue peut être conçue comme étant libérale, a plutôt une opinion traditionaliste du viol. Ainsi, certains philosophes comme Rousseau, Voltaire et Diderot soutiennent que les femmes ne peuvent simplement pas être violées. Selon eux, dans des circonstances où une femme se fait attaquer et refuse d'être violée, elle est capable de se battre et de résister physiquement à son agresseur. Cette logique signifie donc que, lorsqu'une femme se dit violée, c'est en fait qu'elle l'aurait voulu³¹. Alors, un viol, peu

³¹ Beauvalet, *La sexualité en France*, 297.

importe son niveau de réussite partiel ou total, est synonyme de consentement, surtout s'il y a une conception qui en résulte. On explique la grossesse causée par des viols comme étant la preuve que la femme y a pris du plaisir, car Dieu ne permettrait pas la création d'une vie issue de la souffrance³². Évidemment, cette conception influence l'opinion de certains juristes.

D'abord, il y a la description que Pierre-François Muyart de Vouglans offre dans son ouvrage *Institutes au droit criminel*, publié en 1757. Pour lui, un rapport sexuel peut être considéré comme étant un viol lorsqu'un homme utilise une force violente sur une personne du sexe féminin pour « la connaître charnellement »³³. Le viol ne doit être reconnu ainsi que lorsque la femme a clairement résisté fortement et continuellement à l'acte. Il établit aussi une hiérarchie entre les victimes, plaçant les enfants comme les victimes les plus scandaleuses et les prostituées comme très peu importantes.

Puis, il y a la définition faite par Louis de Jaucourt dans *L'Encyclopédie ou le Dictionnaire raisonné*, sous la direction de Diderot et d'Alembert. Sa description du viol est écrite en 1767. On parle encore ici de violence faite envers une femme charnellement. Jaucourt décrit le comportement nécessaire qu'une femme violée a dû avoir lors de l'agression :

La déclaration d'une femme qui se plaint d'avoir été violée, ne fait pas une preuve suffisante, il faut qu'elle soit accompagnée d'autres indices, comme si cette femme a fait de grands cris, qu'elle ait appelé des voisins à son secours, ou qu'il soit resté quelque trace de la violence sur sa personne, comme des contusions ou blessures faites avec armes offensives ; mais si elle s'est tue à l'instant, ou

³² M. Bernard, « De l'innocence juridique à la suspicion judiciaire », 361.

³³ Pierre-François Muyart de Vouglans, « VIOL », dans *Institutes au droit criminel, ou principes généraux sur ces matières* (Paris: Chez le Breton, 1757), 496.

qu'elle a tardé quelque temps à rendre plainte, elle n'y est plus recevable³⁴.

Ainsi, du moment où la femme est attaquée, elle doit immédiatement se comporter en victime, et ne pas cesser jusqu'à la fin de l'acte. Elle doit aussi porter plainte rapidement et ne pas se suicider. Cette définition illustre bien la conduite que l'on attend des femmes se disant violées.

Ensuite, il y a la description faite par Joseph-Nicolas Guyot en 1785 dans le *Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence*. Guyot parle plutôt de violence faite à une fille ou à une femme. Le caractère charnel n'est pas explicite, mais il est clair qu'il est sous-entendu tout au long de la définition. Guyot se distingue des autres juristes en mentionnant que l'on se doit de disculper une femme qui tue son agresseur au cours de l'acte. La hiérarchie des victimes est encore une fois présente³⁵.

Finalement, il y a une description du viol dans l'édition posthume du *Dictionnaire de droit et de pratique*, d'abord écrit par Claude-Joseph de Ferrière³⁶. Cette édition, rédigée en 1787, à l'aube de la Révolution, le viol est plutôt compris comme étant « un ravissement d'honneur fait à une fille ou une femme, en lui arrachant par la violence des faveurs que la vertu, la bienséance et une pudeur naturelle ou politique refuse »³⁷. L'auteur établit qu'il y a une relation importante entre l'âge de la victime et la criminalité

³⁴ Louis de Jaucourt, « VIOL », dans *L'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné*, vol. XVII (Paris, 1765), 310.

³⁵ Joseph-Nicolas Guyot, « VIOL », dans *Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence civile, criminelle, canonique et bénéficiale*, tome XVII (Paris: Chez Visse, 1778), 560.

³⁶ Il est important de souligner que Ferrière est décédé en 1748. La description n'est donc pas la sienne, mais celle de Boucher d'Argis, qui contribue à l'élaboration du *Dictionnaire de droit et de pratique* à partir de la 3^e édition.

³⁷ Claude-Joseph de Ferrière, « VIOL », dans *Dictionnaire de droit et de pratique*, tome II (Toulouse: Chez Me. Rayet, 1787), 865.

de l'agresseur : plus la victime est jeune, plus l'agresseur est criminel. On y reconnaît également que le fait qu'il y a une grossesse n'élimine pas la possibilité que la conception ait été faite à cause d'un viol, considérant que la biologie a démontré que Dieu n'est pas la seule entité responsable. L'auteur est également le seul qui ne mentionne pas la résistance constante et le comportement féminin nécessaire pour que la relation sexuelle soit considérée comme un viol.

Dans tous les cas étudiés, le consentement féminin à l'acte sexuel n'est jamais mentionné. Ce qui est valorisé, c'est plutôt la nécessité du combat de la victime et le fait que l'agresseur lui a pris la vertu. On aborde, encore une fois, les cris, la violence et le fait que la femme doit être prête à faire tout ce qu'il faut pour se sortir de cette position. Elle est considérée responsable de la situation dans laquelle elle se trouve. Ce poids que l'on met sur les épaules des femmes est important pour la considération et la catégorisation des actes sexuels. Ainsi, les magistrats hésitent à agir lors de cas où il n'est pas exactement apparent que la victime se soit débattue, ou ait été blessée par son agresseur³⁸. Ne voulant pas condamner un homme à une peine simplement pour avoir eu des relations sexuelles avec son amante, les tribunaux préfèrent souvent tenir pour acquis qu'il y a eu un manque de communication entre les partis, et encourager une entente à l'amiable. Ainsi, les magistrats peuvent considérer que l'honneur de la femme n'est pas trop sévèrement atteint, et que l'honneur de l'homme n'a pas souffert une accusation qui aurait pu être fausse. Plusieurs magistrats ont également beaucoup d'hésitation à intervenir dans ces affaires à cause que le domaine de la sexualité est considéré comme faisant partie de la juridiction ecclésiastique. Ils ne se sentent alors pas compétents de se prononcer en matière de péché charnel ou de

³⁸ Laflamme « Un viol dénoncé », 210-211.

salut, puisqu'il y a toujours la possibilité que la femme ne soit qu'une pécheresse³⁹. Ne voulant donc pas mettre en jeu leur propre vie éternelle, plusieurs ne reconnaissent simplement pas la relation sexuelle en question comme étant un viol.

En conclusion, la complexité de la catégorisation des rapports sexuels signifie que, pour plusieurs femmes de l'Ancien Régime, des relations qui les ont blessées n'ont pas été punies par la loi, surtout parce que ces relations n'étaient pas perçues comme étant problématiques. Maëlle Bernard apporte une réflexion intéressante sur le sujet : les deux seuls groupes qui sont véritablement considérés comme violés sont ceux des fillettes et des femmes mortes durant le rapport⁴⁰. Les fillettes ne pouvaient pas se défendre à cause de leur innocence. Les femmes mortes sont la preuve ultime de la résistance lors d'une relation sexuelle non désirée. Ainsi, les autres victimes ne sont pas reconnues au même niveau. Il fallait qu'elles crient plus fort, qu'elles se débattent plus violemment, qu'elles se blessent plus profondément. Il ne fallait pas qu'elles s'entourent d'hommes, qu'elles fréquentent certains endroits, qu'elles approchent certains individus. Il fallait qu'elles évitent ces situations. Si elles s'y retrouvent tout de même et qu'elles survivent à l'attaque, il fallait qu'elles se soumettent à l'interrogation d'un tribunal dans les jours suivants l'attaque pour que justice soit faite. Même si ce n'était pas elles qui avaient commis un crime, elles étaient traitées comme des suspectes, devant défendre leur honneur devant toute la communauté et défendre les actions qu'elles ont prises. Il est donc compréhensible que la vaste majorité des femmes n'aient pas voulu se soumettre à une telle épreuve, et que les viols n'aient donc pas été traduits en justice.

³⁹ Robert, « Le viol et sa répression », paragraphe 18.

⁴⁰ M. Bernard, « De l'innocence juridique à la suspicion judiciaire », 360.

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Les lieux de socialisation pour les femmes lesbiennes au Canada de 1950 à 1980

Shana Quesnel¹

Alors que la sous-culture gaie prend de l'expansion et devient plus visible dans les années 50, la présence lesbienne devient visible². Bien que l'existence de bar et de sauna pour les hommes gai marque la mémoire collective de l'histoire LGBTQ+ au Canada (et au travers du monde), l'existence de lieu de rencontre pour les femmes saphique est moins présente ou est imaginée comme une simple copie féminine des lieux gais masculins. Ceci ignore les complexités des espaces lesbiennes et le fait que le genre à jouer un rôle vital à modeler les lieux socialisation lesbienne³. Les lieux de socialisation fréquentés par la communauté lesbienne sont à la fois modelés par le fait qu'elles font partie d'une minorité sexuelle persécutée, mais aussi leur statut de femme dans une société patriarcale. Il est aussi important de noter que la communauté lesbienne n'est pas une seule communauté, mais plusieurs communautés qui tendent de petits groupes d'amies, dont certains sont attachés à un mouvement politique alors que d'autres n'ont pas d'affiliation politique, comme

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² Valerie Joyce Korinek, *Prairie Fairies: A History of Queer Communities and People in Western Canada, 1930-1985* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2018), doi: 10.3138/9781487518172, 30.

³ Le terme lesbienne est utilisé pour faire référence à communauté de femmes qui aiment les femmes, mais il est important de noter certaine de individus qui s'identifiaient comme femmes et lesbiennes pourrais aujourd'hui identifié comme bisexuel, hommes transgenre, non binaire, deux esprits, etc.

la communauté de bar⁴. Les bars sont un des lieux de rencontre qui émerge comme un incontournable dans les années 50 et 60, ceux-ci sont formés de manière fondamentale par les lois entourant la consommation d'alcool public par les femmes. Le plus grand scrutin auquel font face les femmes pour leur vie personnelle et les établissements de socialisation, ceux-ci font que plusieurs d'entre elles, surtout de la classe moyenne, se retournent vers des lieux et des fêtes privés pour socialiser. Le mouvement de libération lesbienne intersecte non seulement avec le mouvement de libération gai, mais aussi le mouvement de féministe de seconde vague. Bien que leur place fût souvent contestée dans le mouvement féministe, les lesbiennes forment à l'intérieur de celui-ci leur propre sphère de socialisation qui prenne forme de café, restaurant et librairie féministe exclusive aux femmes.

Les bars fréquenté par des lesbiennes

Les bars en tant que lieux commerciaux représentaient une présence politique, qui jouant un rôle important a augmenté la visibilité non seulement physique des lesbiennes, mais aussi leur visibilité politique⁵. Cette visibilité publique permet aux lesbiennes d'être reconnues en tant que groupe à de nouveaux niveaux. Plusieurs femmes apprécieraient l'opportunité qu'apportent les bars à faire démonstration de leur sexualité dans des lieux semi-publics, d'être eux même et d'entretenir un sentiment de communauté⁶. Toutefois, dans ces bars elles pouvaient aussi faire face à de la

⁴ Becki L. Ross, *The House That Jill Built: A Lesbian Nation in Formation* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 11.

⁵ Liz Millward, *Making a Scene : Lesbians and Community across Canada, 1964-84* (Vancouver, CB: University Of British Columbia Press, 2016), 44.

⁶ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 44.

violence, de la discrimination et de l'exploitation. Le genre des lesbiennes joue un rôle important dans la création des bars et impact aussi la culture à l'intérieur de ceux-ci incluant les types de violence qu'elles pouvaient faire face. Par exemple, à la sortie d'un bar fréquenté par des lesbiens en soirée les femmes, en particulier les femmes *butches* risquent le harcèlement et les attaques physiques d'hommes hétérosexuels sous l'excuse que si elles « *want to dress and look like a man, you want to fight with one* »⁷. L'époque de la post-prohibition apporte avec elle plusieurs lois qui entourent la fréquentation des lieux qui servent l'alcool, mise en place par les diverses Commissions des liqueurs provinciales⁸. Plusieurs provinces vont simplement bannir les femmes des tavernes, dont la Saskatchewan, le Manitoba et le Québec. Bien que le Québec bannît les femmes des tavernes, les cafés (dont les femmes ont accès) ont le droit de servir de l'alcool. De plus, à Montréal, la danse et les spectacles sont permis dans les boîtes de nuit qui crée une culture lesbienne unique. La Nouvelle-Écosse interdit les femmes jusqu'en 1961 lorsque la province commence à permettre aux femmes de fréquenter des *ladies breuvage rooms* à l'intérieur des tavernes d'hôtel. La Colombie-Britannique ne bannit pas directement les femmes, mais elles seront bannies des bars de manière individuelle (en les classant de groupe indésirable) ou seront seulement permises dans une pièce secondaire du bar réservé pour les femmes et les escortes. L'Ontario exige que les hôtels aient une pièce réservée aux femmes. L'Alberta va initialement permettre l'accès aux femmes aux salons de bière pour les bannir deux ans plus tard

⁷ "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "A,"" par Lesbians Making History, digitalexhibitions.archives.ca, 6 mai 1987, 20, <https://digitalexhibitions.archives.ca/files/original/875772123ae7d3cb947e3e50d0e0ba7d.pdf>.

⁸ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 46.

et les laisser entrer de nouveau dans des chambres exclusivement aux femmes⁹. La fin des règlements entourait la prohibition des femmes dans les bars se vont de manière graduelle au travers des diverses provinces (l'interdiction de ségrégation des bars sera seulement instaurée au Québec en 1985), mais entre-temps les diverses interdictions et ségrégation joue un rôle fondamental dans la formation de la culture des bars lesbiens¹⁰. Les bars qui tolèrent les lesbiennes étaient majoritairement dans des districts rouges et délabrés et cela est vrai pour tout d'un océan à l'autre au Canada. Les bars étaient non seulement souvent associés avec des activités criminelles, dont la prostitution et la vente de drogue, mais souvent au crime organisé et surveillés par des policiers corrompus¹¹. Le statut général des bars donnait un message généralisé sur les lesbiennes comme étant des personnes sales et associées au crime.

Un des bars qui incarne bien ce type de bar est à Toronto en Ontario, le *Continental House*. Le *Continental House* avait une pièce réservée aux femmes et aux escortes et le Régime des alcools de l'Ontario espérait que ces espaces allaient protéger les femmes d'attention masculine non désirée et allait empêcher les prostituées de faire sollicitation dans les bars¹². Un des effets non anticipés de la création d'espaces dominés par la présence des femmes, en particulier des femmes de la classe ouvrière, est l'émergence de la culture lesbienne de bar¹³. Bien que le *Continental House* à plusieurs éléments typique d'un bar fréquenté par des lesbiens de son

⁹ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 47.

¹⁰ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 24.

¹¹ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 48.

¹² El Chenier, "A Place Like The Continental," dans *Any Other Way : How Toronto Got Queer*, Stephanie Chambers (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 98.

¹³ Chenier, "A Place Like The Continental," 98-99.

époque, sa relation avec la communauté locale fût plutôt unique. Le bar établi dans le quartier chinois était aussi un hub de prostitution, un élément typique des bars fréquentés par les lesbiennes à l'époque mais la communauté saphique et asiatique profitait de l'existence de l'industrie du sexe de manière mutuelle puisque la communauté chinoise était largement une société de *married-bachelor*¹⁴. Ainsi, la demande pour la prostitution continue jusqu'au début des années 60¹⁵. La culture du commerce du sexe ne donne non seulement les conditions aux lesbiennes de s'établir comme une présence régulière et stable, mais aussi des opportunités de rémunérations¹⁶. Les lesbiennes n'étaient pas perçues comme des indésirables dans le quartier, mais comme une partie de la communauté en plus d'être financièrement avantageuses puisqu'elles dépensaient leur argent dans les entreprises locales. L'acceptation de la communauté largement masculine a permis l'existence du *Continental House* et à ce dernier de prospérer comme bar lesbienne. Les bars lesbiennes, dont le *Continental House*, avaient aussi besoin d'un autre élément fondamental, un bartender masculin qui est prêt à les servir alors qu'elles sont habituellement perçues comme une nuisance dans les années 50 et 60. Bien que les femmes aient le droit de fréquenter les bars, elles n'avaient pas le droit de servir de l'alcool en Ontario. Donc, alors qu'aux États-Unis une femme lesbienne pouvait servir et attirer une clientèle lesbienne, les bars canadiens dépendent du vouloir des bartenders mâles. Le gérant de du *Continental House* ne servait pas seulement la clientèle lesbienne, mais les supportait jusqu'à les défendre lorsqu'il avait des confrontations physiques. Ce

¹⁴ Chenier, "A Place Like The Continental," 99.

¹⁵ Chenier, "Rethinking Class in Lesbian Bar Culture: Living 'The Gay Life' in Toronto, 1955-1965," *Left History* 9, no. 2 (2004): 96, 96.

¹⁶ Chenier, "Rethinking Class in Lesbian Bar Culture," 107.

support permet aux lesbiennes d'avoir un sens de sécurité et de profiter de l'espace¹⁷.

Bien que vivre pleinement la vie gaie était une source de fierté pour plusieurs, la culture des bars encourageait la consommation excessive d'alcool (et plus tard de drogue, en particulier l'héroïne) qui rendait difficile d'obtenir et de retenir un emploi. Ceci alors qu'il était déjà difficile pour les femmes masculines d'obtenir un emploi puisqu'elles étaient discriminées en fonction de leur apparence. « *[Butches] couldn't - wouldn't, you know, go into straight jobs, because they wouldn't dress the part. They couldn't go for taking their suits off to putting dresses on, I mean that really would have killed them* », selon Pat Murphy, une activiste de la communauté lesbienne et gaie de Toronto¹⁸. Plusieurs lesbiennes sont poussées dans la prostitution en raison de la discrimination basée sur leur orientation sexuelle¹⁹. Certaines femmes et en particulier certaines lesbiennes *butches*, deviennent même des proxénètes²⁰. Les femmes devaient aussi faire face à du harcèlement policier. Le niveau de harcèlement pouvait parfois être intolérable comme dans l'est du Centre-ville de Vancouver qui était la région fréquentée par les lesbiennes à l'époque, ou c'était inévitable d'interagir avec des

¹⁷ Chenier, "A Place Like The Continental," 99-100.

¹⁸ "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Pat Murphy,"" 18.

¹⁹ Chenier, "A Place Like The Continental," 100.

²⁰ "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Shirley & Betty,"" par Lesbians Making History, digitalexhibitions.archives.ca, 11 janvier 1987, 43, <https://digitalexhibitions.archives.ca/files/original/f2a401165276c86435c6d2814a3ed711.pdf>; "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Lois, Jeanne, and Jackie,"" par Lesbians Making History, digitalexhibitions.archives.ca, 1^{er} octobre 1985, 45, <https://digitalexhibitions.archives.ca/files/original/ad2b0724a8bfceffa061cf7f98e6c51b.pdf>.

policiers comme si « *they were special cops, assigned to just kind of victimize lesbians and drag queens and stuff* »²¹.

Ce qui pourrait être décrit comme une reproduction des rôles de genres dans la communauté lesbienne était un élément fondateur de la culture lesbienne et était particulièrement évident dans les bars. Les rôles de *butch* et de *femme* étaient une caractéristique indéniable de la communauté dans l'ère post-guerre. Toutefois, plusieurs lesbiennes sentaient la pression d'adhérer à ses rôles mêmes si elles ne s'identifiaient pas complètement avec un ou l'autre²². Il y avait aussi un aspect positif dans le rôle de femme et de *butch*: cela rendait la sexualité lesbienne plus visible et diminuait l'oppression liée à l'invisibilité. Le simple fait d'avoir un groupe de femmes *butch* et *femme* ensemble permettait aux établissements d'acquérir une réputation lesbienne²³. À la fin des années 60, le *Continental House* était rendu dans un état extrêmement détérioré et la clientèle était plus violente à cause de la pauvreté et d'un niveau de toxicomanie grandissant. Les lesbiennes cherchent donc une alternative comme lieu de rencontre. Certaines adoptent le *Ford Hotel* qui avait une industrie de prostitution épanouissante. Dans les mis années 60 la taverne gaie *Parkside* devient aussi un établissement de choix à cause de l'ouverture du club illégal en face²⁴.

Il y a eu aussi des bars principalement pour les hommes gays dans lesquels les lesbiennes devaient négocier pour créer un espace

²¹ "Jessie MacGregor part 1 interview," par Bronwyn Bragg, *arcs-atom.uottawa.ca*, 26 septembre 2009, 13:00, <https://arcs-atom.uottawa.ca/index.php/jessie-macgregor-part-1-interview>.

²² "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Pat Murphy,"" 5.

²³ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 52.

²⁴ Chenier, "A Place Like The Continental," 100.

pour les femmes saphiques à l'intérieur de ceux-ci qui créaient des frictions et frustrations entre les deux groupes. D'autres bars (dont *Madame Arthur* situé à Montréal) laissent des hommes hétérosexuels dans les bars pour flirter avec les lesbiennes²⁵. Lorsque le *Continental House* ferme en 1972, les jours de gloire des bars lesbiens cela met fin à une ère distincte de l'histoire queer à Toronto et au Canada²⁶. Alors que les premiers bars lesbiens étaient difficiles à trouver et concentrés dans le district rouge, au début des années 70 avec de nouveaux types d'espaces pour la consommation d'alcool ouvrent avec la libération des lois sur la consommation. De nombreux espaces dont des bars qui sont gérés par des lesbiennes comme *Fly By Night* (Toronto) et *Baby Face Disco* (Montréal), qui est le premier bar exclusif aux lesbiennes au Canada²⁷. Maintenant qu'il y avait un plus grand nombre de lieux pour boire et danser les femmes lesbiennes avaient l'option d'être critiques envers les diverses locations, alors qu'auparavant des lieux décrépits étaient leur seule option²⁸. Ceci permet aux femmes d'exprimer leur sexualité dans des bars qui avaient un sens de communauté et de féminisme grandissant. L'intersection grandissante entre la culture des bars et la seconde vague du féminisme peut être observée dans le quartier du Plateau à Montréal où plusieurs nouveaux établissements sont ouverts aux lesbiennes pour socialiser dans les années 80²⁹. Ces nouveaux bars avaient pour but de célébrer et promouvoir la culture lesbienne et augmenter sa visibilité. Bien que certains bars étaient utilisés pour l'organisation communautaire (comme *Fly by Night* à Toronto), les bars n'étaient pas toujours des espaces pour les femmes puisque les propriétaires étaient souvent des hommes hétérosexuels, ce qui met en un état d'incertitude

²⁵ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 66-67.

²⁶ Chenier, "A Place Like The Continental," 101.

²⁷ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 45 et 68.

²⁸ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 70.

²⁹ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 69.

l'organisation politique et communautaire dans ses bars³⁰. Les bars lesbiennes étaient aussi accompagnés d'autres lieux commerciaux qui servaient la communauté lesbienne et féministe. Les bars ont permis d'augmenter la visibilité urbaine de la communauté lesbienne en plus d'être un des rares exemples où les femmes avaient le contrôle sur les espaces commerciaux qui étaient associés à la sexualité en tant que lieu de rencontre et de drague³¹.

Les fêtes privées

Une partie importante des lieux de socialisation des femmes lesbiennes était souvent des lieux privés, qui reflétaient en partie le statut économique plus bas des femmes à l'époque. En général, les femmes avaient non seulement des salaires plus bas, mais aussi moins d'indépendance sociale, économique et sexuelle. Cela faisait que la femme lesbienne avait moins de lieux commerciaux à socialiser et qu'elle ne participait que rarement dans des formes de *cruising* publique (que cela soit dans les salles de bain ou parcs)³². La majorité des lesbiennes, en particulier les femmes de minorités raciales, de classe ouvrière et mère, ont moins de ressources matérielles et donc moins d'espaces de socialisation³³. Il est aussi important de noter que les expressions telles que « sortir du placard » ne faisaient pas encore partie du vocabulaire dans les

³⁰ Alexandra Ketchum, "'The Place We've Always Wanted to Go But Never Could Find': Finding Woman Space in Feminist Restaurants and Cafés in Ontario 1974–1982." *Feminist Studies* 44, no. 1 (2018): 144-145, doi:10.1353/fem.2018.0002.

³¹ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 69.

³² Gary William Kinsman et Patrizia Gentile, *The Canadian War on Queers National: Security as Sexual Regulation* (Vancouver, CB: UBC Press, 2010), 226.

³³ Ross, *The House That Jill Built*, 37.

années 50 et 60³⁴. Ceci démontre clairement que pour une grande part de la communauté la seule option perçue de vivre sa sexualité queer était de manière privée, incluant la socialisation. Il y a aussi une différence régionale; il était plus facile de vivre ouvertement dans les grandes villes comme Toronto ou Montréal que dans les régions plus rurales et conservatrices³⁵. De plus, fréquenter ouvertement des lieux de socialisation lesbiens et vivre ouvertement sa sexualité venaient avec des risques importants. Vivre ouvertement le lesbianisme pouvait apporter le rejet de sa famille, la perte d'emploi et la perte de logement³⁶. Les lesbiennes craignaient aussi des interventions psychiatriques si leur sexualité était découverte³⁷. Les femmes lesbiennes étaient aussi victimes des campagnes de purge contre les personnes gai(e), une campagne dans laquelle des centaines, et peut-être des milliers ont été renvoyés, démontés ou forcés de donner de l'information sur leur entourage³⁸. Les purges étaient justifiées par la croyance que les personnes homosexuelles souffraient de faiblesse morale qui les rendait plus vulnérables au chantage des autorités soviétiques soviets³⁹. Pour plusieurs lesbiennes, avant l'avancement du mouvement féministe, il était difficile de trouver et maintenir un sens communauté⁴⁰.

La majorité des lesbiennes avant 1965 appartenaient la classe moyenne inférieure et la plupart d'entre elles ne faisaient pas partie

³⁴ Line Chamberland, *Mémoires lesbiennes : le lesbianisme à Montréal entre 1950 et 1972* (Québec, QC: Remue-Ménage, 1996), 61.

³⁵ "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "A,"" 111-112.

³⁶ Chamberland, *Mémoires lesbiennes*, 63-64.

³⁷ Korinek, *Prairie Fairies*, 114.

³⁸ Kinsman et Gentile, *The Canadian War on Queers National*, 3.

³⁹ Kinsman et Gentile, *The Canadian War on Queers National*, 3.

⁴⁰ Cameron Duder, *Awfully Devoted Women Lesbian Lives in Canada, 1900-65* (Vancouver, CB: UBC Press, 2010), 238.

de la communauté lesbienne des bars. Elles vivaient leur sexualité en secret par peur de perdre leur emploi⁴¹. Ceci a créé un écart entre les lesbiennes de la classe ouvrière et les lesbiennes de la classe moyenne et leurs cercles de socialisation. Ceci malgré le fait que ces dernières visitent les bars de manière occasionnelle, elles ne s'identifient pas avec la culture des bars⁴². Ce sentiment est bien exprimé par Eve Zaremba, une femme lesbienne qui a habité à Toronto depuis 1945, où elle se décroche un emploi en tant que responsable de publicité et de marketing.⁴³ Pour elle, le *Continental House* « *wasn't the place [she] was interested in going. It was on the contrary, [she] heard it in the context of the place that you didn't go to. And anyway [...] [they] had private parties, you know, mixed – I mean big – very* »⁴⁴. Malgré cela, les lesbiennes de la classe moyenne inférieure avaient un certain respect pour l'audace des lesbiennes qui fréquentaient de manière régulière ces lieux. Toutefois, malgré l'attraction d'un lieu libre et ouvert, pour certaines femmes leur position sociale et respectabilité étaient plus importantes que leur identité sexuelle. Bien qu'elles ne rebellent pas aussi ouvertement que les lesbiennes dans les bars, elles se rebellent de leur propre façon contre l'hétéronormativité, en partie en refusant d'être malheureuse dans des relations ou mariages hétéronormatifs. Toutefois, le fait qu'elles avaient réussi à entrer dans la classe moyenne ainsi que la respectabilité et le salaire qui vient avec ce statut font qu'elles limitent les risques qu'elles sont prêtes à prendre

⁴¹ Duder, *Awfully Devoted Women*, 239.; "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Pat Murphy,"" 19.

⁴² Duder, *Awfully Devoted Women*, 239.

⁴³ "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Eve Zaremba"", par Lesbians Making History, digitalexhibitions.archives.ca, 17 Juillet 17 1986, 1, <https://digitalexhibitions.archives.ca/files/original/1214a1fc0de00f7849fccc8d9471e2d0.pdf>.

⁴⁴ "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Eve Zaremba"" 26.

en termes d'ouverture sur leur sexualité⁴⁵. La séparation de classe est bien visible à Toronto entre les femmes qui fréquentent le *Continental House* et celles qui préfèrent les fêtes privées. Ceci n'était pas exclusif à cette ville, mais représente une tendance généralisée au Canada, par exemple les fêtes privées qui pouvaient être des lieux de socialisation importante pour les lesbiennes de classe moyenne à Winnipeg⁴⁶. Le plus grand danger pour elles lors de la fréquentation de bars était d'être vue par un collègue de travail ou d'être arrêtée lors d'un raid policier et de perdre leur emploi. Les bars laissaient aussi souvent entrer des touristes hétérosexuels qui se divertissaient en observant les lesbiennes qui fréquentent les bars et il y avait un risque qu'un de ces touristes soit un collègue de travail. Toutefois, lors des fêtes privées, elles avaient beaucoup moins de chance d'être harcelées par la police ou par des personnes hétérosexuelles et pouvaient se présenter de manière plus *butch* sans devoir craindre la possibilité d'abus qui pourrait venir avec cette présentation⁴⁷. Toutefois, les lesbiennes et les hommes gais de la classe moyenne avec des emplois avaient besoin de maintenir une image hétérosexuelle et respectable, donc ils s'entraidaient pour conserver cette façade et plusieurs allaient à des fêtes mixtes⁴⁸. Ceci était une stratégie mutuellement bénéfique pour les hommes et les femmes gai(e)s de la classe moyenne. L'utilisation de cette stratégie dépasse les fêtes privées et était utilisée pour faire des sorties publiques en groupe comme aller au cinéma⁴⁹. Il était particulièrement dangereux pour les hommes de se retrouver dans une fête exclusivement masculine puisqu'ils pouvaient être arrêtés⁵⁰. Ainsi, les fêtes privées mixtes étaient une alternative

⁴⁵ Duder, *Awfully Devoted Women*, 240.

⁴⁶ Korinek, *Prairie Fairies*, 54.

⁴⁷ Duder, *Awfully Devoted Women*, 242.

⁴⁸ Duder, *Awfully Devoted Women*, 244.

⁴⁹ Korinek, *Prairie Fairies*, 50.

⁵⁰ Duder, *Awfully Devoted Women*, 244.

sécuritaire. Les invités venaient d'un réseau de connexions personnelles ; certaines lesbiennes vont même faire référence à une famille choisie⁵¹. Les fêtes sont fréquentes, grandes et bien organisées. Les fêtes étaient très similaires aux fêtes hétérosexuelles dans le sens où les femmes passaient leur temps à boire, danser, parler, jouer aux cartes et à se détendre. Bien sûr, les femmes lesbiennes devaient être plus discrètes, elles prenaient des précautions comme se stationner plus loin. Toutefois, certains éléments indésirables souvent associés au 'bar scène', comme l'abus d'alcool, l'utilisation des drogues et la violence, se faufilaient dans les fêtes privées. Il reste que cela était hors du commun et qu'il n'avait pas d'utilisation de drogues dures et la violence était rare⁵².

Les lieux de socialisation féministe: les cafés, restaurants et librairies

La montée du mouvement féministe lesbienne ne change pas seulement la culture des bars, mais apporte avec elle de nouveaux lieux de rencontre pour les lesbiennes. Ces lieux de socialisation sont nés de l'insatisfaction de la place que les lesbiennes occupent dans le mouvement de libération gai, des mouvements de la gauche et le mouvement féministe. Les lesbiennes manquent de représentation et sont quasi invisibles dans les mouvements de libération dans les années 70 et 80, « *[the gay movement] didn't talk about lesbians, and, the man didn't talk about*

⁵¹ "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Dorothy Knight,"" par Maureen FitzGerald, digitalexhibitions.archives.ca, 21 et 22 février 2000, 38, <https://digitalexhibitions.archives.ca/files/original/836b758fe29db9b114ffe183be87f3d7.pdf>.

⁵² Duder, *Awfully Devoted Women*, 245-246.

lesbians and the women's movement didn't want to talk about lesbians »⁵³. À la suite du bill omnibus de 1969, qui décriminalise en partie l'homosexualité, les limitations de celui-ci poussent les lesbiennes à bâtir une relation avec les hommes gais et le mouvement de libération homosexuel. Toutefois, les lesbiennes réalisent rapidement que les organisations gaies étaient sous leadership et contrôle masculin en plus d'être orienté pour les hommes gais⁵⁴. Pour Murphy et certains de ses collègues au Community Homophile Association of Toronto, de la frustration grandissante vient du désaccord sur certaines questions, le manque de représentation féminine dans l'organisation, et une croyance de la part des membres masculins qu'ils ne pouvaient et ne devraient pas parler pour les lesbiennes. De plus, des attitudes divergentes vis-à-vis la sexualité et le langage sexiste utilisé par les hommes gais augmentent aussi les frictions⁵⁵. Par la seconde moitié des années 70, plusieurs féministes sont aussi insatisfaites parce qu'elles perçoivent comme une reproduction du système capitaliste par les hommes gais blancs et privilégiés. Il n'avait pas vraiment d'équivalent féminin au mouvement pour les droits des hommes gais et bien que certaines femmes aient continué leur travail avec les organisations gaies, plusieurs vont retourner vers le mouvement lesbien féministe. Des défis similaires émergent aussi dans l'activisme de gauche. Les femmes dans ces mouvements doivent souvent faire face à du sexisme et un manque de considération de la question féminine et la hiérarchie des organisations. Donc, plusieurs lesbiennes et féministes tournent leur dos sur ce

⁵³ "Ellen and Nadine 1," par Nadine Boulay, *alotarchives.org*, 15 mars 2013, 9: 20, <https://wayback.archive-it.org/12142/20230809235843/https://www.alotarchives.org/content/ellen-and-nadine-1>.

⁵⁴ Ross, *The House That Jill Built*, 33.

⁵⁵ *Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Pat Murphy,"* 11.

mouvement⁵⁶. Il est important de noter que bien que les lesbiennes fassent partie du mouvement féministe, cela ne veut pas dire qu'elles sont toujours les bienvenues et que leurs problèmes et besoins sont adressés. Ceci peut être démontré par le fait qu'avant 1970, le *Toronto Women's Liberation Movement* n'adresse aucune question vis-à-vis le lesbianisme⁵⁷. À la fin des années 60 et au début des années 70, la relation entre les féministes hétérosexuelles et homosexuelles était tendue et le manque d'honnêteté brouille les voies de communication. Bien qu'il ne soit pas clair à quel point les causes de l'inconfort avec les lesbiennes proviennent d'un sentiment homophobique ou un signe de désaccord politique sur la nature de l'oppression féminine (et les moyens pour la combattre)⁵⁸. Les femmes hétérosexuelles ont parfois résisté la représentation lesbienne dans le mouvement féministe puisque d'autres activistes et le public en général ont utilisé l'homosexualité pour discréditer le mouvement⁵⁹. Le mouvement autonome des féministes lesbiennes commence à voir naissance aux États-Unis au début des années 70 et est né en grande partie des frustrations des lesbiennes envers le traitement des femmes lesbiennes dans le mouvement féministe, gai et de la gauche⁶⁰. De plus, la politisation des femmes lesbiennes et le mécontentement de certaines avec les rôles hétéronormatifs de *femme* et *butch* poussent une demande pour un nouveau type de

⁵⁶ Ross, *The House That Jill Built*, 36-38.

⁵⁷ Candice Klein, "'We Thought We Were the Only Lesbians in the World': 1971 Vancouver and the Rise of Lesbian and Transnational Feminist Identities Between Canada and the USA." *Gender & History* (2023): 6, doi:10.1111/1468-0424.12726.

⁵⁸ Ross, *The House That Jill Built*, 26-27.

⁵⁹ "Lesbians Making History Project, Oral History Interview with "Pat Murphy,"" 13.; "Ellen and Nadine 1," 10:10.

⁶⁰ Ross, *The House That Jill Built*, 41.

lieu de raconte, non seulement social, mais aussi politique⁶¹. De nouveaux espaces commencent à apparaître pour répondre à cette demande des restaurants et des cafés féministes. Un exemple de café à Toronto est le *Three of Cups* qui ouvre le 26 décembre 1975, *coffee house* est préparé rapidement en deux semaines⁶². Le *Three of Cups* remplit en partie le besoin d'espace pour les femmes séparatistes⁶³. Ces espaces étaient de nature politique, ressortissant des conversations féministes (en particulier du féminisme radical et du lesbianisme séparatiste) des années 60 et 70 et reconnaissant que les femmes avaient besoin d'espaces séparés des hommes et qui cherche à créer une communauté sociale⁶⁴. Les féministes provenant de minorité raciale critiquent toutefois le fait que l'accent exclusif soit placé sur les femmes blanches dans la création d'espaces féminins ce qui ignore l'oppression basée sur la race, la classe, la religion, etc. Malgré tout, ces espaces et leur statut exclusif aux femmes représentent une stratégie territoriale importante et permet d'augmenter la visibilité des lesbiennes. Le *Three of Cups* était géré et administré par des bénévoles et ses heures d'ouverture étaient limitées par le fait qu'il avait un nombre insuffisant de bénévoles. Cet exemple permet de démontrer les problèmes et les bénéfices communs de ce genre d'espace à l'époque, alors qu'un espace féminin peut tomber en morceau lorsqu'il essaye de servir un trop grand nombre de besoin⁶⁵. Un café voulait servir d'alternative au bar créer un espace de décompression pour leurs clientes sans que

⁶¹ Line Chamberland, "Remembering Lesbian Bars: Montreal, 1955-1975." *Journal of Homosexuality* 25, no. 3 (1993): 242, doi:10.1300/J082v25n03_02.

⁶² Alexandra Ketchum, "'The Place We've Always Wanted to Go But Never Could Find': Finding Woman Space in Feminist Restaurants and Cafés in Ontario 1974–1982." *Feminist Studies* 44, no. 1 (2018): 128, doi:10.1353/fem.2018.0002.

⁶³ Ketchum, "'The Place We've Always Wanted to Go,'" 139-140

⁶⁴ Ketchum, "'The Place We've Always Wanted to Go,'" 129 et 131.

⁶⁵ Ketchum, "'The Place We've Always Wanted to Go,'" 134.

cela soit un forum politique⁶⁶. *Three of Cups* n'a pas de location permanente et ce se produisait de façon sporadique. Dans les restaurants et cafés féministes canadiens, l'emphase était placée sur l'importance de l'espace en tant que tel. Ceci n'était pas le cas de tous les espaces, *Chez Nous* à Ottawa prend en considération le statut socio-économique des femmes et fait de ses choix de menu une décision⁶⁷. Les cafés/restaurants et bars essentiellement fréquentés par des lesbiens offrent tous deux des lieux de socialisation pour les femmes lesbiennes. Les organisations féministes et lesbiennes avaient aussi des événements sociaux qui incluaient des *drop-ins*, potlucks, danses et des concerts de musique féministe, qui prenaient place dans les cafés/restaurants. L'emphase et le rôle de l'alcool dans les cafés/restaurants étaient différents des bars. Les différences étaient marquées dans l'ambiance et les buts généraux des espaces. La culture de bar était inséparable d'un environnement sexuel et violent, bien que la culture de *pick-up* et l'environnement nocturne rendent les femmes plus vulnérables au harcèlement sexuel lorsqu'elles quittent les lieux⁶⁸. Le mouvement séparatiste lesbien a permis aux femmes d'expérimenter avec leurs intérêts sans être assimilées par les structures masculines et sans perdre leurs valeurs féministes⁶⁹. Ces entreprises n'ont pas pu éviter les réalités gouvernementales, économiques et sociales. Ceci est reflété par les difficultés de certains (dont le café à Ottawa) d'obtenir un permis d'alcool, qui reflète une longue histoire de la moralité canadienne et des mouvements féministes⁷⁰.

⁶⁶ Ross, *The House That Jill Built*, 51.

⁶⁷ Ketchum, "'The Place We've Always Wanted to Go,'" 151.

⁶⁸ Korinek, *Prairie Fairies*, 146.

⁶⁹ Korinek, *Prairie Fairies*, 143-144.

⁷⁰ Korinek, *Prairie Fairies*, 151.

Pendant les années 70 et 80, plusieurs librairies féministes ouvrent au Canada et les idées qui sont explorées à travers des produits littéraires sont fondamentales dans la construction de la scène lesbienne⁷¹. Tout comme les cafés et restaurants pour femmes, les librairies féministes étaient souvent synonymes d'espace lesbienne⁷². Vancouver avait plusieurs librairies féministes fréquentées par la communauté lesbienne, dont *Hager Books*, *Women in Print* et *Vancouver Women's Bookstore* (considéré comme le plus politique des trois)⁷³. Avoir accès à la littérature féministe et lesbienne dans un espace dédié aux femmes rajoute un aspect communautaire important à l'expérience des librairies. Ceci est bien démontré à *Ariel Books* à Vancouver où la librairie devient un lieu de rencontre, un service de référence et même un aide en cas de crise⁷⁴. *Vancouver Women's Bookstore* est une coopérative et est utilisé comme source d'information et de socialisation⁷⁵. La librairie *L'Essentielle* et la *Librairie des femmes d'ici* à Montréal servent à accueillir des activités littéraires, comme lieu social et lieu de communication. Les librairies sont des lieux importants de rencontre qui sont sécuritaires et stables autant pour socialiser que pour obtenir de l'information en plus de centraliser les valeurs féministes. Les librairies contribuent à créer un sentiment d'excitation autour des idées politiques en plus de renforcer un

⁷¹ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 133.

⁷² "Pat and Nadine 2," par Nadine Boulay, *alotarchives.org*, 13 juin 2013, 25:40, <https://wayback.archive-it.org/12142/20230809235819/https://www.alotarchives.org/content/pat-and-nadine-2>.

⁷³ "Pat and Nadine" 25:30.

⁷⁴ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 133-134.

⁷⁵ "Pat and Nadine 2," 25:23.

sentiment d'interconnectivité en ayant des publications sur leurs étagères qui pourraient être reconnues de ville en ville⁷⁶.

À la fin des années 70 et début des années 80 l'idée de ce que c'est être une femme change. Pour certaines, être une femme n'était pas leur l'identité centrale et les espaces exclusifs aux femmes échouaient à reconnaître leurs identités intersectionnels. Ceci remet en question les espaces réservés aux femmes et l'activisme devient de moins en moins structuré dans les espaces féminins. Plusieurs communautés féministes sont séparées par leurs différences au début des années 80 et qui est suivi par l'émergence du féministe post-moderniste et la théorie queer⁷⁷. Bien qu'au premier coup d'œil la fermeture des portes rapides de la majorité des cafés/restaurants et librairies féministes pourrait sembler représenter une faillite, ces espaces ont permis la création d'une communauté qui va au-dessus de la socialisation et permet l'organisation politique, économique et sociale féministe⁷⁸.

Pour conclure, le rôle du genre et de l'orientation sexuelle est indéniable dans la fondation des lieux de socialisation des lesbiennes, et cela dans la totalité de ses aspects. Lorsque ça vient au bar, leur accès à ceux-ci a longtemps été limité et les pièces réservées aux femmes jouent un rôle important dans la mise en place de la culture de bar lesbienne. L'existence de bar qui accueille les lesbiennes dépend toutefois qu'elles soient tolérées par un propriétaire masculin et qu'un service leur soit offert aussi par un bartender masculin. Les femmes qui vivent ouvertement leur sexualité vont face à la discrimination et la violence, en particulier

⁷⁶ Millward, *Making a Scene*, 134-135.

⁷⁷ Ketchum, "The Place We've Always Wanted to Go," 143.

⁷⁸ Ketchum, "The Place We've Always Wanted to Go," 152.

lorsqu'elles brisent les normes de genre. Pour ces raisons les femmes de classe moyenne préféraient socialiser dans des fêtes privées pour peur de perdre leur emploi et donc leur statut social. Elles travaillaient souvent côte à côte avec des hommes gais pour conserver une façade hétéronormative. Il y avait aussi simplement moins de lieux de socialisation publique pour les femmes à cause de leur statut financier inférieur aux hommes et les limites sur leurs mouvements et leur sexualité imposés par les normes sociales. Alors que les femmes lesbiennes cherchent à se trouver un espace dans le mouvement de libération gai et le mouvement de gauche, elles font face à la réticence et le sexisme de la part des hommes dans ces mouvements. Elles vont aussi faire face à de la discrimination dans le mouvement féministe à cause de leur orientation sexuelle. Elles forment donc leur propre mouvement politique de féministe lesbienne qui leur permet de mettre en place des lieux de socialisation qui embrasse tous les aspects de leur sexualité et du féminisme qui prend forme en cafés, restaurants, bars, et librairies. Les lieux de socialisation pour les femmes lesbiennes, malgré le statut de minorité en termes de sexualité et de genre, sont divers et ont une grande capacité d'adaptation.

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Eroding Barriers: The Women who Transformed Co-Ed Educational and Professional Progress at the University of Ottawa 1970-1975

Amilia Matheson¹

Much has been written about the second wave of feminism in the Western world from a general perspective. However, what is critically lacking in this historiography are micro studies that contribute to further understanding of how the women of the early 1970s understood and experienced feminism depending on various factors including age, class, race, region, and education. The study of individual perspectives within the second wave of feminism — including those of young Canadian women pushing previously established barriers within educational and professional spheres — is an area of historical research that continues to be underdeveloped within the field as historians often neglect universities as activist incubators for Canadian second-wave feminism. Through the concept of history from below and the idea that “everyday lives are history,” one can deepen studies of significant events like second-wave feminism by “expanding our knowledge and revising our historiography.”²

In 1970, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada published their report noting that “little by little, the doors

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² Sherna Gluck, “What’s so Special about Women? Women’s Oral History,” *Frontiers (Boulder)* vol. 2, no. 2 (1977): 3–4.

of nearly all educational institutions have been opened to them.”³ At the University of Ottawa in the early 1970s, this observation was becoming increasingly obvious. From rising numbers of women in virtually all programs, to abortion ads in the school’s student newspaper, and the creation of a co-ed campus culture, the student experience at the university was framed by both a broad generational challenge to the conservatism of postwar society, and an increase in second-wave feminist ideals. It is vital, however, to note that every woman on the University of Ottawa campus experienced and interpreted second-wave feminist ideology differently. Women’s educational experiences and ultimate professional trajectory varied greatly. However, the overarching theme of a gradual feminization of academic spheres was obvious across every faculty at the university. In observing this trend historians must understand the importance of examining feminism from below; analyzing various programs and experiences, discovering trends and distinct differences, and building a better understanding of the impacts of women in universities in the early 1970s. Examining the oral testimonies of students in the 1970s and archival sources will allow a detailed and nuanced picture to be created of the experience of young women attending this Canadian university during this era of plentiful—and often conflicting—feminist ideology. This picture will display that across the University of Ottawa’s various programs of the 1970s, women’s experiences differed greatly. Though feminist progress was evident at an educational level, the women emerging into male-dominated professional spheres would continue to face barriers that had not yet been dismantled.

³ Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada*, Canada (1970): 9.

Literature Review

The 1970s marked a breakthrough decade in Canadian feminist history as women became increasingly conscious of how gender disparities and social expectations shaped their lives and curtailed their personal and professional ambitions. The 1970s has rightly been described as second-wave feminism's high-tide; the "days of major educational opportunities," and, "a period rich in possibilities."⁴ Cultural historians associate this rise in consciousness with the feminist movement that emerged during the early 1960s and gained more followers into the early 1980s.⁵ In Canada, this upsurge followed "a period without feminism," in which post-World War Two ideology sought to re-establish more traditional gender roles domestically and professionally.⁶ This narrative became increasingly challenged in the 1960s as throughout the Western World feminism began to re-emerge "in a re-energized form."⁷ An increasing societal interest in feminist ideas and principles is mirrored in the 1970 *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada*. This report marked a significant step in the Canadian feminist movement through its "analysis cast in an equal-rights framework," and its focus on equal opportunities for women in several areas of society including educational and

⁴ Miriam E. David, "Chapter 3: A Life History of Academic Feminism," in *Feminism, Gender and Universities: Politics, Passion and Pedagogies* (London: Routledge 2016), 57.

⁵ Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney, *Feeling Feminism: Activism, Affect, and Canada's Second Wave*, (Vancouver [British Columbia]; Toronto [Ontario]: UBC Press 2022), 7.

⁶ Cecily Devrereux, "Canadian Feminist Literary Criticism and Theory in the 'Second Wave,'" in *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Literature*, Oxford University Press (2016): 847.

⁷ Devrereux, "Canadian Literary Criticism," 847.

professional spheres.⁸ The Royal Commission and its report were “consciousness-raising” for Canadian women and would inspire many to join the women’s movement.⁹ It is vital to note, however, that some streams of second-wave feminism are often criticized as “predominantly white, middle class, [...] and advocating a homogenous or ‘universalist’ view of womanhood.”¹⁰ Though second-wave feminism is considerably less diverse than later feminist ideology due to the influence of the era’s dominant white suburban experience, its impact as a starting point for broader feminist movements is undeniable. When regarding the predominantly white and middle-class majority of the University of Ottawa’s 1970s alumni who participated in this study, one must keep this disparity in mind. This majority at the University of Ottawa speaks to societal themes that were present not only in universities, but across the country during the era.

The growth in second-wave feminist ideology in the Western world leading up to the 1970s was heavily influenced by feminist literature such as *The Second Sex* written by Simone de Beauvoir and published in 1949, as well as *The Feminine Mystique* which was written by Betty Friedan and published in 1963. The influence of both texts is difficult to ignore as they are both specifically mentioned in the 1970 *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* as a “source of aroused interest,” in

⁸ Sharon Anne Cook, Ruby Heap, and Lorna McLean, “The Writing of Women into Canadian Educational History in English Canada and Francophone Quebec, 1970 to 1995,” *Historical Studies in Education* 30, no. 1 (2018): 10.

⁹ Cook, Heap, and McLean, “The Writing of Women into Canadian Educational,” 10.

¹⁰ Joan Sangster, “Creating Popular Histories: Re-Interpreting ‘Second Wave’ Canadian Feminism,” *Dialectical Anthropology* 39, no. 4 (2015): 383–384.

feminist ideas.¹¹ In *The Second Sex*, de Beauvoir explored ideas of sex and gender, ultimately rejecting biological determinism as an argument for women's inferiority.¹² Likewise, in *The Feminine Mystique*, Friedan analyzed female subordination within Western society, arguing against sexist perspectives concerning women and labour which were commonly accepted at the time. Furthermore, she emphasized the harmful prejudices within society concerning the idea that women, "were unsuited for work in most jobs offering challenge and opportunity to achieve."¹³ Friedan suggested post-secondary education and employment of women in all fields, including male-dominated ones, "as the cornerstone of efforts to recast American gender relations."¹⁴ The impact of this idea was evident in Canadian society through its inspiration of documents such as the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* and increased enrollment in university programs throughout the next fifteen years.

The correlation between feminist literature and increased female enrollment in Canadian universities is evident in the observations of Patricia Clements, who became the first female Dean of Arts at the University of Alberta in the late 1980s. Throughout the earlier days of her academic career, she experienced the impacts of feminist literature firsthand as she was given a copy of *The Second Sex* and "decided that [she] must go to

¹¹ Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, *Report*, 2.

¹² Fiona Darroch, "The Second Sex, (Le Deuxième Sex, 1949)," *Literature & Theology* 22, no. 3 (2008): 369.

¹³ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "Revisiting The Feminine Mystique," *Sociological Forum* (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2014), 765.

¹⁴ Katherine Turk, "'To Fulfill an Ambition of [Her] Own': Work, Class, and Identity in The Feminine Mystique," *Frontiers (Boulder)* 36, no. 2 (2015): 2.

university.”¹⁵ Later, as she observed the emergence of more feminist texts, including *The Feminist Mystique*, “in universities, the enrollment of women began to snowball.”¹⁶ Her observation mirrors statistics concerning female enrollment in undergraduate programs across Canada which more than doubled from 61,190 in 1965 to 140,258 in 1975.¹⁷

When regarding this increase from a localized perspective, one can note the University of Ottawa’s long-time Chief Archivist and unofficial historian Michel Prévost, who writes that “the status of women at the University of Ottawa genuinely mirrors the changes in Canadian society.”¹⁸ Examining the female experience at the university during the era of second-wave feminism, one can identify the impacts of Friedan’s commentary on women, education, and professionalism. The study of women in several programs at the University of Ottawa will also contribute to further understanding of women emerging in male-dominated fields in the 1970s through its comparison to wider observations of the subject. Historian and feminist Joan Sangster emphasizes this need for increased in-depth study of the second wave of feminism which can be enriched significantly “by investigating sources barely scratched,” including archival sources and personal testimonies of witnesses.¹⁹

¹⁵ Patricia Clements, “Chapter 1: ‘My World as in My Time’ Living the History of Equity and Backlash,” in *Not Drowning but Waving Women, Feminism and the Liberal Arts* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press 2011), 8.

¹⁶ Clements, “‘My World as in My Time,’” 10.

¹⁷ “Students and Teaching Staff Statistics Across Canada and in Ontario 1861-1980,” *Archives and Special Collections University of Ottawa* (n.d.).

¹⁸ Michel Prévost, “From the Kitchens to the Chancellorship: Women at the University of Ottawa,” *Archives and Special Collections University of Ottawa* (2013): 3.

¹⁹ Sangster, “Creating Popular Histories,” 398–399.

Data Set

Throughout the fall of 2023, a study was performed at the University of Ottawa by an undergraduate History 2100 class directed by Professor Thomas Boogaart. Over the course of the study, students examined common 1970s themes in Canadian culture and their impacts at the university through oral history. Alumni volunteers were interviewed and asked to speak on several topics including popular culture, the experiences of women, party and dating cultures, and generational differences. These interviews were recorded and transcribed to contribute to a collective database of alumni stories and oral histories titled *Life on Campus: Campus Voices 1970-1975*. In this class-wide study, the individual experiences and collective opinions of students from various faculties at the University of Ottawa during this era were examined through oral testimonies. The analysis of these testimonies exposes common themes and experiences within differing programs at the university as well as the impacts of growing numbers of women on academic and professional spheres. When testimonies are examined in relation to wider statistical data and academic study, one can analyze the significance of women's enrollment growth across various programs while considering the common themes of Canadian second-wave feminism.

While the number of female interviewees was limited due to the voluntary nature of the study, these participants covered several programs at the university across female and male-dominated faculties. This variety provides perspectives from multiple viewpoints, offers insight into common experiences throughout different programs, and is vital in the building of an accurate

picture of women at the University of Ottawa in the 1970s as, “regardless of how typical or atypical their life experiences have been, there are certain common threads that link all women.”²⁰ In addition, male interviewees were also asked to speak on their perception of the experiences of women during their studies. While this may not provide the most accurate insights regarding their personal experiences and opinions of women, it allows for the examination of detailed outside perceptions of feminism and women on campus in the 1970s. Male participants were able to provide several observations of value such as stories of their classmates and numbers of women in their programs.

While one must take into account the classic hurdles of oral history including translation, reluctant witnesses, or incomplete evidence, one must also consider the possible flaws in this specific study as a result of voluntary bias. An individual who had perhaps had a more negative experience might not be willing to accept an invitation from their alma mater to share their story. Nonetheless, it is vital to recall that this method of historical research has “unique potential” in its ability to write history from the bottom up.²¹ While one interviewee may have gaps in their story, another may be able to provide more context, and so on until a more complete picture is built through several testimonies with the help of additional historical research.

The University of Ottawa as a Case Study

²⁰ Gluck, “What’s so Special about Women?” 4.

²¹ Gluck, “What’s so Special about Women?” 4.

When considering the international inspirations of Canadian feminism, Ottawa as the national capital was an important center where liberal ideas and movements promoted landmark reforms and legislation. The University of Ottawa, just a stone's throw from Parliament Hill, is also unique in terms of its bilingual structure. During the early 1970s, the number of anglophone and francophone students was roughly equal, and the institution's campus served as a melting pot for francophone and anglophone cultures. While English-Canadian feminism drew heavily from American and British models, French-Canadian feminism mostly drew inspiration from French feminist theory, resulting in subtle differences in how feminism was envisioned, the movement's goals, and the way that it critiqued Canadian sexism.²² As an officially bilingual institution, the University of Ottawa attracted anglophone and francophone students from communities both inside Canada and abroad. By the 1970s the central campus served as a meeting point for Quebeckers, francophones, English-Canadians, second-generation immigrants, and international students, where divergent ideas of feminism could be shared, debated, and put into action. During the 1970s, student newspapers like the *Rotonde* and *Fulcrum* showcased various forms of feminist activity across campus. The *Fulcrum* regularly featured articles and advertisements concerning women's issues on campus including abortion, sexual assault, childcare facilities, co-ed sports, and more. The newspaper posted advertisements for the Women's Resource Co-op of the University of Ottawa and provided information concerning feminist events taking place at the university including a Women in North America conference in October of 1974 (figure 1), and another on the legal status of women in September of 1975 (figure 2). Both events are

²² Devereux, "Canadian Literary Criticism," 854.

examples of organized feminist activism on campus with the goal of promoting social and policy changes, with the latter placing a heightened focus on the importance of equitable policies to improve the status of women in the professional sphere. These examples serve to set the scene and better understand the social and political conditions that women attending the university experienced. Any reader of the collective database of testimonies is struck by how diverse the student experience was during the 1970s. While feminism was an ever-present ideology which students, faculty, and administrators were exposed to, experiences diverged throughout various programs.

The winter of 1970 marked the publication of Ottawa's first volume of a *Women's Liberation Newsletter*. It contained a variety of articles on a number of feminist issues including education, employment, motherhood, and domestic roles, as well as access to contraception. The rise in feminist ideology in Canada played a significant role in several newsletters such as this which were being published across the country and provided insight while situating second-wave feminism within local contexts. In this 1970 Ottawa newsletter, a Carleton University student named Denise Atkinson argued that it would be beneficial to all if women gained equality, and observed that "recognizing the fact that women are equal intellectually to men, it is difficult to justify that a smaller percentage of women ever reach university and that women graduates have to be far superior to a man to ever hope to compete with him."²³ This newsletter contained countless examples that demonstrate that second wave sentiments had radiated across

²³ "Women's Liberation Newsletter, Ottawa Jan-Feb 1970 Vol. 1," *Women's Studies Archive* (1970): 8.

Canadian universities at the beginning of the 1970s. Atkinson's statement also outlines a core tenet of Canadian second-wave feminism: female education is the key to gaining ground in the workplace and eroding gender discrimination. The degree to which the experiences of University of Ottawa students reflected this sentiment marks a key point of analysis for this case study.

Through the significant impacts of emerging second-wave feminist ideology in the Western world, as well as through texts such as the previously mentioned *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) and the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* (1970), a great shift was visible in the 1970s on Canadian university campuses as young people were introduced to such texts while simultaneously navigating co-ed social and educational spheres. One female alumnus named Sheila Puffer recalled reading both texts in her interview. She also recalled Betty Friedan visiting campus during International Women's Year in 1975. She stated that although there were, "many activities through that Year of the Woman at the university," Friedan's visit was, "one of the most prominent ones," and, "a sensation."²⁴ Puffer also read the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada*, and notes its importance in, "addressing issues about the role of women in society and how inequalities in the workforce and access to education and childcare and so on could be addressed."²⁵ Puffer's testimony highlights how young women flocking to Canadian universities found feminist texts informative to their lived experience as they grappled with male-dominated environments often permeated with an implicit gender bias. The *Report* and other feminist texts were vital catalysts that encouraged female high

²⁴ "Puffer, Sheila (Interview)," *Life on Campus* (2023): 21:02

²⁵ "Puffer, Sheila (Interview)," 27:00.

school students to enroll in higher education in larger numbers. In Ontario alone, the number of women in undergraduate programs rose from 16,352 in 1965 to 60,454 in 1975.²⁶ In Ottawa, this was also the case. With provincial government funding in the latter half of the 1960s also impacting enrollment at the university, the student population increased rapidly, and women “could be found in virtually all fields.”²⁷ While the postwar Baby Boom played a role in general enrollment growth, the increase of women was far greater compared to that of men during this period, meaning second-wave feminism played a vital role.

By the early 1970s, the enrollment of women at the University of Ottawa was visible to students across all faculties, however, there were only a small number of faculties that were dominated by them. The first of these faculties was nursing, where one alumni recalls that “almost all of [her] classmates were women,” woman in the same program noted that they were also, “all taught by women.”²⁸ These observations are consistent with the overall demographic of this program across Canada where 2,272 women were enrolled in 1965, 2,921 in 1970, and 4,225 in 1975 compared to only 42 men in 1965, 91 in 1970, and 174 in 1975.²⁹ When analyzing archival statistics of gender division across different university programs in Canada, it is essential to note that the previous set of statistics paired with those of the home economics program are the only two programs that were consistently and overwhelmingly dominated by women. Male

²⁶ “Students and Teaching Staff Statistics.”

²⁷ Prévost, “From the Kitchens to the Chancellorship,” 2.

²⁸ “H, Jessica (interview),” *Life on Campus* (2023).; “Palmer, Elizabeth,” *Life on Campus* (2023): 27:00.

²⁹ “Students and Teaching Staff Statistics.”

enrollment in nursing increased by only about 100 from 1965 to 1975, while the number of men in home economics only increased from 13 to 96.³⁰

While the gender disparity was nowhere near as drastic, another woman-dominated program at the University of Ottawa in the early 1970s was education. One woman who had participated in this program emphasized this by recalling that she had observed that men were present, but it was not a fifty-fifty split.³¹ This recollection mirrors the statistics throughout Canada where 13,171 women were enrolled across the country in 1965, 21,726 in 1970, and 27,913 in 1975 compared to the male statistics of 10,672 in 1965, 16,805 in 1970, and 17,205 in 1975.³² Both at the University of Ottawa and throughout Canada, education was a woman-dominated program containing a larger minority of men. When analyzing the majority in these few woman-dominated programs, one can take into account the testimony of one alumnus, Madeleine Hurtubise, who noted that one reason they gravitated towards programs such as education and nursing was that those were simply the main career options presented to them.³³ According to her, the mentality of the time was primarily focused on the idea that men were more suited to professional faculties and careers.³⁴ Meanwhile, prevalent gender stereotypes of the era often considered women to be more well-suited to professions centered around caretaking, such as nursing and education.

Despite this mentality, women in the early 1970s were slowly emerging into traditionally male faculties. While these

³⁰ "Students and Teaching Staff Statistics."

³¹ Thomas Boogaart, and Amilia Matheson, "Group Interview," *Zoom* (2023): 37:25.

³² "Students and Teaching Staff Statistics."

³³ "Hurtubise, Madeleine. (Interview)," *Life on Campus*, (2023): 26:00.

³⁴ "Hurtubise, Madeleine. (Interview)," 30:30.

women may have been few, their presence marked a significant step towards the normalization of women in a wider variety of programs. At the University of Ottawa, this was evident in several programs including medicine, law, and engineering. In medicine, a class of 80 students who graduated in 1974 contained only two or three women.³⁵ However, one woman recalls that due to schools being required to accept a predetermined number of women later in the decade, “when [she] started medical school in [19]74, 30% of [the] class was female.”³⁶ This increase is also visible in national statistics, where only 1,039 women were enrolled in medicine in 1970, and 2,401 in 1975.³⁷ Meanwhile, in the common law program, a class of a hundred students beginning their studies in 1971 contained only 5 women.³⁸ One female alumnus who graduated from the program in 1975 recalled that, “there was always a ‘token 10% of women’—not more, not less—who were admitted to law school.”³⁹ It was noted by another alumnus that by the mid-1970s numbers of women were increasing across all professions at the university including law.⁴⁰ This observation mirrors statistical evidence throughout Canada where only 922 women were enrolled in law programs in 1970, with that number increasing to 2,375 five years later in comparison to only a small increase of men in that

³⁵ Boogaart, and Matheson, “Group Interview,” 22:34.

³⁶ “Naomi (pseudonym), interview,” *Life on Campus* (2023).

³⁷ “Students and Teaching Staff Statistics.”

³⁸ “Tannis, Ernest (interview),” *Life on Campus* (2023): 16:30.

³⁹ Amanda Turnbull, “Reunion: Common Law History at the University of Ottawa,” *University of Ottawa Faculty of Law* (2007): 48.

⁴⁰ “M., L (pseudonym) (Interview),” *Life on Campus* (2023): 10:45.

period from 6,328 to 6,510.⁴¹ It took until 1973 for women to form over 20% of the student body within Canadian law schools.⁴²

Another program that was male-dominated in the early 1970s was engineering. Across Canada, engineering and applied sciences programs only contained 205 women in 1965 which more than doubled five years later to 474, and reached 1,708 in 1975.⁴³ Out of every previously mentioned program, engineering contained the fewest women and the smallest growth in enrollment at this time. One woman participating in the oral history project, Kathleen Almand, was one of four women in engineering and applied sciences that year. However, she was the sole woman in civil engineering while the other three were spread across mechanical, chemical, and electrical engineering programs.⁴⁴ When asked about whether she felt that she had broken down barriers for women in engineering, she stressed that she did not feel like “the pioneer.”⁴⁵ Almand also insisted that she had never been treated poorly despite being the sole woman in her program and did not face sexism at the hands of her classmates or the faculty. Instead, she perceived that expectations were higher, inspiring her to work harder. Almand also admitted that the women in her program were, “more interested in pretending we weren’t women. I don’t mean by trying to look like a man, but that we’re not women engineers, we’re engineers.”⁴⁶

Almand’s statement contributes to the idea that the women of this breakthrough generation entering male-dominated

⁴¹ “Students and Teaching Staff Statistics.”

⁴² Turnbull, “Reunion: Common Law History at the University of Ottawa,” 24.

⁴³ “Students and Teaching Staff Statistics.”

⁴⁴ “Almand, Kathleen (interview),” *Life on Campus* (2023).

⁴⁵ Boogaart, and Matheson, “Group Interview,” 30:33.

⁴⁶ “Almand, Kathleen (interview).”

programs did not identify as “feminist” so much as they were more concerned with measuring up and fitting into the standards of their faculties. Almand “spent all [her] time trying to pretend [she] was not different” from the men in her class.⁴⁷ In contrast, feminist discourse and activism flourished in women-dominated programs. Nicole Turpin, who was enrolled in the University of Ottawa’s education program during this time recalled many conversations between her female classmates concerning expectations of women and other feminist ideas.⁴⁸ Likewise, an interviewee from the nursing program remembered, “being exposed to a lot of feminism and reading a lot about gender roles.”⁴⁹

It is nonetheless significant that in an institution like the University of Ottawa during the early 1970s, where most of the faculty and all the higher administration were men, and even in male-dominated professional programs, the majority of women reported few signs of overt sexism. On the contrary, the university seemed to be a sphere inside Canadian society that focused on empowering women to achieve their fullest intellectual potential. In the medical program of the early 1970s the alumni did not observe overt gender discrimination, and male and female students supported one another.⁵⁰ In the common law faculty, men and women were treated equally, “and the same standard of excellence was expected from all students.”⁵¹ Exceptionally, the rigorous expectations and high dropout rates in the common law program did not appear to impact the female students as heavily as their

⁴⁷ Boogaart, and Matheson, “Group Interview,” 42:05.

⁴⁸ “Turpin, Nicole (interview),” *Life on Campus* (2023): 21:10.

⁴⁹ “H, Jessica (interview).”

⁵⁰ Boogaart, and Matheson, “Group Interview,” 23:45.

⁵¹ Turnbull, “Reunion: Common Law History at the University of Ottawa,” 48.

male counterparts as, “more than the expected number of first-year women graduated each year.”⁵² In engineering, Almand had the feeling of being, “in it together,” noting that she was comfortable studying and collaborating with her male counterparts.⁵³ Another alumnus from the administration program recalled that the women in his faculty faced no overt sexism in the classroom and tended to work harder than the men.⁵⁴ Regardless of a lack of overt sexism in the educational sphere of the university according to alumni interviewees, it is vital to note that the casual sexism prevalent in Canadian society still infiltrated campus.⁵⁵

Although this research has established that the University of Ottawa campus and its academic life supported women to realize their full intellectual potential and nurtured them in developing their professional competence, these women would go on to face significant barriers in the professional realm. One woman from the science department emphasized this when stating that in “undergrad, there was no difference [...] and so I did not feel any discrimination in terms of sexism,” but this changed entirely when she entered job markets and workspaces where “the discrimination was huge.”⁵⁶ Another alumnus from the university’s medical school observed this as well, noting that women’s emergence into male-dominated work environments such as hospitals was incredibly challenging as they came into contact with older generations that were not accustomed to women in the workplace and felt comfortable expressing sexist attitudes.⁵⁷ In engineering, Kathleen

⁵² Turnbull, “Reunion: Common Law History at the University of Ottawa,” 48.

⁵³ Boogaart, and Matheson, “Group Interview,” 29:20.

⁵⁴ Boogaart, and Matheson, “Group Interview,” 34:25.

⁵⁵ Boogaart, and Matheson, “Group Interview,” 37:25.

⁵⁶ “Naïomi (pseudonym), interview.”

⁵⁷ Boogaart, and Matheson, “Group Interview,” 24:50.

Almand noticed the same as she “met [discrimination] more in the workplace” where she faced the challenge of receiving job interviews because of her gender, and was simultaneously rejected from other positions because of the same reason.⁵⁸

Even in female-dominated programs, inequality in professional settings was an issue. According to nursing alumni Elizabeth Palmer, by the early 1970s, it was accepted that women were able to work, and people tended to agree that they should also receive equal pay, but, “it wasn't ‘til 20 years later that [they] realized that women were being paid less for the same jobs.”⁵⁹ This delay may be connected to the gap in legislation concerning employment equity that would not be filled at the federal level until the 1984 *Report of the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment*. Further observations concerning discrimination and female professionalism can be made regarding the women-dominated profession of education where hierarchies tended to be “organized around heteronormative social norms within religious traditions in which men led and women supported them.”⁶⁰ These implicit norms contributed to disproportionately few women reaching senior positions compared to their male counterparts. This theme was present within all areas of education, including at the post-secondary level where, even with growing enrollment of women, “the percentage of *tenured* female professors and the number of women in positions of administrative responsibility remained

⁵⁸ Boogaart, and Matheson, “Group Interview,” 31:30.

⁵⁹ “Palmer, Elizabeth,” 20:14.

⁶⁰ Janice Wallace, “Rewriting Sisyphus: The Possibilities of Feminism in Educational Administration,” in *Transforming Conversations: Feminism and Education in Canada since 1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press 2018), 100.

relatively low until the 1990s.”⁶¹ Even by then, however, “women still ma[de] up only 22 percent of the faculty at Canadian universities and only 10 percent in the sciences,” displaying little progress in this field.

The consistent reports of female alumni concerning the difficulties they faced breaking through into their professional fields following university is mirrored in scholarly literature. Canadian academics Dawn Wallin and Janice Wallace note that despite receiving the same education and credentials, “women receive less remuneration, career flexibility, and status in the workplace compared to men.”⁶² In a 1998 study affiliated with the University of Windsor, researchers concluded that, “although feminine characteristics are positively valued, masculine ones are apparently seen as more valuable in general and more germane to higher status occupations.”⁶³ Even twenty years after the women from the 1970s University of Ottawa programs emerged into the workforce, it continued to be evident that stereotypes within Canadian culture concerning professionalism influenced a bias towards women in the workplace.

An additional vital detail in understanding the discrimination of women in professional fields in the 1970s and onwards is understanding the fact that young women emerging

⁶¹ Sharon Anne Cook, “Who Do You Think You Are? Feminist Change in Post-Secondary Education: An Uneven Record,” in *Transforming Conversations: Feminism and Education in Canada since 1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press 2018), 33.

⁶² Dawn Wallin, and Janice Wallace, “Introduction,” in *Transforming Conversations: Feminism and Education in Canada since 1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press 2018), 10.

⁶³ Stewart Page, and Samantha Meretsky, “Gender Stereotypes and Perceptions of Men, Women, and ‘Persons’ in the Workforce,” *Employee Assistance Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1998): 30.

into male-dominated professional fields continued to be both a new and rare phenomenon. While statistics showed a significant gross increase in the enrollment of women in male-dominated faculties over the early 1970s, they were still a minority, and the delay in these increases reaching past post-secondary education took time. One 2004 study which used Canadian census and labour surveys to compare two generations of women found that by 1982, only 10%, of employed women between the age of 20 to 29 worked in professional occupations other than teaching or nursing.⁶⁴ It is to be expected that the number of women infiltrating the “masculine stronghold” professions remained low for several years following their increase in post-secondary enrollment, as the women who broke barriers in education five years prior found themselves needing to break similar gender barriers in the Canadian workforce.⁶⁵ Perhaps the reason many alumni testified that overt sexism and discrimination were not pronounced on campus, but intensified as women began professional careers, lies in the difference between professional and academic work. In the academic environment, expectations appeared to have been gender neutral and women were able to achieve the same results as their male classmates. Meanwhile in Canadian workplaces, gender stereotypes and casual sexism remained rampant, and the employment and promotion of women was often seen as a threat to male colleagues and superiors. In professional settings, hiring decisions and promotions are not simply the products of an objective assessment of competence, but subjective assessments about whether an employee will fit in and do a job to a superior’s

⁶⁴ Colin Lindsay, and Marcia Almey, *A Quarter Century of Change Young Women in Canada in the 1970’s and Today* (Ottawa, Ont: Status of Women Canada 2004), 11.

⁶⁵ Kristina Huneault, and Janice Anderson, *Rethinking Professionalism Women and Art in Canada, 1850-1970* (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press 2012), 10.

standards. Therefore, rising in professional status often required a male patron to cultivate and promote a talented female employee and accept her into the male-dominated higher ranks.

It is apparent that in the 1970s expectations of workers and stereotypes of women did not align, contributing to the values of femininity and professionalism appearing to reside on opposite ends of a spectrum in the Canadian consciousness. One major contributor to this barrier was the perception that women could not rise in the professional hierarchy because their careers would be cut short by pregnancy. An ingrained assumption of many hiring managers and top executives with stay-at-home wives was that professional women, after brief careers as lower-level employees, would leave the workplace before they were 30 and not return. The women of the breakthrough generation were weighed down by the burden of balancing their career goals with societal expectations that women held primary responsibility for maintaining the house and rearing and nurturing the children. Such stereotypes and expectations were extremely prevalent in the workplaces of the late twentieth century, and this burden paired with the absence of affordable childcare meant that young women “were not likely to be considered for administrative positions on whose behalf feminist policies could be implemented. And the authority gained from holding senior ranks was still in the future.”⁶⁶

The push for accessible childcare programs and more consistent parental leave benefits would not gain influence until the 1980s.⁶⁷ In 1984, a Royal Commission on Equality in Employment

⁶⁶ Cook, “Who Do You Think You Are?” 34.

⁶⁷ Julia S. O'Connor, “Chapter 3: Employment Equality Strategies and Their Representation in the Political Process in Canada, 1970-1994,” in *Women and Political Representation in Canada* (University of Ottawa Press 1998), 86 & 88.

recommended increases in funding and provision of childcare, which would not be realized on a national scale until the end of the decade.⁶⁸ This delay is a vital example of the systemic ways in which women emerging into professional spheres during the second wave of feminism experienced barriers yet to be dismantled despite popular social and political activism. The lack of equitable programs for professional women heavily affected growth and success, reflecting the idea that despite improvements relating to participation rates and access to professional employment, very little concerning the conditions of labor itself had been altered by feminist activism in the 1970s.⁶⁹

Reflecting upon Denise Atkinson's observations published in Ottawa's 1970 *Women's Liberation Newsletter* while considering the testimonies of alumni, it becomes clear that the experiences of the women at the University of Ottawa in the early 1970s reflected the author's criticisms of female education and professionalism. For the few women in male-dominated programs, the educational experience was overwhelmingly positive. Few reported experiencing explicit gender discrimination, however, their later career experiences reveal university as an outlier in a society permeated by sexist assumptions, double standards, and systemic oversights concerning equitable policy. After graduation, many talented women that had academically outperformed their male peers crashed into the glass ceiling of male-dominated professions. They faced discriminatory workplaces where they were seen by male hiring managers and bosses as only "women" instead of

⁶⁸ O'Connor, "Chapter 3: Employment Equality Strategies," 88 & 89.

⁶⁹ Susan Brown, "Chapter 3: School/work, Home/work: Academic Mothering and the Unfinished Work of Feminism," in *Not Drowning but Waving Women, Feminism and the Liberal Arts* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press 2011), 81.

competent professionals, and as Atkinson observed, they needed “to be far superior to a man to ever hope to compete with him.”⁷⁰

This study has shown that despite explicit statements concerning the importance of an increase of women in male-dominated educational and professional spheres by the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* in 1970, the progressive growth of women emerging into these fields was incredibly slow. Instead of a swift breaking of barriers and overt acts of feminism, women in male-dominated fields eroded barriers through a slow increase in enrollment and hard work which contributed to a gradual feminization of male spheres. While the vast majority of the women enrolled in male-dominated programs at the University of Ottawa appeared to have had a positive experience across various faculties, their numbers increased at a slow rate. This gradual increase proceeded to carry over into professional settings as these women graduated. The resulting ripple effect across the stages of women in male-dominated educational and professional spheres over time would contribute to the female presence becoming increasingly normalized across a wider range of industries. Nonetheless, this process would not be completed in the 1970s. The women of the University of Ottawa in the early 1970s represented the beginning of a long process towards gender equality in the professions. Their hard work and quiet competence paired with the encouragement of the Canadian second-wave feminist movement and its core texts such as *The Feminine Mystique* and the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women of Canada* would pave the way for the following

⁷⁰ “Women’s Liberation Newsletter,” 8.

generations of female university students with an increased drive towards male-dominated professions. The women at the University of Ottawa in the early 1970s represented a break-through generation that paved the way for increased female enrollment at the university over subsequent decades. Between the 1980s and the 2010s, women would account for 75% of the enrollment growth within Canadian universities, significantly altering the professional sphere within Canadian society.⁷¹ As Betty Friedan claimed in her 1963 work, “the benefits of women’s workforce advancement would radiate outward.”⁷²

The use of personal testimony in this study of the University of Ottawa’s students in the early 1970s displays “the unique potential of oral history, the ability to move beyond the written record,” as well as the importance of “expanding our knowledge and revising our historiography.”⁷³ While many studies are available concerning general second-wave feminist history, the testimonies of individual women experiencing this ideological shift allow one to deepen their understanding of the effects and conditions through an intersectional lens which serves as, “a challenge to single-issue, single-factor analyses.”⁷⁴ The research displayed in this study could be greatly expanded through further efforts in gathering the oral histories of other women at the University of Ottawa in the 1970s. Additionally, this research could easily be expanded into other post-secondary institutions to compare the female educational experiences across the country.

⁷¹ Clements, “‘My World as in My Time,’” 5.

⁷² Turk, “To Fulfill an Ambition of [Her] Own,” 26.

⁷³ Gluck, “What’s so Special about Women?” 4.

⁷⁴ Linda Gordon, “‘Intersectionality’, Socialist Feminism and Contemporary Activism: Musings by a Second-Wave Socialist Feminist,” *Gender & History* 28 no.2 (2016): 340.

Another possible avenue of research may be the expansion of oral histories of the women emerging into male-dominated professional spheres throughout Canada in the 1970s and 1980s, contributing towards a more in-depth understanding of the complexities of the relationship between femininity and professionalism during the second wave of feminism.

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Comment genrer les hommes ? Une étude sur les publicités de Canadian Tire dans les journaux canadiens-français (1970-1980)

Anne St-Aubin¹

Traditionnellement, la grande majorité des publicités ciblent les femmes. Des magasins comme Simpson (communément connu comme Sears) tiennent pour acquis que c'est la femme qui fait les choix consommateurs de la maisonnée. Les annonces démontrent des femmes avec des produits pour la famille comme le voit la figure 1 où elle est présentée avec des articles pour le jardin². En feuilletant la circulaire, il est possible d'y trouver des annonces pour des machines à laver à la page un, des téléviseurs avec des images de la famille entière à la page deux et des matelas à la page seize³. C'est simplement la norme.

Le magasin à l'étude, Canadian Tire, est particulièrement intéressant, puisqu'ils prennent une route différente. Ils décident de cibler l'homme et les idéaux masculins dans leurs annonces. Ce

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² « Grand solde d'été de fameuses gloriottes de jardin "Gazebo" », dans « Chez Simpsons, Actualité ameublement maison », *Encart Publicitaire D. Simpson, La Presse*, vol.89, no.182 (1 août 1973) : D 15.

³ « Chez Simpsons, Actualité ameublement maison », *Encart Publicitaire D. Simpson, La Presse*, vol.89, no.182 (1 août 1973) : 16

À noter : qu'il y a absolument des hommes dans ces articles. Cela étant dit, il ne change pas que la grande majorité des annonces dans ces circulaires sont pour les mères de famille. De plus, il pourrait être argumenté que les annonces pour les hommes pourraient être quand même achetées par les femmes comme cadeaux pour les hommes.

phénomène est né dans les années 1970. Avant cette décennie, ils avaient plutôt tendance à concentrer leurs annonces sur la qualité de leurs pneus. Il est aussi très commun de voir des publicités qui font semblant d'être un reportage journalistique, comme il est vu dans les figures 2 et 3⁴. Dans ces annonces, ils assignent des titres pour les faux articles, comme « Ouverture de 4 grands magasins Canadian Tire »⁵. Ils décrivent la qualité des techniciens, les objets vendus ainsi que les services offerts. Évidemment insatisfaits par les résultats, ils abandonnent cette technique et prennent la route démonstratrice. Ils présentent des images d'objets variés vendus en magasin. Il y a des thermos, des bicyclettes, des rasoirs, des étuis d'outils de construction de maisonnée, des radios, des jouets pour enfants, etc. Tous ces objets sont, de façon évidente, présentés pour les hommes. Ils sont entourés d'images d'hommes utilisant les articles. Même quand il se trouve un objet pour femmes, la publicité cible tout de même les hommes; le vocabulaire utilisé permet de gager le lectorat. Dans une annonce, vue à la figure 4, il est possible d'y voir un miroir à maquillage et des accessoires de chevelure pour femmes. Cela étant dit, le titre de l'annonce est « Aidez-la à se faire belle ! »⁶. En parlant de la femme à la troisième personne du singulier, ils démontrent que le lectorat attendu est celui des hommes.

Afin d'analyser la question de masculinité dans les yeux de Canadian Tire, il est nécessaire d'établir une base. La masculinité lors des années 1970-1980 est en crise. Un sens identitaire qui était

⁴ « Ouverture de 4 grands magasins Canadian Tire », *La presse*, vol.84, no.118, (21 mai 1968) : 11; « Tout est garanti chez Canadian Tire », *La presse*, 4 juin 1968, p.55.

⁵ « Ouverture de 4 grands magasins Canadian Tire » 11.

⁶ « Aidez-la à se faire belle ! », dans « Cadeaux de dernière minute », *Circulaire G. Canadian Tire, La presse*, (12 décembre 1973) : G5.

anciennement perçu comme stable et éternel est en train de changer. Les mouvements identitaires — comme le féminisme de deuxième vague ainsi que les revendications des droits LGBTQ+ — causent des fluctuations dans la façon mondiale de voir le genre et la sexualité⁷. Le mouvement féministe permet le début d'un questionnement des rôles genrés par rapport à la paie et aux droits corporels. Les femmes veulent être plus représentées dans les domaines qui sont traditionnellement masculins (l'académie, l'ingénierie, la construction, etc.). Elles veulent aussi contester et restructurer le pouvoir masculin qui est exercé sur leur corps. Certaines femmes s'identifient même des lesbiennes politiques, refusant entièrement d'accepter la présence des hommes dans leurs vies. Connecté à la deuxième vague féministe est la réclamation des droits queers. La décennie des 1970 est une période immense d'exposition de personnes LGBTQ+. Malgré le fait que les femmes transgenres marquent une partie significative du mouvement, les hommes queers ont une présence accrue dans l'œil du public. Ces hommes gays sont parfois perçus avec des accessoires, des vêtements et des attitudes plutôt féminines. Ils contestent le binaire genré strict. Ces deux éléments causent un changement significatif dans la sécurité de l'identité des hommes.

Finalement, il est nécessaire de faire mention d'anxiétés politico-économiques; plus particulièrement, la crise d'OPEC ainsi que le séparatisme québécois. La crise d'OPEC cause des stress économiques, des pertes d'emplois et de l'anxiété générale dans le courant politique. Du côté des hommes, qui sont souvent les seules personnes avec un salaire constant dans la maison, la perte

⁷ Paul Baker et Giuseppe Balirano, « Come and Get Your Love : Starsky & Hutch, Disidentification, and US Masculinities in the 1970s », dans *Queering Masculinities in Language and Culture* (Londres, Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018): 67.

d'emploi cause des problèmes importants. Ces problèmes sont non seulement financiers, mais parfois aussi identitaires. Étant donné que plusieurs s'identifient avec leur carrière, une perte peut déstabiliser l'identité d'une personne. La question du séparatisme cause aussi des anxiétés. Pour plusieurs Canadiens français, la probabilité de survie de la langue et de la culture devient précaire. Depuis la Révolution tranquille, les Québécois (avec l'aide d'artistes partout au Canada français) sont en train de créer leurs propres médias. Plusieurs se refoulent sur des activités traditionnellement canadiennes françaises (ou des activités qu'ils perçoivent comme traditionnellement canadiennes françaises). Ce refoulement peut être vu au moyen de la chasse et la pêche parmi d'autres activités. Séparatistes ou non, les Canadiens français commencent à craindre la survie de leur culture.

Il est donc possible de tisser des liens entre les forces sociétales ainsi que les forces publicitaires afin de comprendre comment Canadian Tire pige sur ce manque de stabilité. Pour apaiser les peurs des hommes, ils renforcent les idéaux conservateurs et traditionnels de la masculinité. Ce phénomène peut être résumé par plusieurs thèmes. (1) Le premier peut être catégorisé par les rôles genrés classiques. Ces représentations sont rarement sexistes. Au contraire, elles permettent souvent au lecteur de 1970 de comprendre l'utilité genré des objets. (2) La reproduction de la famille idéale est la seconde. Dans les publicités, il est possible de trouver l'élément qui peut être source d'inspiration pour les pères de famille. Canadian Tire semble signaler les responsabilités que doivent entretenir les pères de famille. Notamment, la prise en charge des tâches robustes ainsi que la reproduction des valeurs masculines dans son fils. (3) Le thème final se centre sur les sports traditionnels; en particulier la chasse et la pêche. Ces sports

permettent de remplir les idéaux des deux premiers thèmes masculins. Ils permettent à l'homme d'être masculin ainsi que de reproduire ces valeurs dans son fils ; tout en ayant du plaisir.

Malgré les tremblements sociaux et économiques rapides des années 1970, Canadian Tire s'appuie majoritairement sur les rôles genrés traditionnels. La raison principale pour cette concentration conservatrice entoure la question de la stabilité. Au milieu de tous les changements sociaux et économiques, Canadian Tire s'affiche comme une façon de trouver l'identité masculine traditionnelle. Surtout parce que la popularité du magasin est encore fluctuante et émergente, ils ne veulent pas se faire associer à un courant politique diviseur. L'utilisation des rôles genrés, en conséquence, est très fréquente. Canadian Tire a l'habitude de genrer un produit en mettant un petit dessin d'une femme et/ou un homme à côté d'un objet. Cependant, la grande majorité des produits vendus dans les circulaires sont traditionnellement pour les hommes comme le démontre la figure 5. Dans cette figure, il est possible de voir une prise d'écran de la première page de la circulaire du 7 octobre 1970. Elle est entièrement consacrée aux objets traditionnellement masculins, à l'exception d'une femme qui est en train d'utiliser un balai⁸. En effet, quand la femme est incluse, c'est souvent pour des commodités familiales. Elles sont les cibles dans des publicités comme « Rendez-vous la vie et la toilette plus faciles »⁹. Dans cette annonce, il est possible de voir quatre objets. Les trois premiers sont ciblés pour les femmes ; un fer à repasser, un batteur pour la cuisine et un rasoir pour femme « shavex »¹⁰. Cette attitude s'aligne avec les tâches conformes avec les valeurs genrées classiques. Dans

⁸ « Vente d'Hiverisation », *Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse* (7 octobre 1970) : 1.

⁹ « Rendez-vous la vie et la toilette plus faciles », dans « Super Vente de Septembre », *Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse*, vol.89, no.205 (28 août 1973) : 4.

¹⁰ « Rendez-vous la vie et la toilette plus faciles » 4.

l'annonce publiée dans la figure 6, il est possible de voir des Thermos et boîtes à dîner pour les hommes et pour les enfants, mais pas pour les femmes¹¹. Cette annonce reflète le bas taux de femmes qui ne tiennent pas d'emploi formel en 1970. L'institut Vanier de la famille, basé sur les données de Statistiques Canada, estime que seules cinquante-deux pourcent des femmes entre les âges de vingt-cinq et cinquante-quatre ans ont un emploi formel en 1976¹². À l'intérieur du cinquante-deux pourcent, Statistique Canada estime que neuf sur dix des femmes sont des mères aux foyers¹³.

Ce phénomène d'exclusion des femmes est aussi aperçu à la fin de la décennie. La publicité du 29 septembre 1980, où il n'y a pas de grandeur pour femmes dans les patins de hockey et aucune mention de patins artistiques, en est un exemple¹⁴. Alternativement, la femme dans cette même circulaire est vue avec un humidificateur ainsi qu'en train d'utiliser une brosse chauffante à la page quatre ; faire la vaisselle à la page cinq ; et utiliser un batteur électrique à la page huit¹⁵. Ce sont les seules apparences des femmes dans cette circulaire particulière¹⁶. Le dessin de l'homme n'apparaît pas beaucoup plus souvent (que huit fois, donc par moyenne, une fois

¹¹ « Cadeaux-collation à prix vraiment bons ! », dans « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt », Supplément publicitaire, *Canadian Tire, La presse*, 7 novembre 1970, p.39.

¹² « Families in Canada Interactive Timeline – Sources », *The Vanier Institute of the Family*, 2018, [<https://vanierinstitute.ca/families-in-canada-interactive-timeline-sources/>], (page consultée le 16 décembre 2023).

¹³ « Évolution du profil des parents au foyer », *Statistique Canada*, 2018, [<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2016007-fra.htm#shr-pg0>], (page consultée le 16 décembre 2023)

¹⁴ « Patins moulés MICRON », dans « Moisson d'aubaines », *Supplément Publicitaire Canadian Tire, Le droit*, 29 septembre 1980, p.2.

¹⁵ « Moisson d'aubaines », *Supplément Publicitaire Canadian Tire, Le droit*, 29 septembre 1980, p.4-8.

¹⁶ Je n'ai que décrit les instants où un dessin d'une femme est présent. Certains objets pourraient être vus comme féminins qui n'étaient pas dans la liste.

par page) puisque le magasin ne sent pas le besoin de justifier la masculinité des objets comme des outils, des pneus et de l'équipement de hockey.

Les rôles genrés sont aussi poussés au moyen de la santé physique. Ils encouragent les femmes à perdre du poids tandis que les hommes sont encouragés à augmenter leur capacité musculaire. Pour les femmes, une roue abdominale¹⁷ est promue ou même un vélo stationnaire (sans mentionner les échelles de poids)¹⁸. Pour les hommes, « L'ensemble 'Big 16' » (voir figure 7) est recommandé à plusieurs reprises. Même sa description est sévère : « 5 câbles en acier à ressort ; poignées ; crispateurs ; barres en bois et livret d'exercices de 24 pages »¹⁹.

Parfois, l'approche est moins subtile. Dans un instant particulier le 28 août 1973, un objet plutôt sexiste est publié dans leur circulaire. Un pendant désodorisant pour une voiture en forme de poupée à peine habillée est vendu à soixante-neuf sous en portant le nom « Miss Swinger » (voir figure 8)²⁰. Cette poupée est donc activement en train de perpétuer une sexualisation des femmes dans son lectorat qui est surtout mâle.

Néanmoins, la grande majorité des publicités ne sont pas sexistes malgré leur utilisation commune de rôles genrés. Ceci leur permet de connecter avec leur public qui s'insère généralement

¹⁷ « Exerciceur-roue », dans « Bon Achats des lève-tôt », *Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse* (7 novembre 1970) : 24.

¹⁸ « Pèse-personne à prix réduit », dans « Cadeaux de dernière minute », *Cahier 2 Canadian Tire, Le droit* (13 décembre 1972) : 5A.

¹⁹ « Ensemble "Big 16" », dans « Vente d'hivérization », *Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse*, vol.89, no.241 (9 octobre 1973) : 2.

²⁰ « Désodorisant "Miss Swinger" », dans « Super Vente de Septembre » *Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse*, vol.89, no.205 (23 août 1973) : 7.

dans ces normes traditionnelles. De plus, cela leur permet de présenter une masculinité familière parmi le monde changeant.

En continuant plus loin que les rôles genrés, la question de la famille peut être évoquée. La question familiale est surtout vue lors des publicités du temps des fêtes. Elles sont souvent évoquées dans les titres des annonces. La publicité du 12 décembre 1973 a le titre de « Jouez-y en famille ! »²¹. Pourtant, Canadian Tire se concentre très peu sur la famille entière ; la mère est presque entièrement ignorée. Dans mes recherches, certes limitées, je n'ai pas pu trouver un instant où la femme a été représentée comme une mère de famille explicitement. Ce phénomène est au contraire de celui des pères. Ces derniers peuvent être trouvés dessinés avec leurs enfants. Deux exemples sont vus dans les figures 9 et la 10²². Dans la figure 9, il est possible de voir un père, sa fille et son fils en train de jouer le jeu « KERPLUNK ! ». Dans la figure 10, la publicité pour le barbecue est en train de démontrer le père qui cuit et les enfants qui l'observent. Tous portent un immense sourire. La raison pour l'absence de la mère tombe dans une décision éditoriale. Il peut être considéré que la compagnie croit que son lecteur, étant surtout des pères de famille, voudrait se sentir sur-représenté dans leurs publicités.

Ce manque maternel est aussi symbole d'un phénomène plus large entourant le père. Si le père est communément représenté, l'insistance sur le fils est partout. Ils apparaissent surtout dans les

²¹ « Jouez-y en famille ! », dans « Cadeaux de dernière minute », *Circulaire G. Canadian Tire, La presse* (12 décembre 1973) : 2.

²² « KerPLUNK, jeu d'adresse », dans « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt », *Supplément publicitaire, Canadian Tire, La presse* (7 novembre 1970) : 11.; « Barbecue pliant "Master Chef de 24" », dans « Écono-valeurs », *Supplément Canadian Tire, Le droit* (14 mai 1974) 3.

circulaires de Noël. Canadian Tire vend des bâtons de golf pour enfants « comme ceux de papa ! » (voir figure 11)²³. Même dans des exemples moins évidents, il est possible de voir la priorité donnée aux garçons (par rapport aux filles). Dans une circulaire de Noël nommé « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt » du 7 novembre 1970, il est possible de trouver des annonces de jouet pour la première moitié et des objets pour adultes dans la deuxième moitié. Dans ces premières pages, dix-neuf jouets sont traditionnellement féminins, quarante-cinq jouets sont unisexes et quatre-vingt-trois sont jouets traditionnellement masculins. J'ai catégorisé les jouets par stéréotypes. Des jouets comme des poupées ou des patins de fantaisie (plus communément connu comme des patins artistiques) sont des exemples de jouets pour filles. Des jeux de société et des morceaux de technologie qui ne contiennent pas un personnage genré sont considérés comme des jouets unisexes. Finalement, des outils et des camions seraient considérés comme des jouets pour garçons. Il est clair que Canadian Tire donne priorité aux jeunes masculins. Même dans les instants où le jouet pourrait être considéré comme unisexe, comme pour le poney à la page cinq, seul un garçon est dessiné. Ceci démontre aux enfants que les « plaisirs du manège » dans les yeux de Canadian Tire est pour les garçons (voir figure 12) ; limitant évidemment les choix pour les filles²⁴.

La question reste : pourquoi cibler presque uniquement les garçons ? Deux hypothèses sont possibles. La première cible la réputation préexistante de Canadian Tire. Les jeunes fils veulent imiter les tendances consummatoires de leurs pères. Comme

²³ « Bâtons de golfs comme ceux de papa ! », dans « Écono-valeurs », *Supplément Canadian Tire, Le droit* (14 mai 1974) : 8.

²⁴ « Les plaisirs du Manège ; Poney », dans « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt », *Supplément publicitaire, Canadian Tire, La presse* (7 novembre 1970) : 5.

l'introduction mentionne, Canadian Tire vient de changer de modèle publicitaire. Donc, cette circulaire publiée en 1970 est une des premières à démontrer cette identité masculine renforcée. Il est donc naturel que lors du temps des fêtes, le magasin continue à souligner ces idéaux. La deuxième hypothèse ne se rapporte pas à la réputation que Canadian Tire a déjà, mais plutôt à la réputation qu'ils cherchent à créer. Le désir de créer un enfant qui représente aussi bien les valeurs masculines traditionnelles que son père est trouvé à presque toutes les fois qu'un petit garçon est démontré sur la page de la circulaire. La reproduction familiale d'une famille saine francophone est un élément crucial qui rappelle des anxiétés du séparatisme. Pour plusieurs, la question de la francophonie est dans un état de crise²⁵. Ce mouvement séparatiste est exemplifié par un retrait québécois et un protectionnisme culturel. C'est une des raisons pour lesquelles la masculinité traditionnelle, la reproduction de ces idéaux dans un fils ainsi que les sports traditionnels sont si importants. Ils sont vus comme un véhicule de reproduction culturelle canadienne française.

Les sports comme la pêche et la chasse sont très populaires dans les circulaires de Canadian Tire. Les nouvelles technologies de pêches prennent des pages complètes (voir figure 13). Elles montrent des images en nature avec des hommes entre amis. Cette confrérie à l'intérieur des sports aide à redonner une identité genrée à ces hommes. Les annonces de fusils pour adultes ne sont pas particulièrement spectaculaires malgré leur popularité (voir

²⁵ J'évoque le Canada français et non pas seulement le Québec ici puisque mes sources proviennent du journal *Le droit* ainsi que *La presse*. Ils sont basés à Ottawa/Gatineau et Montréal respectivement.

figure 14).²⁶ Ils listent tout simplement les fusils en vente ainsi que leurs prix. Pourtant, ces annonces peuvent être trouvées partout. La popularité de ces annonces n'est pas simplement un produit de la popularité de la chasse et des fusils. Le ministère de la Justice, dans le cadre des modifications des lois par rapport aux armes à feu, incluant la loi C-68 et C-83, présente des statistiques par rapport aux armes à feu au Canada. Ils réclament qu'en 1974 ; « There was an estimated 10.2 million firearms in Canada – one gun for every two people »²⁷. Ce qui reste extraordinaire dans les publicités de Canadian Tire sont les annonces pour les fusils d'enfants. Il y a de petits pistolets qui ne sont que des jouets. Ceux-là permettent à l'enfant de s'imaginer comme un cowboy puissant et macho : « Des armes à répétition du type de l'Ouest, sûres de faire respecter le shérif en herbe. L'ensemble Six-Gun comprend 2 pistolets très réalistes et 2 étuis décorés. » (voir figure 15)²⁸. Mais il est aussi possible de voir des fusils « BB » ainsi que des fusils véritables vendus pour les « jeunes tireur[s] » (voir figure 16)²⁹.

Plusieurs associent la question de la chasse et la pêche avec les questions de masculinité conservatrices. L'image d'un homme fort qui rapporte de la viande pour fournir à sa famille perdure dans la mémoire collective conservatrice. Étant donné que ces hommes ont cette image simplifiée des origines chasseurs-cueilleurs dans leurs têtes, plusieurs se tournent vers la chasse afin de retourner à ces origines masculines.

²⁶ « La chasse aux prix modiques », dans « Écono-valeurs », *Supplément Publicitaires Canadian Tire, Le droit*, 14 mai 1974) : 1.

²⁷ « Revised and Updated Questions and Answers on Gun Control », *ministère de la Justice canadien*, 1976, 2.

²⁸ « 2 pistolets et leurs étuis », dans « Vente lève-tôt », *Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse* (15 novembre 1973) : 2.

²⁹ « Les aubaines du jeune tireur », dans « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt », *Supplément publicitaire, Canadian Tire, La presse* (7 novembre 1970) : 15.

A. St-Aubin, Comment genrer les hommes ?

En guise de répondre à la demande, Canadian Tire s'appuie sur la masculinité conservatrice afin de rejoindre son lectorat. Tel qu'auparavant, il est fort probable que le lectorat des circulaires de Canadian Tire est un père de famille. Il est possible qu'il se sente déstabilisé par les normes genrées changeantes. Ceci est vu au travers du mouvement féministe ainsi que le mouvement de libération LGBTQ+. Il est aussi possible qu'il souffre de difficultés financières à cause de la crise économique au Canada. Ou même qu'il subit d'une crise identitaire au sujet de sa culture à cause de la peur entourant le français au Canada. Quelles que soient les raisons, plusieurs hommes se tournent vers une masculinité qu'ils perçoivent comme plus traditionnelle et pure. Pour plusieurs, cette compréhension de la masculinité est centrée sur leur compréhension vague et romantisée du passé chasseur-cueilleur.

À juste titre ou non, Canadian Tire profite de l'instabilité identitaire de ces hommes. Ils utilisent trois thèmes particuliers afin de combler les questionnements masculins dans leur lectorat. (1) L'utilisation et le renforcement des rôles genrés dans la sphère privée ainsi que dans la sphère publique. Au travers des dessins, ils démontrent les rôles que devraient accomplir les femmes (par exemple : la vaisselle, la perte de poids et l'utilisation des produits de beauté) ainsi que les rôles que devraient combler les hommes. L'homme devrait représenter, dans les yeux de Canadian Tire, une habileté en matière de construction. Il devrait aussi être un homme qui est fier de sa voiture et de tous les accessoires que quelqu'un pourrait y trouver. Incluant une poupée désodorisante « Swinger » qui perpétue un cycle de sexualisation du genre non dominant (voir

figure 8)³⁰. Les exemples sont partout. Même les descriptions pour des montres diffèrent entre les genres. Elles sont décrites comme « Délicates pour dames », « Jolies pour jeune » et « Pratiques pour hommes », vues dans la figure 17³¹. Avec ces titres le magasin est en train de porter jugement à chacun des genres.

(2) En plus des rôles genrés, l'homme devrait être un bon père de famille. Le père devrait être attentif et passer du temps avec ses jeunes enfants, malgré son horaire chargé. Des jeux de société comme KerPLUNK ou un barbecue pliant sont présentés comme de bonnes idées pour encourager un père à passer du temps de qualité avec ses enfants³². Il devrait aussi reproduire les idéaux masculins franco-canadiens à son fils au travers des produits de Canadian Tire. Pour ce faire, le père devrait acheter des cadeaux de Noël masculin pour son jeune enfant. Des outils de construction, des camions représentant les emplois traditionnellement masculins et des douzaines d'options de fusils (jouets et véritables) pourraient guider le père.

(3) Finalement, un homme véritable dans les yeux de Canadian Tire dans les années 1970, c'est un homme qui participe aux sports de la chasse et la pêche. La chasse en particulier reçoit des hausses de réglementations lors de la période étudiée au Québec donc sa popularité est plus facile à gager. Cela étant dit, en se basant sur les circulaires du magasin, la chasse et la pêche sont grandement populaires. Ils permettent une amitié entre hommes dans le contexte d'une activité qu'ils perçoivent comme masculine. Il est

³⁰ « Désodorisant "Miss Swinger" », dans « Super Vente de Septembre » *Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse*, vol.89, no.205 (23 août 1973) : 7.

³¹ « Spéciaux-Cadeaux du Bon temps Montres », *Supplément Publicitaire Canadian Tire, Le droit* (1 décembre 1971) : 7.

³² « KerPLUNK, jeu d'adresse », dans « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt », *Supplément publicitaire, Canadian Tire, La presse* (7 novembre 1970) : 11.

aussi à noter que Canadian Tire croit que la tradition de la chasse devrait être passée au fils. C'est encore un exemple du vouloir de développement de la masculinité dans les générations à venir.

Dans le cadre de ce projet — étant pour un cours au baccalauréat —, les sources utilisées dans cette dissertation ont été extensives. Au travers des vingt-deux circulaires affichées dans ma bibliographie, presque deux mille annonces ont été indexées et analysées dans le cadre de ce projet³³. C'est seulement au travers des centaines d'annonces qu'il est possible de constater les thèmes et nuances émergentes. À l'avenir, j'aimerais reprendre (ou voir quelqu'un prendre) cette base de données que j'ai créée et retravailler cette dissertation pour accomplir plusieurs buts. Elle pourrait être ouverte aux comparaisons. Quoique l'introduction mentionne rapidement les circulaires pour les femmes, il serait possible de tirer une comparaison riche entre les magazines pour hommes et les magazines pour femmes. De plus, j'aurais bien aimé contester la différence entre les annonces francophones de Canadian Tire et les annonces anglophones puisque la différence est flagrante. Le côté anglophone est resté plutôt calme face au thème de la masculinité. Dans cette dissertation, j'ai évoqué la question de la crise canadienne-française (exemplifiée par le séparatisme québécois) afin de souligner l'importance de l'identité francophone dans les journaux. Finalement, dans un futur, j'aimerais utiliser les données des profits lors de la décennie pour examiner si leurs tactiques de marketing ont pris fruit. Malheureusement, je n'avais pas accès à plusieurs statistiques nécessaires. Il reste que, de façon très synthétisée, ce texte explore

³³ Il y a, en moyenne, environ 7 annonces par page. J'ai donc additionné toutes les pages des 12 circulaires et multiplié le résultat par 7. Le numéro m'est venu à 1 897 annonces.

les thèmes masculins utilisés par le magasin géant Canadian Tire. Ils s'appuient sur le sens d'identité plutôt vulnérable des hommes dans cette période et leur donnent une image à laquelle aspirer.

Annexe

Simpsons

923-440

Grand solde d'été de fameuses gloriottes de jardin "Gazebo"

Orig. 239.99

178⁸⁸

Facilité de paiement

Ens. 9 panneaux (diam. 10 pi)

Profitez de ce solde pour vous procurer une pratique gloriotte que vous installerez à la ville ou à la campagne et qui fera l'abri rêvé pour vous protéger des moustiques, du soleil ou de la pluie. Solide construction avec cadres en aluminium léger et panneaux en grillage fibre de verre. Toti viny le ton vert et envers imprimé floral à l'intérieur.

Aussi disponibles:

Ens. 12 panneaux. Dim. app. 13 pi. Aluminium blanc. Orig. 339.99	277.77
Ens. 9 panneaux. Dim. app. 10 pi. Aluminium poli. Orig. 199.99	166.66

942-441

Rabais 10%! Portes aluminium Stormaster

1 1/2 po d'épaisseur	2 po d'épaisseur
Rég. 119.95 107⁹⁵	Rég. 139.95 125⁹⁵

Facilité de paiement

Embellissez votre maison dès maintenant. Paiement en octobre seulement

Figure 1. « Grande solde d'été de fameuses gloriottes de jardin "Gazebo" », dans « Chez Simpsons, Actualité ameublement maison », *Encart Publicitaire D. Simpson*, La presse, vol.89, no.182, 1 août 1973, 16 p.

OUVERTURE DE 4 GRANDS MAGASINS CANADIAN TIRE



Vigier l'adhésion croissante des managers au fait de la race.

La région de Montréal possède 12 magasins Canadian Tire

Plus de 18,000
articles aux
meilleurs prix
de Montréal

Le développement planifié du Canada Tire est une démarche mercantile se poursuivant avec l'ouverture de la nouvelle station régionale à la Côte de Ville de LaSalle. A dix-neuf heures les pontons du Montreuil arrivent à destination. Le maire de LaSalle, Ville Saint-Laurent et Duford, des Océanistes défilent devant ses jets d'eau.

Ces quatre immenses pontons pontent à domicile le développement régional de la Côte de Ville de Montréal et de la Côte de Ville de LaSalle.

Tout de suite en haut à gauche, le président, M. J. Desjardins, et le vice-président, M. J. Desjardins, se tiennent devant leur ponton.

Le nom de Canadian Tire, associé aux pneus et aux articles automobiles depuis 1957, devrait aussi célébrer les trois Sports ou Mirages s'il lui fallait refléter la variété de ses marchandises dans sa maison sociale. Quoi que les pièces automobiles constituent toujours une partie importante des ventes de Canadian Tire, on y trouve aussi des cycles et des bulles de golf, des perceuses électriques et des linéaires à gazol, de la peinture et des scotches, de lait, chacun des deux magasins de la région de Montréal vous offre plus de 18 000 articles.



Quatre aux prix de Canadian Tire, les sont parmi les plus avantageux. Avec 255 magasins au Canada, dont 40 dans la province de Québec, la quantité de marchandises achetées pour la revendre attirent des proportions incalculables. Ce volume seul permet souvent à Canadian Tire de dénicher ses marchandises à des prix jusqu'à 40% moindre que ceux pratiqués ailleurs. C'est pour quoi la promotion actuelle d'affirmer "les meilleurs prix" est les plus bas prix, relative, avec les marchandises de Canadian Tire, une nouvelle signification, son

Le secret de Canadian Tire?
Des articles de grande valeur,
tous garantis, aux prix les
plus avantageux

Le suppliant éditor de Canadian Tire Corporation s'inspire bien de la validité d'une des recettes magiques du succès. Le vice-président de la Corporation, M. Hobbs, explique le phénomène comme la combinaison réussie de trois avantages pour le client: des articles de première choix, des prix le plus bas possible et des garanties "au rasage", rapides et significatives.

essentiellement, la politique des prix de Casadeo. Elle est destinée à la clientèle moyenne, voire populaire. Elle est destinée à attirer en restaurant un maximum mais qu'importe pour la compagnie. L'exemple est accepté, même, en fait, que cette politique a été la pierre angulaire, ou le socle, de la réussite commerciale et commerciale de la compagnie. La qualité même des marchandises, indispensables à l'exploitation des 232 avions, permet souvent à Casadeo, de faire acheter à Moss, par exemple, des avions de transport de qualité et d'être directement achetés du fabricant ou de l'importateur, leur distribution aux consommateurs s'écoule d'une manière très rentable. Ce qui, d'ailleurs, contribue à l'avantage qu'il fait aux prix Casadeo. Une vue claire de l'importance.

Cependant, la force véritable vaudra peut-être dans la garantie "à ma guise" de Canadian Tire. Chaque nouvel article doit prouver au Comité de la qualité Canadian Tire qu'il apporte réellement ce pourquoi il a été conçu et qu'il le fait pour un prix plus intéressant que la plupart des autres modèles. Chaque gérant de magasin apprendra complètement cette garantie de qualité.

La garantie prend toute son importance quand elle couvre les marques propres à la Canadian Tire. L'une des marques de batteries d'automobiles de la Canadian Tire est la Moog. La Dual-Duty, est garantie pour donner son plein rendement, en conditions normales, quatre autres années d'usage. Elle est aussi garantie pour donner son plein rendement pendant les 100 000 milles. Quand elle ne remplit pas toutes ces promesses, la Moog a le droit local. Canadian Tire rembourse, sous conditions de la garantie, la plus grande somme de la portion exprimée en années de la garantie.

Il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant à la manière en laquelle les ventes ni à ce que les automobiles, systèmes de chauffage, de climatisation et de confort à Canadian Tire vendent mieux que les autres fournisseurs, grandes mar-



Maison de Ville La Salle, au 4778 du boulevard Newman. Les 4 nouveaux appartements offrent chacun un confortement pour à plus de 100 mètres.



Le magasin de Twin View, au 1000 Boulevard de
Laurier, ouvre en fin. Les visiteurs
pourront à tout moment voir en direct les
activités de la réserve.



Le complot de Ville Saint-Laurent, au 1713 de la rue Saint-Jacques, sous l'impulsion de son... Les... préparés ont été... l'... les... les... les...



Le magasin de Dillerbachstrasse, au 337
Nantes Nord, ouvre ses portes. Les gages
sont de 100 à 150 francs par semaine et
sont payés à la fin de chaque semaine.

**4 nouveaux magasins
d'articles automobiles,
ménagers et sportifs**

Rouge pour l'aine, vert pour les pieds, or pour le visage. La décoration intérieure des magasins Canadien Tire de Montréal vous indique rapidement où

trouver ce que vous cherchez.
Les 12 magasins offrent une
gamme complète de produits
de marchandises: pains,
bûches, bûches, etc.

bicyclettes. Mais de paille, de terre. Barbecues, peintures, outils motorisés jusqu'à l'arrimage, engins. En somme, des millions et des millions d'articles sont

**Service rapide des voitures
par techniciens agréés**

L'équipement moderne des garages-service est utilisé par des mécaniciens habiles et expérimentés spécialisés dans les silencieux, les amortisseurs, les freins, les

réglage du train avant et de la direction, l'équilibrage des roues et l'analyse du moteur, ils sont conçus pour leur travail rapide et hautement qualifié. Un

Les propriétaires de voiture
récroissent instantanément avec inté-
rêt que l'emploi des pièces
du service de Canadian
Tire n'annule PAS la garan-

Figure 2. « Ouverture de 4 grands magasins à Canadian Tire », *La presse*, vol.84, no.118, 21 mai 1968, p.11.

Aidez-la à se faire belle!

Miroir de maquillage
SOLARAY à 4 ÉCLAIRAGES
COUR. \$19.44 **17.44**

Recrez l'éclairage dans lequel on vous verra! Verres "glace brisée" couvrant 2 ampoules à incandescence. Boîtier en robuste plastique. 43-8504

Fer à coiffer
ELECTRIQUE "CURL'N GO"
COUR. \$3.74 **3.29**

Epargne temps, argent et vous évite de dormir sur les bigoudis! Branchez-le et obtenez vite des boucles souples. 3 rouleaux, support. 43-8310

Séchoir coiffant
BRAUN POUR TOUS
22.88

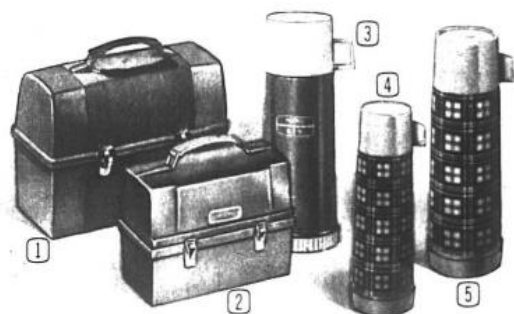
Si commode, toute la famille s'en servira! Sèche et coiffe, tiède ou chaud. Avec buse de mise en plus par bigoudis. Garanti 5 ans. 43-8012

Figure 4. « Aidez-la à se faire belle ! », dans « Cadeaux de dernière minute », Circulaire G. Canadian Tire, La presse, 12 décembre 1973, p.G 5.

RADIO portatif 3 bandes
en special!
29.98

Radio aux fréquences d'ondes radio avec une puissance de 50 watts. Récepteur AM, FM, SWBAND, sélecteur à commande CDS 2. Récepteur à commande pour d'écoute. Choix de 10 stations radio pour les écouter. Récepteur à 10.1, 12.1, 14.1, 16.1, 18.1, 20.1, 22.1, 24.1, 26.1, 28.1, 30.1, 32.1, 34.1, 36.1, 38.1, 40.1, 42.1, 44.1, 46.1, 48.1, 50.1, 52.1, 54.1, 56.1, 58.1, 60.1, 62.1, 64.1, 66.1, 68.1, 70.1, 72.1, 74.1, 76.1, 78.1, 80.1, 82.1, 84.1, 86.1, 88.1, 90.1, 92.1, 94.1, 96.1, 98.1, 100.1, 102.1, 104.1, 106.1, 108.1, 110.1, 112.1, 114.1, 116.1, 118.1, 120.1, 122.1, 124.1, 126.1, 128.1, 130.1, 132.1, 134.1, 136.1, 138.1, 140.1, 142.1, 144.1, 146.1, 148.1, 150.1, 152.1, 154.1, 156.1, 158.1, 160.1, 162.1, 164.1, 166.1, 168.1, 170.1, 172.1, 174.1, 176.1, 178.1, 180.1, 182.1, 184.1, 186.1, 188.1, 190.1, 192.1, 194.1, 196.1, 198.1, 200.1, 202.1, 204.1, 206.1, 208.1, 210.1, 212.1, 214.1, 216.1, 218.1, 220.1, 222.1, 224.1, 226.1, 228.1, 230.1, 232.1, 234.1, 236.1, 238.1, 240.1, 242.1, 244.1, 246.1, 248.1, 250.1, 252.1, 254.1, 256.1, 258.1, 260.1, 262.1, 264.1, 266.1, 268.1, 270.1, 272.1, 274.1, 276.1, 278.1, 280.1, 282.1, 284.1, 286.1, 288.1, 290.1, 292.1, 294.1, 296.1, 298.1, 300.1, 302.1, 304.1, 306.1, 308.1, 310.1, 312.1, 314.1, 316.1, 318.1, 320.1, 322.1, 324.1, 326.1, 328.1, 330.1, 332.1, 334.1, 336.1, 338.1, 340.1, 342.1, 344.1, 346.1, 348.1, 350.1, 352.1, 354.1, 356.1, 358.1, 360.1, 362.1, 364.1, 366.1, 368.1, 370.1, 372.1, 374.1, 376.1, 378.1, 380.1, 382.1, 384.1, 386.1, 388.1, 390.1, 392.1, 394.1, 396.1, 398.1, 400.1, 402.1, 404.1, 406.1, 408.1, 410.1, 412.1, 414.1, 416.1, 418.1, 420.1, 422.1, 424.1, 426.1, 428.1, 430.1, 432.1, 434.1, 436.1, 438.1, 440.1, 442.1, 444.1, 446.1, 448.1, 450.1, 452.1, 454.1, 456.1, 458.1, 460.1, 462.1, 464.1, 466.1, 468.1, 470.1, 472.1, 474.1, 476.1, 478.1, 480.1, 482.1, 484.1, 486.1, 488.1, 490.1, 492.1, 494.1, 496.1, 498.1, 500.1, 502.1, 504.1, 506.1, 508.1, 510.1, 512.1, 514.1, 516.1, 518.1, 520.1, 522.1, 524.1, 526.1, 528.1, 530.1, 532.1, 534.1, 536.1, 538.1, 540.1, 542.1, 544.1, 546.1, 548.1, 550.1, 552.1, 554.1, 556.1, 558.1, 560.1, 562.1, 564.1, 566.1, 568.1, 570.1, 572.1, 574.1, 576.1, 578.1, 580.1, 582.1, 584.1, 586.1, 588.1, 590.1, 592.1, 594.1, 596.1, 598.1, 600.1, 602.1, 604.1, 606.1, 608.1, 610.1, 612.1, 614.1, 616.1, 618.1, 620.1, 622.1, 624.1, 626.1, 628.1, 630.1, 632.1, 634.1, 636.1, 638.1, 640.1, 642.1, 644.1, 646.1, 648.1, 650.1, 652.1, 654.1, 656.1, 658.1, 660.1, 662.1, 664.1, 666.1, 668.1, 670.1, 672.1, 674.1, 676.1, 678.1, 680.1, 682.1, 684.1, 686.1, 688.1, 690.1, 692.1, 694.1, 696.1, 698.1, 700.1, 702.1, 704.1, 706.1, 708.1, 710.1, 712.1, 714.1, 716.1, 718.1, 720.1, 722.1, 724.1, 726.1, 728.1, 730.1, 732.1, 734.1, 736.1, 738.1, 740.1, 742.1, 744.1, 746.1, 748.1, 750.1, 752.1, 754.1, 756.1, 758.1, 760.1, 762.1, 764.1, 766.1, 768.1, 770.1, 772.1, 774.1, 776.1, 778.1, 780.1, 782.1, 784.1, 786.1, 788.1, 790.1, 792.1, 794.1, 796.1, 798.1, 800.1, 802.1, 804.1, 806.1, 808.1, 810.1, 812.1, 814.1, 816.1, 818.1, 820.1, 822.1, 824.1, 826.1, 828.1, 830.1, 832.1, 834.1, 836.1, 838.1, 840.1, 842.1, 844.1, 846.1, 848.1, 850.1, 852.1, 854.1, 856.1, 858.1, 860.1, 862.1, 864.1, 866.1, 868.1, 870.1, 872.1, 874.1, 876.1, 878.1, 880.1, 882.1, 884.1, 886.1, 888.1, 890.1, 892.1, 894.1, 896.1, 898.1, 900.1, 902.1, 904.1, 906.1, 908.1, 910.1, 912.1, 914.1, 916.1, 918.1, 920.1, 922.1, 924.1, 926.1, 928.1, 930.1, 932.1, 934.1, 936.1, 938.1, 940.1, 942.1, 944.1, 946.1, 948.1, 950.1, 952.1, 954.1, 956.1, 958.1, 960.1, 962.1, 964.1, 966.1, 968.1, 970.1, 972.1, 974.1, 976.1, 978.1, 980.1, 982.1, 984.1, 986.1, 988.1, 990.1, 992.1, 994.1, 996.1, 998.1, 1000.1, 1002.1, 1004.1, 1006.1, 1008.1, 1010.1, 1012.1, 1014.1, 1016.1, 1018.1, 1020.1, 1022.1, 1024.1, 1026.1, 1028.1, 1030.1, 1032.1, 1034.1, 1036.1, 1038.1, 1040.1, 1042.1, 1044.1, 1046.1, 1048.1, 1050.1, 1052.1, 1054.1, 1056.1, 1058.1, 1060.1, 1062.1, 1064.1, 1066.1, 1068.1, 1070.1, 1072.1, 1074.1, 1076.1, 1078.1, 1080.1, 1082.1, 1084.1, 1086.1, 1088.1, 1090.1, 1092.1, 1094.1, 1096.1, 1098.1, 1100.1, 1102.1, 1104.1, 1106.1, 1108.1, 1110.1, 1112.1, 1114.1, 1116.1, 1118.1, 1120.1, 1122.1, 1124.1, 1126.1, 1128.1, 1130.1, 1132.1, 1134.1, 1136.1, 1138.1, 1140.1, 1142.1, 1144.1, 1146.1, 1148.1, 1150.1, 1152.1, 1154.1, 1156.1, 1158.1, 1160.1, 1162.1, 1164.1, 1166.1, 1168.1, 1170.1, 1172.1, 1174.1, 1176.1, 1178.1, 1180.1, 1182.1, 1184.1, 1186.1, 1188.1, 1190.1, 1192.1, 1194.1, 1196.1, 1198.1, 1200.1, 1202.1, 1204.1, 1206.1, 1208.1, 1210.1, 1212.1, 1214.1, 1216.1, 1218.1, 1220.1, 1222.1, 1224.1, 1226.1, 1228.1, 1230.1, 1232.1, 1234.1, 1236.1, 1238.1, 1240.1, 1242.1, 1244.1, 1246.1, 1248.1, 1250.1, 1252.1, 1254.1, 1256.1, 1258.1, 1260.1, 1262.1, 1264.1, 1266.1, 1268.1, 1270.1, 1272.1, 1274.1, 1276.1, 1278.1, 1280.1, 1282.1, 1284.1, 1286.1, 1288.1, 1290.1, 1292.1, 1294.1, 1296.1, 1298.1, 1300.1, 1302.1, 1304.1, 1306.1, 1308.1, 1310.1, 1312.1, 1314.1, 1316.1, 1318.1, 1320.1, 1322.1, 1324.1, 1326.1, 1328.1, 1330.1, 1332.1, 1334.1, 1336.1, 1338.1, 1340.1, 1342.1, 1344.1, 1346.1, 1348.1, 1350.1, 1352.1, 1354.1, 1356.1, 1358.1, 1360.1, 1362.1, 1364.1, 1366.1, 1368.1, 1370.1, 1372.1, 1374.1, 1376.1, 1378.1, 1380.1, 1382.1, 1384.1, 1386.1, 1388.1, 1390.1, 1392.1, 1394.1, 1396.1, 1398.1, 1400.1, 1402.1, 1404.1, 1406.1, 1408.1, 1410.1, 1412.1, 1414.1, 1416.1, 1418.1, 1420.1, 1422.1, 1424.1, 1426.1, 1428.1, 1430.1, 1432.1, 1434.1, 1436.1, 1438.1, 1440.1, 1442.1, 1444.1, 1446.1, 1448.1, 1450.1, 1452.1, 1454.1, 1456.1, 1458.1, 1460.1, 1462.1, 1464.1, 1466.1, 1468.1, 1470.1, 1472.1, 1474.1, 1476.1, 1478.1, 1480.1, 1482.1, 1484.1, 1486.1, 1488.1, 1490.1, 1492.1, 1494.1, 1496.1, 1498.1, 1500.1, 1502.1, 1504.1, 1506.1, 1508.1, 1510.1, 1512.1, 1514.1, 1516.1, 1518.1, 1520.1, 1522.1, 1524.1, 1526.1, 1528.1, 1530.1, 1532.1, 1534.1, 1536.1, 1538.1, 1540.1, 1542.1, 1544.1, 1546.1, 1548.1, 1550.1, 1552.1, 1554.1, 1556.1, 1558.1, 1560.1, 1562.1, 1564.1, 1566.1, 1568.1, 1570.1, 1572.1, 1574.1, 1576.1, 1578.1, 1580.1, 1582.1, 1584.1, 1586.1, 1588.1, 1590.1, 1592.1, 1594.1, 1596.1, 1598.1, 1600.1, 1602.1, 1604.1, 1606.1, 1608.1, 1610.1, 1612.1, 1614.1, 1616.1, 1618.1, 1620.1, 1622.1, 1624.1, 1626.1, 1628.1, 1630.1, 1632.1, 1634.1, 1636.1, 1638.1, 1640.1, 1642.1, 1644.1, 1646.1, 1648.1, 1650.1, 1652.1, 1654.1, 1656.1, 1658.1, 1660.1, 1662.1, 1664.1, 1666.1, 1668.1, 1670.1, 1672.1, 1674.1, 1676.1, 1678.1, 1680.1, 1682.1, 1684.1, 1686.1, 1688.1, 1690.1, 1692.1, 1694.1, 1696.1, 1698.1, 1700.1, 1702.1, 1704.1, 1706.1, 1708.1, 1710.1, 1712.1, 1714.1, 1716.1, 1718.1, 1720.1, 1722.1, 1724.1, 1726.1, 1728.1, 1730.1, 1732.1, 1734.1, 1736.1, 1738.1, 1740.1, 1742.1, 1744.1, 1746.1, 1748.1, 1750.1, 1752.1, 1754.1, 1756.1, 1758.1, 1760.1, 1762.1, 1764.1, 1766.1, 1768.1, 1770.1, 1772.1, 1774.1, 1776.1, 1778.1, 1780.1, 1782.1, 1784.1, 1786.1, 1788.1, 1790.1, 1792.1, 1794.1, 1796.1, 1798.1, 1800.1, 1802.1, 1804.1, 1806.1, 1808.1, 1810.1, 1812.1, 1814.1, 1816.1, 1818.1, 1820.1, 1822.1, 1824.1, 1826.1, 1828.1, 1830.1, 1832.1, 1834.1, 1836.1, 1838.1, 1840.1, 1842.1, 1844.1, 1846.1, 1848.1, 1850.1, 1852.1, 1854.1, 1856.1, 1858.1, 1860.1, 1862.1, 1864.1, 1866.1, 1868.1, 1870.1, 1872.1, 1874.1, 1876.1, 1878.1, 1880.1, 1882.1, 1884.1, 1886.1, 1888.1, 1890.1, 1892.1, 1894.1, 1896.1, 1898.1, 1900.1, 1902.1, 1904.1, 1906.1, 1908.1, 1910.1, 1912.1, 1914.1, 1916.1, 1918.1, 1920.1, 1922.1, 1924.1, 1926.1, 1928.1, 1930.1, 1932.1, 1934.1, 1936.1, 1938.1, 1940.1, 1942.1, 1944.1, 1946.1, 1948.1, 1950.1, 1952.1, 1954.1, 1956.1, 1958.1, 1960.1, 1962.1, 1964.1, 1966.1, 1968.1, 1970.1, 1972.1, 1974.1, 1976.1, 1978.1, 1980.1, 1982.1, 1984.1, 1986.1, 1988.1, 1990.1, 1992.1, 1994.1, 1996.1, 1998.1, 2000.1, 2002.1, 2004.1, 2006.1, 2008.1, 2010.1, 2012.1, 2014.1, 2016.1, 2018.1, 2020.1, 2022.1, 2024.1, 2026.1, 2028.1, 2030.1, 2032.1, 2034.1, 2036.1, 2038.1, 2040.1, 2042.1, 2044.1, 2046.1, 2048.1, 2050.1, 2052.1, 2054.1, 2056.1, 2058.1, 2060.1, 2062.1, 2064.1, 2066.1, 2068.1, 2070.1, 2072.1, 2074.1, 2076.1, 2078.1, 2080.1, 2082.1, 2084.1, 2086.1, 2088.1, 2090.1, 2092.1, 2094.1, 2096.1, 2098.1, 2100.1, 2102.1, 2104.1, 2106.1, 2108.1, 2110.1, 2112.1, 2114.1, 2116.1, 2118.1, 2120.1, 2122.1, 2124.1, 2126.1, 2128.1, 2130.1, 2132.1, 2134.1, 2136.1, 2138.1, 2140.1, 2142.1, 2144.1, 2146.1, 2148.1, 2150.1, 2152.1, 2154.1, 2156.1, 2158.1, 2160.1, 2162.1, 2164.1, 2166.1, 2168.1, 2170.1, 2172.1, 2174.1, 2176.1, 2178.1, 2180.1, 2182.1, 2184.1, 2186.1, 2188.1, 2190.1, 2192.1, 2194.1, 2196.1, 2198.1, 2200.1, 2202.1, 2204.1, 2206.1, 2208.1, 2210.1, 2212.1, 2214.1, 2216.1, 2218.1, 2220.1, 2222.1, 2224.1, 2226.1, 2228.1, 2230.1, 2232.1, 2234.1, 2236.1, 2238.1, 2240.1, 2242.1, 2244.1, 2246.1, 2248.1, 2250.1, 2252.1, 2254.1, 2256.1, 2258.1, 2260.1, 2262.1, 2264.1, 2266.1, 2268.1, 2270.1, 2272.1, 2274.1, 2276.1, 2278.1, 2280.1, 2282.1, 2284.1, 2286.1, 2288.1, 2290.1, 2292.1, 2294.1, 2296.1, 2298.1, 2300.1, 2302.1, 2304.1, 2306.1, 2308.1, 2310.1, 2312.1, 2314.1, 2316.1, 2318.1, 2320.1, 2322.1, 2324.1, 2326.1, 2328.1, 2330.1, 2332.1, 2334.1, 2336.1, 2338.1, 2340.1, 2342.1, 2344.1, 2346.1, 2348.1, 2350.1, 2352.1, 2354.1, 2356.1, 2358.1, 2360.1, 2362.1, 2364.1, 2366.1, 2368.1, 2370.1, 2372.1, 2374.1, 2376.1, 2378.1, 2380.1, 2382.1, 2384.1, 2386.1, 2388.1, 2390.1, 2392.1, 2394.1, 2396.1, 2398.1, 2400.1, 2402.1, 2404.1, 2406.1, 2408.1, 2410.1, 2412.1, 2414.1, 2416.1, 2418.1, 2420.1, 2422.1, 2424.1, 2426.1, 2428.1, 2430.1, 2432.1, 2434.1, 2436.1, 2438.1, 2440.1, 2442.1, 2444.1, 2446.1, 2448.1, 2450.1, 2452.1, 2454.1, 2456.1, 2458.1, 2460.1, 2462.1, 2464.1, 2466.1, 2468.1, 2470.1, 2472.1, 2474.1, 2476.1, 2478.1, 2480.1, 2482.1, 2484.1, 2486.1, 2488.1, 2490.1, 2492.1, 2494.1, 2496.1, 2498.1, 2500.1, 2502.1, 2504.1, 2506.1, 2508.1, 2510.1, 2512.1, 2514.1, 2516.1, 2518.1, 2520.1, 2522.1, 2524.1, 2526.1, 2528.1, 2530.1, 2532.1, 2534.1, 2536.1, 2538.1, 2540.1, 2542.1, 2544.1, 2546.1, 2548.1, 2550.1, 2552.1, 2554.1, 2556.1, 2558.1, 2560.1, 2562.1, 2564.1, 2566.1, 2568.1, 2570.1, 2572.1, 2574.1, 2576.1, 2578.1, 2580.1, 2582.1, 2584.1, 2586.1, 2588.1, 2590.1, 2592.1, 2594.1, 2596.1, 2598.1, 2600.1, 2602.1, 2604.1, 2606.1, 2608.1, 2610.1, 2612.1, 2614.1, 2616.1, 2618.1, 2620.1, 2622.1, 2624.1, 2626.1, 2628.1, 2630.1, 2632.1, 2634.1, 2636.1, 2638.1, 2640.1, 2642.1, 2644.1, 2646.1, 2648.1, 2650.1, 2652.1, 2654.1, 2656.1, 2658.1, 2660.1, 2662.1, 2664.1, 2666.1, 2668.1, 2670.1, 2672.1, 2674.1, 2676.1, 2678.1, 2680.1, 2682.1, 2684.1, 2686.1, 2688.1, 2690.1, 2692.1, 2694.1, 2696.1, 2698.1, 2700.1, 2702.1, 2704.1, 2706.1, 2708.1, 2710.1, 2712.1, 2714.1, 2716.1, 2718.1, 2720.1, 2722.1, 2724.1, 2726.1, 2728.1, 2730.1, 2732.1, 2734.1, 2736.1, 2738.1, 2740.1, 2742.1, 2744.1, 2746.1, 2748.1, 2750.1, 2752.1, 2754.1, 2756.1, 2758.1, 2760.1, 2762.1, 2764.1, 2766.1, 2768.1, 2770.1, 2772.1, 2774.1, 2776.1, 2778.1, 2780.1, 2782.1, 2784.1, 2786.1, 2788.1, 2790.1, 2792.1, 2794.1, 2796.1, 2798.1, 2800.1, 2802.1, 2804.1, 2806.1, 2808.1, 2810.1, 2812.1, 2814.1, 2816.1, 2818.1, 2820.1, 2822.1, 2824.1, 2826.1, 2828.1, 2830.1, 2832.1, 2834.1, 2836.1, 2838.1, 2840.1, 2842.1, 2844.1, 2846.1, 2848.1, 2850.1, 2852.1, 2854.1, 2856.1, 2858.1, 2860.1, 2862.1, 2864.1, 2866.1, 2868.1, 2870.1, 2872.1, 2874.1, 2876.1, 2878.1, 2880.1, 2882.1, 2884.1, 2886.1, 2888.1, 2890.1, 2892.1, 2894.1, 2896.1, 2898.1, 2900.1, 2902.1, 2904.1, 2906.1, 2908.1, 2910.1, 2912.1, 2914.1, 2916.1, 2918.1, 2920.1, 2922.1, 2924.1, 2926.1, 2928.1, 2930.1, 2932.1, 2934.1, 2936.1, 2938.1, 2940.1, 2942.1, 2944.1, 2946.1, 2948.1, 2950.1, 2952.1, 2954.1, 2956.1, 2958.1, 2960.1, 2962.1, 2964.1, 2966.1, 2968.1, 2970.1, 2972.1, 2974.1, 2976.1, 2978.1, 2980.1, 2982.1, 2984.1, 2986.1, 2988.1, 2990.1, 2992.1, 2994.1, 2996.1, 2998.1, 3000.1, 3002.1, 3004.1, 3006.1, 3008.1, 3010.1, 3012.1, 3014.1, 3016.1, 3018.1, 3020.1, 3022.1, 3024.1, 3026.1, 3028.1, 3030.1, 3032.1, 3034.1, 3036.1, 3038.1, 3040.1, 3042.1, 3044.1, 3046.1, 3048.1, 3050.1, 3052.1, 3054.1, 3056.1, 3058.1, 3060.1, 3062.1, 3064.1, 3066.1, 3068.1, 3070.1, 3072.1, 3074.1, 3076.1, 3078.1

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Figure 6. « Cadeaux-collation à prix vraiment bons ! », dans « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt », Supplément publicitaire, *Canadian Tire, La presse*, 7 novembre 1970, p.39.

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Figure 7. « Ensemble "Big 16" », dans « Vente d'hivérization », *Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse*, vol.89, no.241, 9 octobre 1973, p.2.



 Panier DE LAVANDE .55 Cour. 69¢. Délicat parfum pour auto ou maison. Profitez-en! 37-0172	 Désodorisant 'MISS SWINGER' .69 Cour. 89¢. Mignonne poupée de 5½" dont le parfum assainit l'atmosphère 37-0185	 Désodorisant 'NILODOR' 1.49 Cour. \$1.79. 1 goutte neutralise les mau- vaises odeurs. Flacon 200 gouttes. 37-0150
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Figure 8. « Désodorisant “Miss Swinger” », dans « Super Vente de Septembre »
Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse, vol.89, no.205, 23 août 1973, p.7.



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Figure 9. Il y a un père et deux enfants, mais pas de mère. « KerPLUNK, jeu
 d'adresse », dans « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt », *Supplément publicitaire, Canadian
 Tire, La presse*, 7 novembre 1970, p.11.

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"Master Chef" de 24"

10.49
Cour \$11.99

S'emporte avec soi
tout au long de l'été . . .

Prend très peu de place dans la malle de l'auto; offre beaucoup de place pour les steaks et burgers de toute la famille! Pieds tubulaires, 2 roues et grill réglable. Préparez vos loisirs d'été en économisant maintenant \$1.50. 85-1026

Utilisez votre CARTE de CRÉDIT Canadian Tire

Canadian Tire

Allume-barbecue

The advertisement features a large, detailed illustration of a portable barbecue with a circular grill and a folding stand. To the right, a small illustration shows a family (a man, a woman, and two children) gathered around the barbecue, cooking and eating. The Canadian Tire logo is prominently displayed in the top right corner.

Figure 10. Il y a un père, mais pas une mère. « Barbecue pliant "Master Chef de 24" », dans « Écono-valeurs », *Supplément Canadian Tire, Le droit*, 14 mai 1974, p.3.

1.29
Spécial

Bâtons de golf
COMME CEUX DE PAPA!

Les petiots seront fiers d'imiter l'élan et la frappe du papa. En plastique coloré. 2 bâtons de 23", 2 balles et un sac de golf. 99-9001

1.29

The advertisement shows a collection of golf equipment, including two golf clubs (a driver and a putter) and two golf balls. In the background, there is a small illustration of a child in a golf outfit swinging a club. The text is arranged in a clear, bold layout, with the price '1.29' highlighted in a circle.

Figure 11. « Bâtons de golfs comme ceux de papa ! », dans « Écono-valeurs », *Supplément Canadian Tire, Le droit*, 14 mai 1974, p.8.



Figure 12. « Les plaisirs du Manège ; Poney », dans « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt », *Supplément publicitaire, Canadian Tire, La presse*, 7 novembre 1970, p.5.

Belles aubaines à "attraper"



Canne de 6½' en verre
Superbe "torus" pour le lancer d'après Canne à pois Mastercraft en verre tubulaire. Viroie verre-à-verre, 4 anneaux et 306 chromés, poignée en liège.
76-4040

Rabais \$200

8.95 Courant \$10.95

Canne de 6½' en verre
Superbe "torus" pour le lancer d'après Canne à pois Mastercraft en verre tubulaire. Viroie verre-à-verre, 4 anneaux et 306 chromés, poignée en liège.
76-4040

Rabais \$200

8.95 Courant \$10.95

Monobrin Trilene
Type B 100 m. Courant \$2.95

1.99

Couteau à filets
fait en Finlande
Lame extra tranchante de 25", manche "Grip" en bois, 19-1010

Rabais \$100

7.95 Courant \$8.95

Fameux moulinet Daiwa léger/appât
Modèle 2100, Rapport 2.7:1, Cylind. de reprise, Indépendant, avec 66 verges de ligne de 6 lb, 79-4041

3.99 Courant \$4.99

MASTERCRAFT 730 lancer léger
Léger et très robuste, avec 100 verges de ligne 12 lb, 19-1011

5.95 Courant \$6.95

Poissons nageurs Rapala
Lancé #2, 19-1012

2.99 Courant \$3.99

MASTERCRAFT Berkley 7' lancer léger
[1] Rabais \$3.00 Canne à pois en verre tubulaire, 2 action myrmex/léger, 4 anneaux en liège chromés, avec du moulinet aluminium à 10000, 75-4040

16.95 Courant \$19.95

MASTERCRAFT Berkley 6½' léger/appât
[2] Rabais \$3.00 Canne en verre tubulaire, Rapala myrmex et torus de verre, avec 4 anneaux en liège chromés. A la fois pour moulinet 10-4040

12.99 Courant \$15.99

Cart. Long Rifle
Aguila de .22
Boîte de 50
Courant \$1.99

1.39

Sac de couchage avec 3 lb polyester
Grand confort pour camping, chemise en polyéther, doublure en polyéther, doublure de 3 lb de polyester, 19-1013

Rabais \$300

19.95 Courant \$22.95

Hache supérieure de camping
à tête acier de 2½ lb
Courant \$17.99

12.99

En plus! Billets-Bonis au comptant à la plupart des magasins

Figure 13. « Belles aubaines à "attraper" », dans « Grande ventes de mai », *Supplément Publicitaire Canadian Tire, Le droit*, 28 avril 1980, p.3

La chasse aux prix modiques



<p>12.95</p> <p>E. Couteau de chasse, lame 5" Acier poli, manche en corne; fourreau en cuir. 75-6085</p> <p>14.95</p> <p>Couteau de chasse, lame 4 1/4" Acier au carbone. 75-6082</p> <p>14.95</p> <p>Couteau acier inoxydable Lame 5"; fourreau. 75-6087</p>	<p>18.88</p>	<p>19.88</p> <p>F. Carabine .177 standard à air Ame rayée; 1 coup; canon bas- culant. A plombs. 75-5085</p> <p>18.88</p> <p>Plombs de .177: 200/54¢; 500/85¢</p> <p>G. Revolver 6 coups Crosman de .22 à canon rayé. Style Western. 75-4706</p> <p>19.88</p>
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Figure 14. « La chasse aux prix modiques », dans « Écono-valeurs », *Supplément Publicitaires Canadian Tire, Le droit*, 14 mai 1974, p.5.

TOUTES LES CHOSSES: LES FETTERAUX DOIVENT EN MEME
temps que vous! Comprend un convive, sa paille, la
paille de l'enfant et la chope. Quand l'enfant boit, le
convive boit! 99-0903



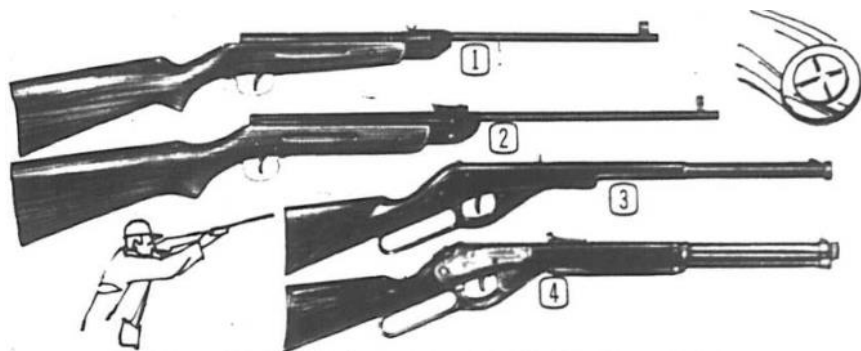
1.99
SPÉCIAL

2 pistolets
ET LEURS ÉTUIS

Des armes à répétition du type de l'Ouest, sûres de
faire respecter le shérif en herbe. L'ensemble Six-Gun
comprend 2 pistolets très réalistes et 2 étuis décorés,
en plastique noir et blanc. Sûr de plaire à pas cher.
99-7793

Géa
Le jou
pond à
est m
flexible

Figure 15. « 2 pistolets et leurs étuis », dans « Vente lève-tôt », *Circulaire Canadian Tire, La presse*, 15 novembre 1973, p.2.



LES AUBAINES DU JEUNE TIREUR

1 Fusil .177 à air comprimé—Puissant et précis, pour tir à la cible ou petit gibier. Chargement par canon basculant; âme rayée; hausse couverte et réglable.
75-5084—Crosse finie noyer. **17.95**

2 Fusil .177 à âme lisse—Chargement par canon basculant; hausse couverte et réglable. Léger, de maniement facile, il mesure 36" de longueur.
75-5086—Belle crosse polie. **11.49**

Observez vos règlements locaux sur les armes

Revolver Mark I de .22 **31.89**

5 Crosman de cible à un coup pour très grande précision; hausse réglable.
75-4711—Canon rayé de 7/16". **31.89**

Modèle Frontier de .22 **22.89**

6 Tire 6 coups, coup par coup; canon Tri-Flute; canon mobile.
75-4706—Crosse plast. effet corne. **22.89**

3 Daisy 102 Cub—Un modèle à levier d'un prix exceptionnellement modique et d'une capacité de 350 coups.
75-5091—30 1/2" de long. **7.77**

4 Carabine 94 Daisy—Précise et bien équilibrée. A levier 450 coups à répétition. Avec hausse réglable et belle crosse.
75-5093—Mesure 31" de long. **10.95**

Munitions—

75-0090—Plombs BB Bte de 100. **10**
75-0092—Plombs BB Bte de 500. **59**
75-0085—Plombs 177 Bte 500. **59**



Figure 16. « Les aubaines du jeune tireur », dans « Bons Achats pour les lève-tôt », *Supplément publicitaire, Canadian Tire, La presse*, 7 novembre 1970, p.15.

SPÉCIAUX-CADEAUX du Bon Temps

MONTRES

CANADIAN TIRE

The advertisement displays six Inghram watches arranged in a row. Each watch has a black leather strap and a white face with black numerals. The watches are numbered 1 through 6. Below each watch is a price tag with the price in dollars and cents, and the word 'CHAC' (each) below it.

Model	Price
1. "PETITE" INGRAHAM	7.88
2. "EDITH" INGRAHAM	8.88
3. "MODERNE" INGRAHAM	6.88
4. INGRAHAM DE TON ARGENT	6.88
5. MONTRE-CALENDRIER	8.88
6. MONTRE DE PLONGÉE	12.88

DÉLICATES pour DAMES

(1) "PETITE" INGRAHAM — Belle en ton or et chat bracelet en velle noir; chiffres ton or, en relief sur cadran blanc; ressort inépuisable. 99-0230 **7.88**

(2) "EDITH" INGRAHAM — Élégante montre "habillée". Ton or, à bracelet extensible de même couleur. Légères divisions très visibles. 99-7707 **8.88**

JOLIES pour JEUNES

(3) "MODERNE" INGRAHAM pour fillette (ou dame). Ton or ou argent; bracelet en cuir; cadran clair; ressort inépuisable. Sûreté de plus. 99-7703X **6.88**

(4) INGRAHAM DE TON ARGENT pour garçon; boîte chromée et bracelet extensible assorti; antimagétique; ressort inépuisable. 99-0254 **6.88**

PRATIQUES pour HOMMES

(5) MONTRE-CALENDRIER — Etincelante, boîte ton or, bracelet en cuir; antimagétique et résiste à l'eau. Avec fenêtre qui lit la date. 99-7593 **8.88**

(6) MONTRE DE PLONGÉE — résistant aux chocs et à l'eau; aiguilles et cadran lumineux; calendrier; lunette inépuisable de temps écoulé. 99-7705 **12.88**

MOUVEMENTS INGRAHAM DE FABRICATION SUISSE, GARANTIS UN AN

Figure 17. « Spéciaux-Cadeaux du Bon temps Montres », *Supplément Publicitaire Canadian Tire, Le droit*, 1 décembre 1971, p.7.

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³⁴ À noter que la bibliographie a été organisée par circulaire et non pas par annonce. Pour chaque note de bas de page, il y avait le nom de l'annonce, le nom de la circulaire et le nom du journal qui a publié la circulaire.

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**Partie II. Les nouveaux acteurs du *Grand Jeu* :
reconsidérer l'art de gouverner avec le recul**

**Part II. New Players in the Great Game: Expanding
Statecraft in Hindsight**

Typologizing the Tsar: Explaining Judgments About Russian 'Tyranny' in Sixteenth-Century European Travel Accounts

Darwin Pitts¹

When envoys from Western and Central Europe visited the emerging Muscovite state in the sixteenth century, they invariably came away with an image of the Russian tsar as an absolute monarch who held immense power over his subjects. Most of these European² visitors described this power as tyrannical and despotic. A few outliers were less hostile, and thought the tsars ruled relatively beneficently. Much ink has been spilled over just how reliable these depictions were, and whether the Muscovite tsars of that era should really be thought of as having had absolute power. But, as Charles Halperin notes, “tyranny is not a form of government but a moral judgment.”³ When Europeans wrote of the tsars as tyrants and despots, they were making a normative judgment about whether that government was well-formed or not. Rather than examining whether they were right or wrong, in this essay I ask why they made these judgments in the first place. What factors drove sixteenth-century Europeans who visited Muscovy to

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² I should note here that I use the term “European” to refer to those places in Europe west of the borders of Russia. This is arguably either anachronistic or inaccurate, but in the absence of a better way of distinguishing the two, ‘European’ will suffice here as shorthand.

³ Charles J. Halperin, “Sixteenth-Century Foreign Travel Accounts to Muscovy: A Methodological Excursus,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 6, no. 2 (1975): 101.

conclude that it was or was not a tyrannical state? There are too many accounts from such visitors to do justice to all of them, so I focus here on just three that are especially revealing: namely, the accounts of Sigmund von Herberstein, Richard Chancellor, and Giles Fletcher. In this essay, I lay out these three authors and the normative judgments they made about the Muscovite government and examine different possible explanations for those judgements.

Where better to begin than with the first author to make a major impact on the sixteenth-century European understanding of Russia, Sigmund von Herberstein. Born in 1486 in Wippach—today Vipava in Slovenia, then a part of the Habsburg-owned province of Carniola—to a family of German nobility, Herberstein had the good fortune of learning the local Wendish or Slovenian language, which came to be of great value in his later trips to Muscovy. He studied philosophy and law at an early age at the University of Vienna, and was knighted by the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian I. By 1515 he had entered imperial service as a councillor and ambassador, ultimately carrying out about sixty-nine diplomatic missions for Emperors Maximilian and Ferdinand I. Two of those trips took him to Muscovy to negotiate a peace settlement between that country and Lithuania—the first in 1517, and the second in 1526.⁴

During the eleven months in total that he spent in Muscovy, Herberstein used his access and his understanding of Slavic languages to examine documents and question Russians and experienced foreigners for information about the country. In the

⁴ Bertold Picard, editor's preface to Sigmund von Herberstein, *Description of Moscow and Muscovy*, ed. Bertold Picard, trans. J. B. C. Grundy (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1969), 5-8; Marshall T. Poe, "A People Born to Slavery": *Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476-1748* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), 119-21.

years after his voyages to Muscovy, he compiled his notes and experiences into a single-volume account, which he finally published in 1549 in Latin as the *Rerum Moscoviticarum Comentarii* ('Notes on Muscovite Affairs'), multiple editions of which were published in the following decades in both Latin and German.⁵ Herberstein's *Comentarii* was the first serious Renaissance ethnography of Russia, distinguished from its predecessors by his careful efforts to corroborate what he heard and his position as, in his own words, "one who has seen partly for himself."⁶

While Herberstein tried to take a dispassionate, analytical approach in describing what he saw, his account is also one of the earliest and clearest examples of a European visitor judging Muscovy to be a tyrannical, despotic state. About Tsar Vasili III, during whose reign he visited the country, Herberstein wrote that "He surpasses all other kings and princes in the power he has and uses over his own people; ... He holds one and all in the same subjection."⁷ Herberstein was especially keen to emphasize the despotic power which he thought the tsar wielded over "both property and life" of his subjects. He noted ominously that the tsar "confiscated" all the gifts given to his ambassadors by foreign rulers, and describes how he ordered a certain "secretary" imprisoned and all his "possessions, trinkets and money" seized for the tsar's own treasury.⁸

What truly seems to have surprised Herberstein, though, was the apparent servility expressed by the Russian population

⁵ Picard, editor's preface to Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 1.

⁶ Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 15; Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 121-22.

⁷ Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 44.

⁸ Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 48.

towards the tsar, especially by their nobles. In the very first line of his chapter on the Muscovite state, Herberstein began by writing that “All in the land call themselves their prince’s *kholopi*, or sold slaves,” in reference to the standard salutation which Russian servitors routinely gave when addressing their superiors.⁹ He noted shortly thereafter—one senses with a tone of astonishment—that “None of [the tsar’s] councillors has ever dared to gainsay his lord’s opinion,” and that even though Vasili III had “been unfortunate in war, yet his people called him successful,” even to the point of claiming that “they had not lost a man” when in fact over half their army had been lost.¹⁰ The picture of the Russian nobility that emerges from Herberstein’s account is one of obsequious men living in abject fear of a tyrant whom they dare not speak against.

Even the normally cool and analytical Herberstein could not conceal his disdain when he contemplated what could bring such a system into being. “It is debatable,” he wrote, “whether such a people must have such oppressive rulers or whether the oppressive rulers have made the people so stupid.”¹¹ Despite this expression of uncertainty, it seems that for the most part Herberstein came down in favor of the latter interpretation. Having arrived in Muscovy in the decades just after its rapid ascent under Ivan III, he was well aware that the Russian princes had not always been so deferential to the Grand Dukes of Moscow: he devoted several pages to describing how Ivan and Vasili III had brought the various other

⁹ Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 43; Marshall T. Poe, “What Did Russians Mean When They Called Themselves ‘Slaves of the Tsar’?,” *Slavic Review* 57, no. 3 (1998): 586.

¹⁰ Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 43–44.

¹¹ Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 44.

principalities under their rule by arrest, conquest, and murder.¹² Though he never explicitly used the word “tyrant” to describe the Russian rulers, Herberstein left his readers in little doubt that the tsars of Muscovy were indeed ruthless tyrants who ensconced themselves in power by means of force.

Just a few years after the publication of Herberstein’s *Comentarii*, another voyager, the English captain and explorer Richard Chancellor, found himself in the court of the Muscovite tsars. Sadly, we know exceedingly little about Chancellor’s life prior to the expedition that brought him to Russia in 1553. On that expedition—the goal of which was to seek out a northeast passage to Asia—he was put in charge of one of the three ships on the voyage, and became the leader of the surviving expedition after the other two ships were caught in a storm and sank with their crews. Chancellor’s ship ended up making land in the White Sea, and he was able to secure passage to Moscow for an audience with Tsar Ivan IV. Having secured an agreement with Ivan that granted English merchants freedom of trade in Muscovy, Chancellor returned to England and wrote up an account of his voyage with assistance and editing from his associate Clement Adams. Two years later, Chancellor visited Russia again, but his ship was wrecked and he was killed on the return journey.¹³

Like the accounts of other European visitors, Chancellor’s account described the Russian tsar as extremely powerful. He devoted special attention to the power which the tsar wielded over

¹² Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 44–46.

¹³ Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crummey, ed., *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), x–xiii, 3–4.

property, describing in detail the manner in which the estates of the service gentry reverted to the ownership of the tsar, and claiming that the tsar sometimes even confiscated the lands of the richest hereditary nobles.¹⁴ But unlike Herberstein, Chancellor wrote about the tsar's power in much less negative terms, at times even seemingly expressing a kind of admiration for it. He noted approvingly that:

The emperor himself heareth every great controversy and, upon the hearing of it, giveth judgment, and that with great equity, which I take to be a thing worthy of special commendation in the majesty of a prince.¹⁵

Thus, the tsar was, in Chancellor's view, a beneficent ruler. Moreover, his power rested on the willing obedience of the Russian people, rather than on fear as Herberstein had suggested. When the tsar ordered the nobles' land seized, Chancellor wrote, they willingly gave it to him, "So great is the obedience of all men generally to their prince."¹⁶ Even the drivers who escorted him along the postal roads to Moscow were so eager to demonstrate their obedience to the tsar "that they began to quarrel" over who should be first to "put their post horses to the sled."¹⁷ For Chancellor, Russia may have been an absolute monarchy, but it was by no means a tyranny.

Not all Englishmen shared in Chancellor's rosy depiction of Muscovy, however, as can be seen from the account of Giles Fletcher. A learned scholar and experienced public official, Fletcher

¹⁴ Berry and Crummey, ed., *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom*, 28-29.

¹⁵ Berry and Crummey, ed., *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom*, 33.

¹⁶ Berry and Crummey, ed., *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom*, 29-30.

¹⁷ Berry and Crummey, ed., *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom*, 20-21.

was appointed ambassador to Russia in 1588, and spent a year in the court of Tsar Fedor I. By then, relations between the English and Russian governments had been strained ever since the death of Ivan IV four years earlier, and Fletcher made little headway in improving them. After returning to England, in 1591 he published *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, an ethnography based on his experience, with a strong focus on examining the political structures of Russia.¹⁸ Unlike the usually dispassionate Herberstein, Fletcher made no effort to hide his biases against Russian society and its autocratic rulers. Indeed, his work was so uniformly negative in its depiction of Russia that the leading merchants of the English Muscovy Company successfully appealed to have the book suppressed for fear that it would further damage relations with the Russian state—only in the mid-seventeenth century was the uncensored version freely distributed.¹⁹

Fletcher was even more explicit than Herberstein had been in depicting Russia as a despotic tyranny. “The state and form of their government,” he wrote straightforwardly, “is plain tyrannical.”²⁰ Neither the nobles nor the common peasants of Russia had any protections for their property, Fletcher claimed, their wealth “all running in the end into the Emperor’s coffers.”²¹ Nor did they have any protections for their lives: Fletcher described in lurid detail how Ivan IV allegedly ordered the beheading of anyone he met whom “he had misliked the face or

¹⁸ Albert J. Schmidt, introduction to Giles Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), xv-xxiii.

¹⁹ Halperin, “Sixteenth-Century Foreign Travel Accounts,” 93; Schmidt, introduction to Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, xxvii.

²⁰ Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 30.

²¹ Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 31, 65-66.

person of,” just to “show his sovereignty over the lives of his subjects.”²² Again like Herberstein, Fletcher also expressed amazement at the servile behaviour of the Russian nobles in respect to the tsar. Referring to the same salutation which Herberstein had commented on, Fletcher wrote that Ivan IV had reduced the Russian nobles to

...his *khlopy*, that is, his very villeins or bondslaves. For so they term and write themselves in any public instrument or private petition which they make to the Emperor, so that now they hold their authorities, lands, lives, and all at the Emperor’s pleasure as the rest do.²³

In short, there was no doubt in Fletcher’s mind that the tsars were selfish despots who held the Russian people in absolute subjection.

And where Herberstein had expressed some uncertainty as to whether this subjection was a product of the rulers or of the population, Fletcher made it very clear that he saw Russian ‘tyranny’ as something imposed from above. He argued that the tsars deliberately prevented the common people of Russia from traveling or acquiring an education or weaponry in order “that they may be fitter for the servile condition wherein now they are,” and that the tsars actively worked to divide and subdue the nobility to keep them weak and unthreatening.²⁴ In the face of this “oppression,” he claimed, the Russian nobility and commoners had no means of resisting, and therefore “for the most part wish for some foreign invasion, which they suppose to be the only means to

²² Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 32.

²³ Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 36.

²⁴ Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 37-39, 68.

rid them of the heavy yoke of this tyrannous government.”²⁵ For Fletcher, the rule of the tsars was not only despotic, but aberrant.

Each of these three men—Herberstein, Chancellor, and Fletcher—visited the same country, and came away with different moral judgments about its political system. Of these, Chancellor certainly represents the exception to the norm, as other sixteenth-century European visitors to Muscovy almost universally agreed with Herberstein and Fletcher’s assessment of it as tyrannical.²⁶ So why did these three authors judge the Muscovite state in the ways they did? In trying to answer that question, we can begin to explain why so many of the European visitors saw Russia as tyrannical, as well as why outliers like Chancellor disagreed.

For starters, we can eliminate the easy or obvious hypotheses that it was simple ethnocentrism or some preconceived notion of “Oriental despotism” that drove Europeans to view the Russian tsars as tyrants. It is easy to say that European authors looked down on Russians as “barbaric,” and this certainly coloured their vision of the Muscovite state. But that alone does not explain the variations within European characterizations of Russia: Chancellor regularly referred to the Russians as “barbarous” or “barbarians,” while Herberstein refrained from such commentary, yet it was the latter and not the former who saw Russia as being governed tyrannically.²⁷

²⁵ Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 49.

²⁶ Halperin, “Sixteenth-Century Foreign Travel Accounts,” 99; Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 60.

²⁷ Berry and Crummey, ed., *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom*, 18, 38.

It is similarly tempting to speculate, as Marshall Poe does, that European visitors liked to use Muscovy as a contrasting ‘other’ to make their own societies look better.²⁸ Fletcher certainly engaged in this: in the opening dedication of his book to Queen Elizabeth I, he described Russia as “a tyrannical state (most unlike to your own),” deliberately contrasting the tyranny of the tsars with the ostensibly liberal rule of the English monarchs.²⁹ In the case of the other authors though, there are no similar comparisons made in their works nor much else in the way of strong evidence to support such an interpretation. It would be pure speculation to say that Herberstein, for example, sought in Russia a self-affirming contrast with the rule of the Habsburg emperors.

As for the concept of “eastern despotism,” there is only a single line in Fletcher’s account which hints at such an idea playing a role: the “manner of [the Russian] government,” he wrote, “is much after the Turkish fashion.”³⁰ But Fletcher did not elaborate on this comparison in any detail nor repeat it elsewhere, leaving one to wonder as to its significance in his thinking. As for Herberstein, nowhere in his *Comentarii* does anything like this appear—he made no effort to place Russia within any sort of eastern or ‘asiatic’ mental category. Again, when considering whether the authors might have been participating in a kind of orientalism, the sheer paucity of direct evidence reduces us to mere speculation. If we wish to comprehensively capture what it was that drove the European authors to make the judgments they did about the Muscovite state, blanket responses of ethnocentrism, othering, or orientalism being at play are not very helpful.

²⁸ Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 202.

²⁹ Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 1.

³⁰ Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 30.

It seems slightly more promising to look at the political agendas the authors served during their time in Russia, but only slightly. All three men went to Muscovy, and came out of it, with some sort of national agenda (if we may call it that) in mind. Chancellor represented the commercial interests of the English Muscovy Company, which sought to outflank Spanish and Portuguese access to Asia by means of a northeast passage, and which certainly had a vested interest in maintaining privileged trading access to Russia.³¹ It is tempting to think that this might have driven Chancellor and his editor Adams to skew his account to be more positive in its depiction of the Muscovite state, in the hopes of promoting and protecting English commercial interests there. Herberstein, meanwhile, represented the interests of the Habsburg monarchy, which more often dealt with Muscovy as an emerging military power engaged in conflicts with neighbouring states like Sweden, Poland-Lithuania, and the Livonian Order. This might have coloured his view of Muscovy, leading him to view it through a more hostile lens.³²

But when we turn to Fletcher's report, this explanation is again not so helpful. Fletcher had been sent to Russia as the English ambassador in large part to mend relations at a time when Moscow was turning a cold shoulder to Whitehall. To be sure, by the time he wrote *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, Fletcher's mission had largely failed—in part, perhaps, because of his own diplomatic

³¹ John W. Randolph, "The Singing Coachman or, The Road and Russia's Ethnographic Invention in Early Modern Times," *Journal of Early Modern History* 11, no. 1/2 (February 2007): 37-41.

³² This hypothesis is alluded to in Halperin, "Sixteenth-Century Foreign Travel Accounts," 92, and in Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 38.

fumblings.³³ Yet, as someone who had tried to improve ties with Russia, and who would certainly have been well aware of the importance of such improved ties to the English establishment, he nonetheless went out of his way to publicly condemn the Russian state as oppressive. His personal hostility to the rule of the tsars cannot be explained by the national agenda he had represented. This should make us wary of treating national objectives as a driving force behind these authors' individual judgments.³⁴

Another tempting line of thinking would be to focus on what the European visitors saw, or rather what the Muscovite state prevented them from seeing. Ever wary of the potential for espionage, the Muscovite state kept foreign visitors under close watch and tight restrictions, segregating them as best they could from the local population.³⁵ As John Randolph explains in detail, the Russian postal road or *iam* system which enabled Europeans like Herberstein and Chancellor to travel safely and speedily to Moscow also "put a political frame around everything they saw," since it confined their view to those areas most directly linked to the central authorities of the Muscovite state.³⁶ It is conceivable that such limitations on what the European visitors saw ultimately trapped them in the political theatre of Moscow, and gave them an exaggerated sense of the power which the tsar wielded. Had they been able to examine Russian practices of administration in the provinces more attentively, the argument would go, they would have seen familiar institutions of local governance and justice at

³³ See for instance his omission of part of the tsar's title during an audience, Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 30.

³⁴ Halperin makes a very similar argument against "dividing the travel accounts by nation of origin," in "Sixteenth-Century Foreign Travel Accounts," 93.

³⁵ Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 40-45.

³⁶ Randolph, "The Singing Coachman," 42.

work, and been less quick to dismiss the Muscovite political system as tyrannical in comparison with their own.³⁷

But this of course presupposes that the reality in the Russian provinces was substantively different from that in the capital of Moscow, and that the European visitors would have been able to appreciate that difference had they been able to explore freely beyond the postal roads and among the villages of the Russian countryside. However, as Marshall Poe notes, Europeans who resided in Russia for longer periods were able to examine the local society in significantly greater depth than short-term visitors like Herberstein or Fletcher, and yet they generally came to the same conclusions about Russian 'tyranny.'³⁸ Furthermore, although Chancellor does not really comment on the ways foreign visitors were sequestered, his freedom to examine Russian society was almost certainly just as curtailed, and his perspective just as limited, as Herberstein's. The difference between them lay not in what they did or didn't see, but rather the light in which they interpreted their experiences.

That process of interpretation didn't happen in a vacuum of course, as European visitors to Muscovy relied not only on their own experience but also on the writings of others. As Poe argues, Herberstein's *Comentarii* exerted an especially strong influence on later European views of Russia. At the time of its publication, the Muscovite polity was playing an increasingly important role in the commercial and geostrategic affairs of Europe, and Herberstein's account was practically the only ethnography with sufficient

³⁷ See Valerie Kivelson, "Muscovite 'Citizenship': Rights without Freedom," *The Journal of Modern History* 74, no. 3 (2002): 476-77.

³⁸ Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 115, 199.

breadth and reliability to meet the growing demand of the Renaissance lettered classes for information about this rising power. As a result, it proved to be a very popular book, with some twenty-two editions in all published before 1611. Other European authors seeking to write about Russia often borrowed information and even whole passages from Herberstein's work without giving their source, Fletcher among them.³⁹ It would seem plausible then that the idea of Russian 'tyranny' in itself formed a kind of preconception among European visitors, who, having already read Herberstein's *Comentarii* in order to prepare for their journeys, interpreted what they saw in the negative terms which Herberstein had given them.

This may well be true of Fletcher as well as other European visitors from the late sixteenth century, but it does little to explain the views of Chancellor or of Herberstein himself. It is impossible to say for sure if Chancellor had read Herberstein's *Comentarii*, but he was probably aware of its conclusions. As the historian Samuel Baron argued, the English editor Richard Eden—who was closely associated with the Muscovy Company and its project to seek out a northeast passage—likely read Herberstein's account before the 1553 voyage. One of his editorial notes, released after the voyage but almost certainly composed prior to Chancellor's return, regurgitated a number of details which were clearly borrowed from Herberstein and subsequently contradicted by Chancellor's findings.⁴⁰ The literary circle surrounding the 1553 expeditionary project were thus clearly familiar with the *Comentarii* and may well

³⁹ Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 118-19, 128-40.

⁴⁰ Samuel H. Baron, "Herberstein and the English 'Discovery' of Muscovy," *Terrae Incognitae* 18, no. 1 (1986): 48-53.

have relied on its geographic information in the course of preparing the voyage.

In that case, Chancellor's more positive outlook on the Russian state cannot be ascribed to his being free from Herberstein's influence. Likewise, Herberstein's despotic portrait of the tsars was not lifted from earlier authors: though he had read earlier European accounts of Russia, including the much more positive account written by Johann Fabri, his conclusions frequently contradicted theirs and he relied strictly on what he could confirm for himself.⁴¹ The judgments made by Herberstein and Chancellor were original, and their disagreement came from something more deeply rooted in their own perspectives.

A more compelling explanation can be found if we look at how class biases might have shaped the views of these authors. Both Herberstein and Fletcher were members of the ruling elite in their countries—especially Herberstein, who belonged to the provincial nobility. As such, when they emphasized the servile and obsequious behaviour of the Russian nobility, they may have been expressing an astonishment rooted in their own sense of propriety and of the proper place and bearing of elites. Likewise, when Herberstein observed that many Muscovite nobles were expected to serve the tsar without monetary compensation, or when Fletcher commented that Russian nobles usually did not give advice to the tsar at consultations but merely listened and thereby “demean[ed] themselves,” they may have been reacting based on ingrained

⁴¹ Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 39.

assumptions about how members of their own social class ought to relate to their monarch.⁴²

Unfortunately, we do not know what social background Richard Chancellor belonged to. It seems likely though that, as a naval captain with no known landed titles or family history, he came from a more humble stock than Herberstein or Fletcher, which might go some way towards explaining why he reacted less harshly to the obedient behaviour of the Russian nobles. It is therefore a plausible hypothesis that those European visitors who belonged to a ruling elite, being accustomed to having a certain kind of relationship with their monarchs, were more prone to view the interactions between the Muscovite tsar and nobility as alien and undignified. This would in turn offer some explanation both for why most European visitors thought that the tsar ruled as a despot, and for why some of them disagreed.

It wasn't just the outlook of a particular class that gave European visitors preconceptions about how a monarch should rule though. As Marshall Poe argues, practically all of them were influenced by a combination of classical political texts and contemporary political theory, which gave them a conceptual architecture with which to analyze the Muscovite state.⁴³ One text of particular relevance to the judgments of the authors under consideration here was Aristotle's *Politics*, which gave Renaissance humanists a clean way of distinguishing between well-formed monarchies and "defective" or "perverted" tyrannies. In Aristotle's view, the distinction between the two lay in whose interests the

⁴² Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 47; Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 51. This argument is supported by Halperin, "Sixteenth-Century Foreign Travel Accounts," 98-99, and Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 68.

⁴³ Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 151.

sovereign ruled for: in a just monarchy, the king governed for “the common interests,” while in a tyranny, the sovereign governed in their own self-interest.⁴⁴ This idea that righteous monarchs ought to rule for the common good, and that tyrants were to be defined as those who narrowly pursued their own interests at the expense of the common good of their subjects, became increasingly ingrained in Central and Western European political thought over the course of the sixteenth century. As Wolfgang Weber explains, by the turn of the seventeenth it had become a basic assumption held by supporters and opponents of absolutism alike.⁴⁵ Thus, the way in which sixteenth-century Europeans categorized different forms of government explicitly included a strong normative binary based on a conception of the common good.

In addition to this, as Poe elaborates, European political ideology of the time placed a high emphasis on protecting the liberty and property rights of the governed. By the end of the century especially, European theorists generally saw freedom, usually understood as the freedom to perfect oneself, as something that was natural and which was given up to the state (either by God or by the governed themselves) only in order to preserve the rest of one’s freedom. Freedom was also in the minds of most Europeans a source of dignity—to be less free, or to be a slave, was to be less dignified.⁴⁶ The right to property, likewise, was to them a natural right which preceded the existence of a state. This imposed at least

⁴⁴ Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 114-15; Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 152.

⁴⁵ Wolfgang Weber, “What a Good Ruler Should Not Do’: Theoretical Limits of Royal Power in European Theories of Absolutism, 1500-1700,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 26, no. 4 (1995): 902, 912.

⁴⁶ Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 216-17.

some duty on the sovereign to protect that right, and with it an obligation not to seize the property of his subjects unless the common good demanded it. Even proponents of absolutism had to contend with these notions of liberty and property rights, often by treating them as moral limits which the state had to impose on itself.⁴⁷ Hence, the idea of a monarch acting as the literal owner of his subjects and of their property was anathema to the prevailing political ideology of Western and Central Europe.

If we turn back to Herberstein, Chancellor, and Fletcher, we can find hints of these ideas throughout their accounts. To be sure, we have to be careful in how we apply those ideas onto their works. Herberstein and Chancellor both predated the most explicit formulations of natural liberty and property rights, so we must beware of projecting the theories of later writers like Jean Bodin or Hugo Grotius backwards onto their thinking. Yet we can still find in their accounts traces of these emphases on the common good, liberty, and property, suggesting that at least in a vague, ambient sense, such ideas already lent a distinctive character to European political ideology.

Indeed, if any of these authors fit the bill of a Renaissance humanist inspired by classical theories of politics, it was undoubtedly Herberstein. A precocious scholar who, we should recall, studied philosophy as a teenager, he was well immersed in classical texts and the humanistic discourse of the time which relied so heavily on them.⁴⁸ Given how widespread the influence of Aristotelian political theory was among such Renaissance men of letters, Herberstein could hardly have escaped it. Small wonder

⁴⁷ Weber, "What a Good Ruler Should Not Do," 906.

⁴⁸ Picard, editor's preface to Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 8.

then that he so consistently depicted the Muscovite tsars as “oppressive” rather than beneficent in their rule, and that he chose to focus so much attention on the ruthless means by which they obtained and consolidated their power—the sense in which they fit the mould of a tyrant is precisely in the Aristotelian sense of being solely concerned with their self-interest. It is likewise no surprise that Herberstein expressed amazement at the willingness of Russians to sell themselves or their children into slavery—which, he wrote, indicated that the Russian people “vaunt their bondage more than their freedom”—as well as at the tsar’s despotic power over the property of his subjects.⁴⁹ Such reactions would be entirely in keeping with a deep-seated conviction in the value of freedom as a source of dignity and property as a natural right.

Chancellor’s account, too, seems to have been influenced by these European views of liberty and property rights. Just like Herberstein, he was amazed by the Russian practice of selling one’s children off as bondslaves, noting that it showed just how “little account do they make of liberty.”⁵⁰ And the emphasis his account placed on the power which the tsar wielded over the property of the nobility shows that Chancellor understood this to be a major point of difference from his own England. So why did he depart from the trend of depicting Russia as tyrannical?

There are three possible explanations. The first option is that he, being more of a merchant and explorer than a man of letters, was simply not as aware as Herberstein of the Aristotelian typology of monarchy and tyranny, and hence wasn’t as quick to apply it to Russia. The second option is that he did understand and

⁴⁹ Herberstein, *Description of Moscow*, 39.

⁵⁰ Berry and Crummey, ed., *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom*, 34.

apply that typology, but that he believed the Russian tsars in fact ruled beneficently for the common good of their subjects, and therefore should be seen as model monarchs rather than tyrants. The third option is that Chancellor may have been fitting Russia into an even more niche Aristotelian concept, namely the idea of a 'barbarian monarchy,' in which an absolute monarch rules over a people who "are by nature slaves." Such a monarchy, as Aristotle put it, "nearly resembles tyranny," but isn't, because its subjects willingly obey.⁵¹ This would fit rather nicely with Chancellor's depiction of the Russians as both "barbarous" and eagerly obedient. All three explanations are quite plausible, and all three suggest that even those visitors who did not judge the Russian state as tyrannical did so for reasons rooted in the European political preconceptions of their time.

As for Fletcher, his account positively reeks of late sixteenth-century English political ideology. For him, liberty and the common good were not only essential goals of a just state, but inextricably linked to each other: although "the [Russian] nobility and clergy ... have a vote in the parliaments," he wrote, this was "far from that liberty that ought to be in common consultations for the public benefit."⁵² Similarly, in regards to property rights, he noted with dismay that the tsar expropriated the wealth of the Russian commons, "sometimes without any show at all of any necessity of commonwealth or prince."⁵³ Fletcher judged the Muscovite state to be tyrannical precisely because he felt that it subjected the common good to the self-interest of the monarch and denied its subjects the liberty and property they rightfully

⁵¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, 133.

⁵² Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 65.

⁵³ Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 49.

deserved. Even his prediction that such a tyrannical state would likely descend into civil war was in keeping with the common belief among English thinkers of the time that tyranny was inevitably short-lived and sowed the seeds of its own destruction through revolt and civil war.⁵⁴

The constraints which preconceptions rooted in European political theory imposed on visitors like Herberstein, Chancellor, and Fletcher become especially apparent when we contrast those preconceptions with Muscovite political ideology from the time. The scholarly consensus is that sixteenth-century Muscovites did not view service and obedience to the tsar in the one-sided way which European visitors characterized them as adhering to. Generally speaking, Muscovite tsars were expected to uphold the spiritual well-being of the realm and to preserve its social, religious, and hierarchical institutions as well as to protect the most vulnerable members of society.⁵⁵ One could certainly characterize this as a notion of service to the common good, albeit one understood in more emphatically religious than secular terms.

More specifically, as both Marshall Poe and Valerie Kivelson have shown, when Russians expressed their submission as *khlopy*, or slaves to the tsar, they also claimed a right to his protection and aid. Muscovite slaveholders were morally expected to take care of and provide security to their slaves—contrary to Fletcher, being someone's *khlopy* did not give them the absolute moral right to dispose of one's life or property on a whim. So when Russians

⁵⁴ Halperin, "Sixteenth-Century Foreign Travel Accounts," 102; see also Weber, "What a Good Ruler Should Not Do," 913.

⁵⁵ Daniel B. Rowland, *God, Tsar, and People: The Political Culture of Early Modern Russia* (Cornell University Press, 2020), 316.

asserted that they belonged to the tsar, they were not in their view undermining the security of their property, but rather placing it under the protection of the most powerful master in the world.⁵⁶

As for liberty, Muscovites generally saw it in quite the opposite way from their European counterparts. Where Europeans of the sixteenth century tended to view liberty as natural, desirable, and conferring dignity, Russians for the most part saw it as dangerous and disruptive. Since Muscovites believed that people were naturally sinful without guidance, freedom could not mean the freedom to perfect oneself, but only the freedom to pursue sin and self-interest at the expense of the community. And where liberty meant the absence of a master, it also implied a lack of protection. Free men subjected others to their whims and were in turn vulnerable to the violence of others. Dignity, as a result, was conferred not by freedom, but by the status of one's master.⁵⁷ Thus, sixteenth-century Russians conceived of their relationship to their tsar in radically different terms from the ones which European visitors applied to try to make sense of it.

Nowhere in the accounts of Herberstein, Chancellor, or Fletcher do we find any indication that they understood this radical difference in political worldviews. Failing to appreciate the difference between European and Muscovite understandings of slavery, they mistook the salutations of the Russian nobles for literal expressions of non-reciprocal deference, and on that basis concluded that the tsar held an abnormal degree of power over his subjects' property. Taking little interest in Russian religious

⁵⁶ Poe, "What Did Russians Mean," 606; Kivelson, "Muscovite 'Citizenship'," 469-85; Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 222-23.

⁵⁷ Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 217-18, 223-24; Kivelson, "Muscovite 'Citizenship'," 484-85.

beliefs—Fletcher being the only one to write about such beliefs in any detail, and even then doing so only to list their “errors in matter of faith”⁵⁸—they failed to appreciate why liberty carried such different connotations for Russians, and so they projected their own preconceived ideas about freedom and dignity onto Russian political theatre. Because they did not understand Russian political culture, they struggled to make sense of why the Muscovite state gave so much power to the tsar, and ultimately resorted to the rigid binaries to which they were accustomed—binaries which carried with them very particular normative judgments. Either the tsars were monarchs who ruled beneficently, or tyrants who ruled selfishly. Either their rule was imposed from above, or their subjects were naturally servile. Even Chancellor, who marvelled at the obedience of the Russian people, never offered an explanation for why they were so obedient. Oblivious to Muscovite political ideology, he and the others could register only bafflement or revulsion at a system which made no sense when conceptualized in their own moral terms.

Altogether, it seems clear that if we wish to understand what led so many European visitors to Muscovy in the sixteenth century to condemn the tsars as tyrants, we have to look at the intellectual baggage they carried with them, drawn from the norms of their social class, the theories of classical philosophy, and the ideals of Renaissance politics. To be sure, the three accounts considered here—those of Herberstein, Chancellor, and Fletcher—are likely insufficient to allow us to draw sweeping conclusions about contemporary European perspectives on Russia. And, conversely, the hypotheses which I have rejected as general

⁵⁸ Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 130.

explanations for the moral judgments of European visitors—ethnocentrism, orientalism, national agendas, limitations of perspective, and intertextual influences—might still be quite helpful for understanding why a particular author adopted the position they did. Yet so long as our aim is a general explanation, these three sources together do help us to see which vectors are more or less promising explanatorily. Moreover, they offer us a fascinating comparative case study in how various biases and intellectual forces can shape people's normative political judgments, especially the judgments they make about political cultures which are so radically different from their own.

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**"God made most of them to fall in the wilderness and in the sea":
The Environment's Effect on the Failure of the Darien Scheme
(1698-1700)**

William Patterson¹

It is easy to imagine the Scottish Reverend Francis Borland sitting at night by candlelight, quill and parchment forgotten in his hand as the horrors he witnessed in the distant jungles of Darien danced across his haunted mind. These horrors were not wars and disasters but the suffering and privations of the struggle for survival in a foreign wilderness. "[i]t may be said of Darien, Thou, Land, devourest men, and eatest up thy inhabitants," Borland ponders in his memoirs, "no wonder then, though our colony neither did, nor could thrive, suppose no other enemy in the world had molested them."² Why did Borland blame the land for the ruinous Scottish colony of Caledonia on the South American Isthmus of Darien? Had the environment really been a more terrible opponent than the Spanish Empire, to whom the land belonged? Borland and the Scots believed that was the case, and yet there is little dedicated coverage of the environment's role in the failure of the Darien Scheme,

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² Francis Borland, *The history of Darien. Giving a short description of that country, an account of the attempts of the Scotch nation to settle a colony in that place, a relation of the many tragical disasters which attended that design; with some Practical Reflections upon the whole. By the Rev. Mr. Francis Borland, sometime Minister of the Gospel at Glassford; and one of the Ministers who went along with the last Colony to Darien. Written mostly in the year 1700, while the author was in the American regions. To which is added, A Letter to his Parishoners* (Glasgow, Saltmarket: John Bryce, 1779), 19.

focusing more on the Scottish economy, Anglo-Scottish and Anglo-Spanish relations, and Spanish military action. The goal of this work is to explore the environment's role in the failure based on the firsthand accounts of Scottish colonists who had participated in the colony at Darien. The explanation begins with the intellectual competition between Spanish and Scottish philosophers to justify legal claims to the sovereignty of the area. Then, it is crucial to understand the ways in which time and space, weather and terrain, and disease and illness weakened the colony to the point that it folded almost without contest to a Spanish siege and naval blockade. Finally, contrasting Scottish survival methods with those of local Indigenous groups can elucidate where the Scots went wrong and what, perhaps, they could have done better. The Scottish primary sources ultimately confirm, through both their explanations and implications, that environmental factors were the fatal crack in the foundation of the Scottish colony of Caledonia, and that human factors like conflict with the Spanish and the British and a faltering Scottish economy only broke the proverbial camel's back.

Methodologically, this research paper will centre on primary Scottish sources. These fall into three general categories: English-language accounts of travels to Darien written before the foundation of the colony,³ English-language sources engaging in the international debate over the colony's legitimacy, and English-language accounts of individual colonists. Spanish sources could flesh the argument out further, but language abilities limit their application to this research. This primary source-based approach has been chosen since there has been minimal discussion on the environmental history of the Darien Scheme, and because the most

³ The authors of these sources were later consulted by the planners of the colony.

accessible source of information on the environment of the Isthmus of Darien are the explicit mentions and intertextual implications of those that were there. Secondary sources are used to expand on the context of the venture and to provide supplementary arguments that draw on other subjects or are outside the scope of this research. While direct reading of primary sources is an obvious source of environmental knowledge, intertextual reading actually provides some of the most thought-provoking information. This is particularly so in the case of the lives of local Indigenous groups, who have left little written record and had a better understanding of survival in the inhospitable Darien Isthmus. As the Darien colony was a point of great tension between the Spanish, the English, and the Scottish and would ultimately play a significant role in the collapse of the Scottish economy and the 1707 Acts of Union, accounts of the subject are politically-charged and make biased claims to justify the author's arguments. The "Gentleman Lately Arriv'd," author of *The History of Caledonia, Or, the Scots Colony in Darien in the West Indies with an Account of the Manners of the Inhabitants, and Riches of the Countrey*, for example, seems to be arguing for English support against the Spanish by convincing them they were mistaken through favourable descriptions of the area and underplaying the severity of local conditions. His writing, designed to bolster support for the scheme by portraying its success as a certainty, makes it less useful at face value than the personal accounts of sources like Reverend Francis Borland which do not seem to have been written to participate in the international debate. It is relevant to note as well that this work does not seek to chronicle the venture nor to relate its events in their entirety; this information is available in more detail elsewhere, such as in Julie Orr's *Scotland, Darien, and the Atlantic World, 1698-1700*, with better

information as to the geopolitical situation in which the colony was founded. Ultimately, this research is centred on analyzing the environmental content of the colonists' accounts.

In this research, the terms 'space' and 'terrain' are not interchangeable. The term 'space' refers to a given distance between two points and denotes the time involved in covering this distance, while 'terrain' refers to topographic and fluviographic features. As such, many concepts addressed herein could theoretically fall under either category; for that reason, any elements that refer to the distance travelled between Scotland and the colony will fall under 'space,' while any direct effects the Isthmus of Darien has on the colonists will fall under the category of 'terrain.' Additionally, the term 'communications' includes not only the transmission of information, but that of goods and people sent to or from the colony.

The Darien Scheme was a failed attempt by the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (CSTAI) to establish a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Darien in modern-day Panama. Their goal was to transport goods delivered by ship over the width of the isthmus—a thin strip of land between the Atlantic and the Pacific covered in mountains, rivers, dense jungle, and flood plains—drastically shortening the distance goods had to travel and gaining control over what would become the newest and perhaps most efficient Atlantic-Pacific trade link.⁴ The Gentleman Lately Arriv'd, an anonymous colonist, explains that the Scheme began in 1695 when the Scottish Parliament passed an act creating the

⁴ Otherwise, the goods had to travel around Cape Horn, which was both longer and more dangerous. For an image comparing the two routes, see Figure 3. For an image of the Isthmus of Darien and the particular location of Caledonia, see Figure 1.

CSTAI. Parliament believed it to be their due for supporting the 1688 Glorious Revolution, and were originally promised a great number of "immunities" including over twenty years free of customs fees and a guarantee that ships damaged or taken by pirates and privateers would be repaired or replaced on the Crown's dime.⁵ English opposition arose almost immediately; until the 1707 Acts of Union, Scotland and England were two independent nations ruled under two different crowns held effectively only by happenstance by the same individual, the English being the larger of the two and generally the polity favoured by the monarch. English resistance to such favourable terms, borne of a fear of the CSTAI developing the ability to undercut England's East India Company, caused much chagrin to enterprising Scots who knew that support of the wealthier English population was paramount.⁶ Despite these worries, though, many Englishmen and women invested in the venture. More backers came from the Dutch, and the city of Hamburg invested £100,000 in the project. The English Parliament, the Gentleman claims, pushed most of the non-Scottish backers to revoke their support, and asked King William III—monarch of both England and Scotland—to do the same. This he did, ceding to wealthier English pressure and fearing conflict with Spain, who claimed the region, and while it

⁵ Gentleman Lately Arriv'd, *The History of Caledonia, Or, the Scots Colony in Darien in the West Indies with an Account of the Manners of the Inhabitants, and Riches of the Countrey* (Dublin: Stephen Powell, 1699), 3-4.

⁶ One must look no further than the title of the anonymous Philo-Caledon's work on the subject to see that, to Scots aware of their nation's dependence on the goodwill of the English, cooperation and support was paramount: Philo-Caledon, *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien with an Answer to the Spanish Memorial Against it and Arguments to Prove that it is the Interest of England to Join with the Scots, and Protect it: To which is Added, a Description of the Country, and a Particular Account of the Scots Colony* (Edinburgh: 1699), Title Page.

was impractical to repeal an act of Parliament in which so many people were invested he advocated that people revoke their support, notably reminding Hamburg of where most of their trade came from.⁷ Foreign support having rapidly shrunk, wealthy Scots and regional Scottish governments endeavoured to support the CSTAI, ultimately raising £400,000 with which the company could establish itself. This would prove fatal to the Scottish economy when the colony failed.⁸

Modern secondary sources corroborate many of the Gentleman's claims, in broad terms if not in precise detail. In the fourth edition of *Scotland: A Concise History*, Fitzroy Maclean contextualizes the founding of the CSTAI by explaining that the earlier-established English Navigation Acts dictated that trade goods could only be brought into English ports by English ships or by ships from the goods' country of origin, meaning Scottish merchants could not effectively sell to their populous English neighbours. Furthermore, the English East India and English Africa Companies had a monopoly on trade in the British Isles, hampering independent Scottish traders who had to compete against massive, Crown-sanctioned enterprises. Maclean also explains that the Isthmus of Darien was already owned by the King of Spain, with whom William III was then attempting to form an alliance, and that the £400,000 invested by the Scots represented a "high proportion of the nation's cash resources." Finally, and perhaps most importantly in the case of this research, Maclean explains that the colonists did not seem to understand the climate of the region to which they

⁷ Gentleman Lately Arriv'd, *The History of Caledonia*, 4-6.

⁸ Philo-Caledon, *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien*, 6-7.

were sailing.⁹ In *Scotland, Darien and the Atlantic World*, Julie Orr adds that the failure of Darien was by no means benign; the ensuing economic devastation, in which so much of the national liquidity was tied up, was one of the direct causes for Scotland's loss of independence during the 1707 Acts of Union.¹⁰ While the Darien Scheme was an attempt by the Scots to secure their economic position amongst the nations of Europe by means of a national business venture, its failure scattered much of the national capital to the equatorial Trade Winds and led to Scotland's absorption into the emerging Anglocentric British Empire.

The Spanish Empire was, of course, not pleased with the Scots' interest in Darien. Despite owning the area *de jure*, Spain's *de facto* control over the isthmus was negligible. Spain was not the only group with a stake in the land, either: to local Indigenous groups, it was ancestral territory; to the Scots, it was a chance at a stronger economy; and to King William III, it was a possession over which his would-be ally was very protective. Giovanni Lista, an intellectual historian of the Enlightenment, addresses the subject of Spanish and Scottish sovereignty over the Isthmus of Darien in his article "'No more occasion for Puffendorf nor Hugo Grotius': The Spanish Rights of Possession in America and the Darien Venture (1698-1701)," he questions the nature of Spanish sovereignty in the area and discusses Scottish propagandists' attempts to undermine

⁹ Fitzroy Maclean, *Scotland: A Concise History*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 147-148.

¹⁰ Julie Orr, *Scotland, Darien, and the Atlantic World, 1698-1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 2.

Spanish claims to the area through legal means.¹¹ Much of the Scottish discourse on the Darien Scheme, according to Lista, was centred on the belief of a declining Spanish empire. The Spanish were, as the Anglo-Scottish theory of empire went, a declining empire based on outdated beliefs in *terra nullis*, the right of possession by discovery. That principle was predicated on the concept that the Pope, as the supreme agent of God, exerted dominion over the entire globe and granted sovereignty to worthy Christian rulers, which the Indigenous were not.¹² The Scots believed that Indigenous consent was key to legally owning Darien, and the dominant Lowlanders were no real supporters of the Pope anyhow. The Scottish philosophy was based on legal philosopher Francisco de Vitoria's claim that, Christian or not, humans displaying a will to create political structures and exploit the land around them had a legal claim to it. Philosophers Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf later added to this reasoning that occupation was key to dominion, and that a lack of cultivation was not a lack of occupation.¹³ Philo-Caledon, an anonymous Scottish pamphleteer, reflects this philosophy in his writing, arguing that:

To prove the Falshood of the Allegation, That the Province of *Darien* is part of the King of *Spain's* D[o]mains: It is positively denied by the *Scots*, who challenged the *Spaniards* to prove their Right to the said Province, either by *Inheritance, Marriage, Donation, Purchase, Reversion, Surrender, Possession* or *Conquest*; which being the only Titles by which they or any other People can claim a Right

¹¹ Giovanni Lista, "'No More Occasion for Puffendorf nor Hugo Grotius': The Spanish Rights of Possession in America and the Darien Venture (1698–1701)," *History of European Ideas* 47, no. 4 (May 19, 2021): 543.

¹² Lista, "No More Occasion," 545-548.

¹³ Lista, "No More Occasion," 547. Though the Scots granted the Indigenous dominion over Darien despite a perceived lack of cultivation, the local groups did practice cultivation. It was not, however, in a form recognizable to the Scots.

W. Patterson, "God made most of them to fall"

to those or any other Dominions, if the *Spaniards* cannot make out their Right by those or any of those, their claim must of consequence be null and void.

It is evident that the *Spaniards* cannot pretend a Title to that Country by Inheritance, Marriage, or the Donation or Prince and People; and as to Conquest it would be ridiculous to alledg [*sic*] it, since the *Dariens* are in actual possession of their Liberty, and were never subdued, nor receiv'd any *Spanish* Governor or Garison [*sic*] amongst them.¹⁴

This debate was, in a sense, an environmental one; attempts to control the environment were crucial to the Darien Scheme, and the legal precedence upon which one controlled the environment was just as important as the methods through which control was exerted. The Scots thus staked their claim on the isthmus based on the belief that the Spanish did not own it and that the local Indigenous did not inhabit the particular land they chose to occupy. The reason why this land was unoccupied, of course, did not seem to cross Scottish minds.

Time and space account for the widest scope of environmental issues that the colonists faced. The distance between Scotland and the Isthmus of Darien inhibited effective communication, resulting in difficulty supplying the colonists and in passing accurate information. Reverend Francis Borland, a second-wave settler of the colony, was aware of this lack of communication, describing a "series of frowning and crossing disappointments" that resulted in instances in which recruits and supplies arrived after "the [first wave of colonists] were gone from the place [...] before the [supplies] were come up, or else the supplies [were] miscarried by the way, or came too late". Examples

¹⁴ Philo-Caledon, *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien*, 3-4.

of such issues included instances in which a supply ship sent from Clyde did not manage to arrive with its goods, colonists fleeing the settlement's first failure crossed paths with an all-too-late ship sailing from New England to provision them, additional supply ships and the second wave of colonists found the colony deserted with no idea of what had happened, and two additional supply ships arrived only to find the colony capitulated to the Spanish. To illustrate the length of the crossing, consider that Borland's lasted two months, from 24 September to 30 November 1699.¹⁵ In her article "From "the Doors of the Seas" to a Watery Debacle: The Sea, Scottish Colonization, and the Darien Scheme, 1696-1700," historian of eighteenth-century British maritime matters Sophie Jorrand explores the way Scottish colonists perceived the Atlantic Ocean. She argues that the lack of communication with Scotland was not only a question of distance, but of availability. To send news home required finding, in this remote and untravelled region, "a ship bound for the Caribbean or, even better, Europe."¹⁶ This leads to further considerations of the supply of writing materials, available writers, and other minutia of communication often taken for granted. Scottish attentions were focused, from the onset, on the provision of supplies they could eat, wear, or live in, leaving little time to establish effective communications. Ultimately, Jorrand's article serves as a reminder that communications in such an age were not to be taken for granted; they required a great deal of energy and resources, two things the Scots in Darien and the CSTAI lacked.

¹⁵ Borland, 26-29.

¹⁶ Sophie Jorrand, "From the "Doors of the Seas" to a Watery Debacle: The Sea, Scottish Colonization, and the Darien Scheme, 1696-1700. *Études écossaises* 19, (April 2017): 8.

Subsistence farming did not have time to develop in the short-lived colony, not least because of the labour required to fortify the colony against the Spanish military threat. The colony of Caledonia comprised two parts, the settlement of New Edinburgh and nearby Fort St. Andrew, both of which needed to be built and maintained while also providing for the subsistence of the colonists and finding time to rest, care for the sick, explore the land around them, contact local Indigenous groups, and get to work on the path to the isthmus' Pacific coast that justified the whole enterprise in the first place. In the first year—not that the enterprise lasted much longer than that—a letter from the Council of the Colony to the CSTAI stated that "we should soon be able to subsist of ourselves; but fortifying and building [New Edinburgh and Fort St. Andrew] will lose us a whole Years [*sic*] planting." Even in these letters, which embellish the situation for the sake of the company and the stakeholders, the colony's Council recognizes Caledonia's shortcomings.¹⁷ Discussion of a lack of food abounds, naturally, in more honest accounts. Borland adds that, while the land was good (the local Indigenous, he says, easily harvested plantains, bananas, cassava root, maize, potatoes, and yams) the colonists had neither the skill nor the means to cultivate it. Borland explains that those who were sick—a great deal of the colony at any given time—were weakened by eating poisonous fruits, drinking bad water, and a small ration of food limited to "old salt and bad provisions."¹⁸ The logistical inability to manage the distance between Scotland and Darien choked off the supplies and manpower that would sustain

¹⁷ George Ridpath, *An Enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, or, an answer to a libel intituled A defence of the Scots abdicating Darien. Submitted to the consideration of the good people of England* (Glasgow: 1700), 102-104.

¹⁸ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 53-55.

the colony, and the colony's lack of manpower, knowledge, skill, and time prevented them from sustaining themselves. At the core of the issue was that time and space had overextended their supply lines given the particularly harsh nature of the settlement.

Weather and terrain account for the more immediate environmental issues the colonists faced. The weather, which was split roughly between a wet and a dry season, affected the healthfulness of the environment. The terrain also limited their ability to move around the country, establish sanitary settlements, and access clean water. Together, weather and terrain made the isthmus unfavourable to the survival of the colony of Caledonia. Borland even refers to a Spanish decision to abandon the area long ago.¹⁹ The Gentleman Lately Arriv'd, attempting to encourage English support for the colony, claims that the rainy season began in May and lasted for the next four or five months, though later claims that the dry season lasted from December to April.²⁰ Borland, more honest in his description, describes early February as being nearly the end of the dry season.²¹ This conflict can luckily be arbitrated by the travel writings of Welsh explorer, surgeon, and privateer Lionel Wafer who had explored the area, published his travel account, and was consulted by the CSTAI before the Darien Scheme debacle. He writes that the weather in the area is similar to that of the rest of the Torrid Zone at that latitude, though on the wetter side of the spectrum, and that the rain begins in April or May. It then gets heavier from June to August, when it is also very hot, and begins to abate in September, finally transitioning to the

¹⁹ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 96.

²⁰ Gentleman Lately Arriv'd, *The History of Caledonia*, 11.

²¹ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 58.

dry season between November and the early part of January.²² Borland, it seems, is more reliable than the Gentleman.

The weather made the environment unhealthy for the settlers. The rain quickly soaked the colonists' settlement and equipment, which modern biology and medicine tells us is favourable to the growth of life hostile to humans such as bacteria, fungi, and certain insects and small animals. Borland believed that the wet season to be incredibly unhealthy and, apparently, found this belief difficult to overstate. The "wet season is the most sickly time of the year," he writes, "which is probably caused through the great stillness and calmness of the air in this time," whereas during the dry season "cool, fresh breezes [...] dispel these noisome vapours, purge the air, and render it more healthy than the wet time." His understanding of the ill effects of damp weather, steeped in the medical beliefs of his time, relate a certain truth. What Borland calls "hurtful damps," modern medicine—able to physically observe microscopic life—calls the microbiome that grew in the damp, unventilated corners of Scottish huts.²³ The Scots did not seem to have realized that their European house-building techniques, concerned with the temperate Scottish environment, were not practicable for the climate and terrain in which they had established their settlements.

²² Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America, Giving an Account of the Author's Abode there the Form and make of the Country, the Coasts, Hills, Rivers, &c. Woods, Soil, Weather, &c. Trees, Fruit, Beasts, Birds, Fish, &c : The Indian Inhabitants, their Features, Complexion, &c. their Manners, Customs, Employments, Marriages, Feasts, Hunting, Computation, Language, etc. : With Remarkable Occurrences in the South Sea and Elsewhere / by Lionel Wafer ; Illustrated with several Copper-Plates* (London: 1699), 79-80.

²³ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 11-12.

The terrain of the colony of Caledonia was not inherently ‘bad’—there is arguably no such thing—but the Scottish settlers certainly did not understand how to survive in it. The most glaring example of this is the location in which New Edinburgh and Fort St. Andrew were established, a sheltered bay on the Atlantic coast (Figure 2). The reason for this is initially understandable: the coastline provides a natural defence from the west and functionally from the north; Fort St. Andrew was built on a narrow, canalizing peninsula; and proximity to the coast theoretically allowed resupply by ship. But the truth of the settlement revealed that the area was also deeply unhygienic. The peninsula on which the settlement was built became a swamp in the rainy season which, as has been established, was essentially three-quarters of the season.²⁴ The Gentleman adds that the settlement of New Caledonia was built on a long, thin promontory generally described as marshy, which indicates that it was close to sea-level. This choice of location gives the first indication of poor settlement habits. The promontory was “not above Thirty Acres of Land,” which means that any part not covered in swamp would have been close to some.²⁵ While the promontory was, on the surface, a good military location for Fort St. Andrew, stagnant swamp water is a breeding ground for bacteria, harmful microorganisms, and bugs like mosquitoes, which can carry many deadly infectious diseases. The area, ultimately, was not one that forgave unsanitary practices.

Another instance of poor use of terrain was the bay chosen for the settlement. Boorland is, once again, the best source of information on this subject. He explains that the half-mile-wide bay was treacherous for ships, and that “the entry into this harbour was

²⁴ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 9.

²⁵ Gentleman Lately Arriv'd, *The History of Caledonia*, 8.

difficult and dangerous by reason of rocks that that [sic] lay near the middle of the channel," which were made all the more dangerous and inconvenient "by reason of winds blowing right into it, through the whole dry season." The Trade Winds, which usually blow west-to-east, were unpredictable around Darien, and in one instance a visiting French ship was dashed against the rocks by the winds, which, depending on the season, blew in from the north, northwest, south, or southeast.²⁶ Given that the bay was the colony's only access to the outside world, navigability was vital to success. While they chose an easily defended spot, they ultimately undermined their own ability for resupply which, given the extant lack of communications, was deeply important.

Other access to the friendly outside world was theoretically available with Indigenous groups through the wilderness to their south, but despite Indigenous aid the terrain was dense, impracticable, and ultimately as dangerous as the Atlantic coast. Borland tells of attempting the journey through the jungle, only to be forced to walk along the beach for ease of movement. His party then ran into rock faces jutting out into the sea, which required that they cut back into the jungle. After doing so, they became turned around in the "thickets of tall and dark woods," only able to maneuver back to the ocean by listening for the sound of the waves and forcing their way through thorn bushes.²⁷ Wafer, too, recounts an attempted passage through the area on foot before the colony had been established. Journeying through the area in 1681, he was nearly dragged away by the current of a stream. He also tells of a friend drowning in a stream, and another being swept away in a

²⁶ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 9-10.

²⁷ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 46.

river and presumed dead only to be found later along the bank. Later still, he and his party encamped on an island between two rivers after seven days of subsisting on a starvation diet of berries, only for a rainstorm to flood them out. He then climbed a tree, fell asleep of exhaustion, and awoke the next morning with the water so high that it reached his thighs. In a rather heart-wrenching scene, he collapsed, catatonic, to the ground after the flood had abated and he was unable to find his friends. When his friends, who had climbed to safety elsewhere, stumbled across him, they hugged and cried in relief.²⁸ Moving inland on the isthmus was little better than sailing its coast.

Another issue faced by the colonists was access to clean water. Had the colonists lived further inland, they may have been able to drink stream or river water, which is comparatively sterile due to the fact that it generally comes from the rain and is filtered through the ground as it flows. Given their choice to live by the ocean outside the highlands they considered Indigenous territory, however, water was limited to three sources: stagnant swamp water, which was effectively more poison than water; sea water, the salt content of which made it even more deadly; and a singular freshwater spring located outside of their settlement. Originally, the spring sufficed; while distant, journeys to resupply were entirely feasible. The spring's vulnerability came to light, however, when the Spanish came after the colony at the beginning of the 1700 rainy season, besieging and blockading them and cutting off access to the spring. Borland recounts: "[the Spanish] were within a mile of our fort [...] soon after, they approached so near, that they were got between us and our lookout," problematic because "they debarred us from our watering-place, which was about half a mile distance

²⁸ Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, 5, 7, 10, 14-15, 16-21.

from our settlement". Being separated from the spring, Borland continues, meant that "[the Scots] were necessitated to dig for water within the Fort, which is brackish [salty], puddle unwholesome water: this was most hurtful to men and pernicious to our men, especially so sick and low, as the most of us at this time were." The problem with this was that "such water would have made whole men sick, and must needs then be more dangerous and hurtful to the sick and dying."²⁹ When the Spanish cut off Caledonia's only source of fresh water, they did not only deprive them of clean drink; they deprived them of a medical necessity and, perhaps more poetically, of hope. Ultimately, the weather and terrain were the biggest issue with which the colonists were faced. Had they not been in such an inhospitable environment, or had they at least settled it more effectively, they would have been able to survive the Spanish siege longer and perhaps even establish a successful, self-sustaining colony. Instead, they settled in an area of limited movement, unwholesome water, and disease.

Disease was the manifestation of environmental issues inside the colonists' very bodies. It was the most common mechanism of death that emerged from the isthmus' problematic climate and terrain. The colonists' problems with disease began before even making landfall in the jungles of the isthmus. The second wave of colonists, to which the Reverend Borland belonged, had to bury 160 people at sea before even making landfall. It was not only the journey to Darien that cost colonists' lives, either, but the journey away from it. Of the survivors of the 1,200 first-wave colonists that fled the settlement to seek help in Jamaica—these

²⁹ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 63-64.

having left due to being ravaged by disease already—400 died of illness on the ships.³⁰

Upon arrival, things only grew worse. The fact that the fort and town were built in marshland indicates that the colonists were constantly in the presence of parasitic microorganisms, bacteria, viruses, and bugs, the presence of the latter being something Wafer corroborates in the account of his journeys through the area while noting that they are not as common there as in other warm places. He writes that “the Moskito’s chiefly infest the low swampy or Mangrove Lands, near the Rivers or Seas: But however, this Country is not so pester’d with that uneasie Vermin, as many other of the warm Countries are.”³¹ The bugs and mosquitoes were not generally the issue themselves, however, but the bacteria they carried with them. To the colonists, who knew nothing of microorganisms, these parasitic passengers often manifested themselves as variations on the concept of bad or unwholesome air. Borland had a number of terms to describe the diseased combination between the wet season, the swampy isthmus, and disease, such as “unhealthy,” a “sickly time of the year,” “sickly place,” “much infested by the unwholesomeness of the air,” “stinking damp,” and “most infectious.”³² It must have been psychologically taxing to live in a location where one believed that the air itself was deadly, a strain that those who were already sick could ill afford.

The terrain’s diseased nature is well documented in Borland’s account of the Spanish siege and naval blockade of 1700.

³⁰ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 23-24, 29.

³¹ Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, 81.

³² Borland, *The history of Darien*, 8, 11, 17-19.

During the siege, in addition to a fire that broke out among the homes of New Edinburgh, the settlement were afflicted by a "sore and wasting sickness and mortality within among [themselves]." Borland believed that "the hand of the Lord was very heavy upon [the colonists] at [that] time," and explains that there were deaths every day from disease. Many councillors and officers died of a sickness that he describes as taking people away "very speedily," so rapidly in fact that "some [were] in tolerable health to-day, and cut off by sudden violent fevers and fluxes in a few days." He ultimately lists the "contagious sickness raging so among [them]" as the catalyst for the colony's surrender negotiations with the Spanish.³³ If not for environmental factors, the colonists may have been able to hold out against the Spanish: were they in better communication with Scotland, they could have had more supplies; were they better situated in their environment, they would have been less prone to disease; and were they less ravaged by disease, they may have been able to hold the fort. Fort St. Andrew was, by all admission, well situated to defend from naval and ground assaults. The Spanish were not able to take it by force, despite being over 2,000 strong against a group of colonists that only counted 1,200 souls before their staggering losses to illness.³⁴ Borland recounts that due to the "epidemical" wasting sickness, the colony was only able to muster 300 men against the besiegers and were at one point burying 16 diseased corpses a day. Surrender was eventually necessary, he points out, as "otherwise they [would

³³ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 60-62.

³⁴ For the number of Spanish present according to the Scots, see Borland, *The history of Darien*, 61. For the number of Scots present according to the Scots, see Borland, *The history of Darien*, 28. The original wave of 1,200 fled the colony, and so their numbers are not factored into the losses. Additionally, the figures presented are given by the Scots, and so are subject to bias.

have] been foolishly fond of filling this place with their dead bodies.”³⁵

The most fascinating parts of the Scottish accounts of Darien are arguably those in which they mention the Indigenous inhabitants. Their writings—and, really, most contemporary travel writings—tend to highlight what they find strange about the Indigenous. A Scottish reader, and perhaps the writer, will take certain information for granted, and so that which is worthy of note is what is recorded. In the case of Indigenous inhabitants of a distant land, of course, there are a lot of differences to explain. More practically, what Scottish writers noticed about the Indigenous was what they did differently. This is useful to this research because, in a sense, the Scots record what they were doing wrong. The Indigenous, after all, had optimized techniques for living on the isthmus over thousands of years.

The first notable pattern displayed by the Indigenous was the practice of building their settlements on top of hills and in open areas by riverbanks instead of in marshy low ground like Caledonia.³⁶ This would have assured effective ventilation of their homes in a country as humid and wet as Darien, particularly considering the oft-mentioned fact that their houses did not have

³⁵ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 69.

³⁶ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 12; Gentleman Lately Arriv'd, *The History of Caledonia*, 13; Lionel Wafer and William Dampier, *A Short Account from, and Description of the Isthmus of Darien, Where the Scots Collony are Settled with a Particular Map of the Isthmus and Enterence to the River of Darien. According to our Late News, and Mr. Dampier and Mr. Wafer* (Edinburgh: John Vallange, 1699), 11. Interestingly, Borland points out that oranges often grew in open spaces near river banks. This means that the Indigenous who lived there would have had easy access to Vitamin C, crucial to preventing illness. See: Borland, 45.

walls or had large holes in them.³⁷ The walled houses presumably built by the Scots would have quickly grown bacteria and mold as the walls contained moisture and blocked what ventilation reached them in the low ground. Wafer and Dampier mention that the Indigenous scattered their settlements in a thin pattern, further enabling ventilation.³⁸ Essentially, the difference between Scottish and Indigenous settlements was that the Indigenous built their houses and settlements in a way that passively fought the damp conditions that grew the pathogens that ravaged the Scots.

The Indigenous were also said to have slept in covered hammocks near fires, both practices having beneficial effects.³⁹ Hammocks serve a similar purpose to the wall-less, loosely grouped shelters in which the Indigenous lived. Hanging off the ground would allow the wind to ventilate the sleeper and the hammock, keeping them drier and cooler as they slept and away from bugs on the ground. Their campfires would also dry out parts of the sleeping area, but would more importantly emit smoke to drive away insects carrying harmful diseases. Borland also adds that the fire would frighten away larger animals, keeping the sleepers safe from them, but animal attacks do not seem to have been a common issue faced by the Scots. The Indigenous often washed themselves in nearby rivers as well, both for general sanitation and before meals.⁴⁰

³⁷ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 45; Wafer and Dampier, *A Short Account from, and Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, 11.

³⁸ Wafer and Dampier, 11.

³⁹ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 12-13; Gentleman Lately Arriv'd, *The History of Caledonia*, 14

⁴⁰ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 12.

A final example to demonstrate that the Indigenous were better adapted to surviving the environment of Darien than the Scots comes from an offhand comment by Borland that may actually be indicative of the successes of the Indigenous way of life. He explains that “they being a people but few in number, and their wives not having many children, seems to be an indication that this is none of the healthiest climates.” He also says, however, that the Indigenous “live more cheerfully, in better health, and are more lusty and strong in their old age.”⁴¹ How to reconcile these contrasting statements? How can fertility rates that are apparently indicative of poor health coexist with a healthier population that stays healthy longer into their elder years? Certainly, there is something to be said for lifestyle and health, but misinterpretation of data may also be part of the issue.

Indian economist B.K. Pattanaik explains in an article on birthrates (unrelated to the Darien Scheme or Atlantic history in general) that “the positive relationship between infant mortality and fertility was statistically significant and fertility was more strongly associated with infant mortality [...] A speculation of losing children in infancy or early childhood partly accounts for [having] a large number of children,” while the birth rate among those who did not expect the death of children was lower as they felt the need to practice birth control and limit the expense of having children.⁴² The other side of that same coin, as explained by demographer and economist Vegard Skirbekk in his 2022 book *Decline and Prosper!: Changing Global Birth Rates and the Advantages of*

⁴¹ Borland, *The history of Darien*, 11, 17.

⁴² B. K. Pattanaik, "Status of Women, Infant Mortality and Birth Rate - A Correlative Study." *Indian Economic Journal* 42, no. 4 (Apr 01, 1995): 117. In this case, “positive relationship” means a relationship in which as infant mortality rises, so does fertility, and as infant mortality shrinks, so does fertility.

Fewer Children, is what is referred to as the "demographic transition" of Europe in the late nineteenth-century. Appearing first in the West and later in other parts of the world, the demographic transition was a phase in which the cost of a higher infant survival rate rapidly forced people to have less children.⁴³ While not certain, then, it is possible that what Borland was observing was not low fertility due to a hostile environment, but a low need for high fertility due to successful adaptation to the environment. A possible criticism of this theory is that while it is universally applicable in a currency-based system, the Indigenous civilizations of Darien seem to be communal, lightly stratified, and exchange-based. The demographic transition theory also fails to account for Borland's comment that the population itself is small in size, though that observation may only be because it is difficult to gauge a population's size when they are dispersed in a hostile jungle and in an unfamiliarly organized society. One way or another, however, the Indigenous were certainly better than the Scots at living in Darien and the success of their habits is indicated by the fact that they were able to survive in the area.

In conclusion, the environment was the largest opponent to the Scottish colonists at Darien. The environmental factors of time, space, weather, terrain, and disease stacked up against and so weakened them that they were unable to maintain their foothold in the area. There was also an intellectual angle to the environmental debate that tied into the very nature of land claims—who owns what, and on what basis? This debate was negotiated by military

⁴³ Vegard Skirbekk, *Decline and Prosper!: Changing Global Birth Rates and the Advantages of Fewer Children* (Springer International Publishing, 2022), 67.

force, which the ravaged Scottish settlement could not withstand and which ultimately drove away the last of the settlers. Weakened by their environment, force was the arbitrator of possession and when the might of the Spanish Empire was brought to bear on the small, starving, and sickly Scottish garrison the dice had already been cast. The environment had so decimated the Scots that they could not stand up to any of the geopolitical threats with which they were faced: Spain, William III, English trade interests, or the international might of foreign economies. The local Indigenous settlements modelled a better way to live, though this becomes more obvious with hindsight, and it is arguable that the Scots never had the time or manpower to reach that level of sustainment in the first place. In the end, £400,000 of Scottish capital had disappeared into the jungles of Central America and within seven years the Scots would find themselves obligated to unify with the economically dominant English in a union that some Scots are still trying to escape to this day. If nothing else, the failure of the Darien Scheme should serve as a warning that mankind will never truly be able to slip the grasp of Mother Nature's patient but deadly arms.

Appendix



Figure 1. A map of the Isthmus of Darien. The settlement of New Edinburgh is at the tip of the southern cardinal line, between Sambalas and the Gulf of Darien.

Historic UK: The History and Heritage Accommodation Guide. Untitled. UK.
<https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofScotland/The-Darien-Scheme/>.
Accessed 8 April 2023.

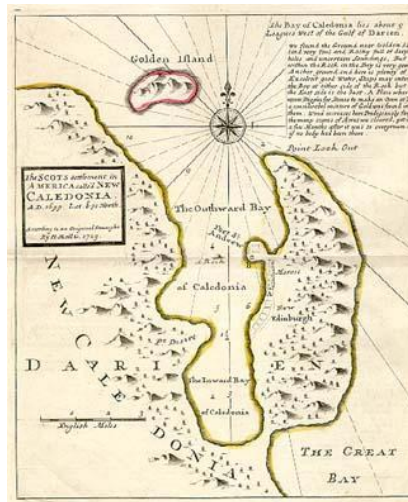


Figure 2. The Bay of Caledonia. Fort St. Andrew and the settlement of New Edinburgh are visible on the inside edge of the bay's eastern promontory.

History Today. Untitled. History Today 48, Iss. 11, 1998.
<https://www.historytoday.com/archive/founding-darien-colony>. Accessed 8 April 2023.



Figure 3. A map of North and South America. The colony of Caledonia was established near the northern tip of the modern-day Panama-Colombia border. Cape Horn is at the southern tip of the South American landmass. Sailing to the Pacific from Europe, visible at the top right, would have been drastically shortened by the establishment of an interchange in Caledonia.

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<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/U0100388570/MOME?u=otta77973&sid=bookmark-MOME&xid=7f0b6e83&pg=4>.

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Benjamin Franklin as a Fashion Icon: Fashion, Clothing, and Diplomacy

María Carrillo¹

During the eighteenth century, fashion was predominantly dictated by France and England, setting the tone for the rest of the Atlantic world. However, the last quarter of the century witnessed a transformative event that would reshape global political structures, the American Revolution (1775–1783). This event marked the emergence of a new nation, the United States, which not only impacted the political, social and economic spheres but also fashion. By the 1770s, Philadelphia emerged as the epicentre of colonial resistance and political power. Notably, it hosted the inaugural session of the Continental Congress in 1774 and later became the capital of the newly formed Republic in 1776. Considered the largest, most sophisticated and elegant city in the colonies, Philadelphia represented cultural progress and was considered the centre of fashion of the time.² Although the contributions and efforts of the Founding Fathers, including George

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² Kate Haulman, "Fashion and the Culture Wars of Revolutionary Philadelphia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2005): 625, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3491443>.

Washington (1732-1799), Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), John Adams (1735-1826), and others, were indispensable to the colonies' independence from the metropolis, Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) was especially noteworthy. Revered for his multifaceted expertise as a scientist, lawyer, printer, and diplomat, Franklin not only commanded fame and popularity in America but also left an incredible mark in the European Atlantic world.³ Unexpectedly, during his diplomatic mission to France in 1776, at the age of 69, he emerged as an unprecedentedly pivotal and influential fashion icon.⁴ By contextualizing Franklin's fashion choices within the socio-political landscape, this paper aims to shed light on the multilayered significance of clothing as a vehicle for asserting identity, status, and influence in the eighteenth century. In addition, through this analysis this work endeavours to offer a deeper understanding of Franklin's keen awareness of his fame and how he strategically used fashion to support the war effort, thus achieving American diplomatic goals and embodying a preliminary version of what it is to be American.

Amidst the fervour following the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the Continental Congress (1774-1781) recognized that securing foreign allies was imperative for the success of the American cause. As such, a commission of delegates was deemed necessary to embark on a critical mission to Paris with

³ Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell "American Idols: Fashions 'à l'américaine' in Prerevolutionary France," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 109, no. 5 (2001): 181, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45381471>; Esmond Wright, "Franklin: The Self-made Man," in *Benjamin Franklin: Statesman-Philosopher or Materialist?* ed. Wilbour R. Jacobs (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 95. A man of many talents, he is known for being a printer, publisher, philosopher, statesman, scientist, Freemason, abolitionist, politician, fellow of the Royal Society, Doctor of Laws, federalist, and diplomat.

⁴ Chrisman-Campbell, "American Idols," 181, 189; Antoine Lilti, "A First Media Revolution," in *The Invention of Celebrity: 1750-1850* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2017), 63.

the purpose of obtaining the support of the French monarchy.⁵ Although John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were considered to participate in this diplomatic mission, it was Benjamin Franklin who determinedly accepted the opportunity to join the commission and represent the newly formed nation in France. Having spent a significant portion of his last three decades in both England and France, Franklin was no stranger to the European stage, where he had already achieved renown for his innovative work in electricity. In his book *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, Gordon S. Wood explains that Franklin's confidence and certainty in accepting without hesitation arose from the desire to "return to the Old World, where he felt more at home."⁶ Wood describes Franklin as the most European and the least American of the Founding Fathers. It should be noted, however, that among the American rebel leaders none possessed the depth of European familiarity or commanded the same level of international recognition as Franklin.⁷ His reputation preceded him in European circles, as he was an esteemed member of distinguished organizations. As Member of the Royal Society, the Académie de Médecine, and the Académie de Sciences, Franklin was also friends with the renowned Voltaire and had received honorary degrees from prestigious institutions like St. Andrews and Oxford.⁸ As the United States found itself entangled in conflict with the British Empire, Franklin emerged as its most formidable asset by drawing on his knowledge

⁵ Gordon S. Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), 169.

⁶ Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 170; Christian Lerat, "Image et Influence de Benjamin Franklin en France Avant et Pendant la Révolution de 1789," *The Tocqueville Review* 9 (1988): 107, <https://doi.org/10.3138/ttr.9.105>; Lilti, "A First Media Revolution," 62.

⁷ Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 9.

⁸ Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 11, 170; Wright, "Franklin: The Self-made Man," 95.

and prestige gained in his previous travels in Europe. Alongside two other commissioners, Silas Deane (1737-1789) and Arthur Lee (1740-1792), Franklin successfully secured the support of the French monarchy, forging an alliance between the unlikely bedfellows of the American rebels and the French court of Louis XVI (1754-1793), both united in their shared enmity towards Britain.

On October 26, 1776, Franklin embarked on his third journey to France, the European epicentre of fashion. During this period, fashion played a significant role as a marker of social status and was subject to imitation, although it was not exclusive.⁹ Notably, the German sociologist Georg Simmel proposed that engaging in the imitation of different fashions can reduce psychological tensions, allowing individuals to feel a sense of belonging to a particular group or community.¹⁰ Furthermore, in 1962, French sociologist, Gabriel de Tarde expanded on Simmel's ideas by introducing the concept of the diffusion of fashion through imitation. He added to Simmel's definition by suggesting that imitation can be differentiated into two categories: customs, which imitate the past and local traditions, and fashions, which imitate the present and nonlocal styles and designs, often originating from other countries.¹¹ For instance, Franklin's initial visits to France in 1767 and 1769 led him to adopt the French costumes. Indeed, in a

⁹ Haulman, "Fashion and the Culture Wars," 626; Madeleine Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 2.

¹⁰ George Simmel, "Fashion," *The American Journal of Sociology* 62, no. 6 (1957): 541-58, <https://doi.org/10.1086/222102> quoted in Patrik Aspers and Frédéric Godart, "Sociology of Fashion: Order and Change," *Annual Review of Sociology* 39, no. 1 (2013): 180, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071811-145526>.

¹¹ Gabriel de Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation* (Gloucester, Mass: P. Smith, 1962), quoted in Patrick Aspers and Frédéric Godart, "Sociology of Fashion: Order and Change," *Annual Review* 29, no. 1 (2013): 180, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071811-145526>.

letter to Mary “Polly” Stevenson on September 14, 1767, Franklin tells her how he was transformed “into a Frenchman” by a French tailor and hairdresser.¹² During this time, he had the honour of being presented to the king and dining with the royal family. He was greatly impressed by the courtesy and sophistication of the French people, to the extent that he remarked on his assimilation into French customs.¹³ It would be expected that Franklin would have followed the same pattern during his diplomatic visit to France in 1776. However, Franklin adopted a different sartorial approach, purposefully deviating from French fashion norms. Instead of assimilating into French sartorial culture, Franklin chose to wear plain wool suits, kept his hair loose and unpowdered, and notably chose a Canadian fur cap instead of a wig (figure 1).¹⁴ The French painter and Franklin’s neighbour, Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun

¹² Benjamin Franklin, “From Benjamin Franklin to Mary Stevenson, 14 September 1767,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-14-02-0152>.

¹³ Linda Baumgarten, “Homespun and Silk, American Clothing,” in *What Clothes Reveal: the Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America: the Colonial Williamsburg Collection*, (Williamsburg, Va: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2002), 97; Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 172. Additionally, historian Anne Hollander contends that almost everyone dresses to emulate some public image, and dress ideals can also be influenced by people within one’s social and professional circles. She further states that being a part of a particular group often involves adopting similar attire to that of other group members. The significance of clothing in revealing allegiances becomes particularly evident when a person joins a new group; see Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993 [1978]), 349, quoted in Miller, “Fashion and Democratic Relationships,” 14.

¹⁴ Baumgarten, “Homespun and Silk,” 99; Chrisman-Campbell, 189; Richard T. Ford, “The Great Masculine Renunciation,” in *Dress Codes: How the Laws of Fashion Made History* (First Simon & Schuster hardcover edition. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2021), 56; Margot Rashba, “Benjamin Franklin and the Sartorial Identity of Early America,” *The Coalition of Master’s Scholars on Material Culture* 1, 2020: 9, <https://cmsmc.org/publications/benjamin-franklin-and-sartorial-identity>. Franklin obtained his fur cap during a previous diplomatic mission, which aimed to secure support from French Canadians for the American cause.

(1755–1842), wrote about Franklin's appearance: "I should have taken him for a big farmer, so great was his contrast with the other diplomats, who were all powdered, in full dress, and splashed all over with gold and ribbons."¹⁵

These changes in his attire did not occur overnight; throughout Franklin's life, we can observe him adopting various styles. For instance, in 1746, the painter Robert Feke (ca. 1705–1752) captured a portrait of Franklin in Boston, Philadelphia, shortly before his retirement from printing, showcasing him in a dark green suit with black undertones, portraying a gentlemanly appearance (figure 2). Subsequently, in 1767, the Scottish painter David Martin (1737–1797) portrayed the retired printer during his visit to London. The painter portrayed him in a blue suit adorned with a gold braid and buttons, and wearing a wig (figure 3). Nevertheless, it is essential to recognize that in Franklin's time there was no American fashion as such, but rather it was based on European fashions. The American homespun fashion would not emerge until the nineteenth century. As with many Americans of his era, Franklin's attire was influenced by English fashions. Furthermore, it is crucial to take into account that men's fashion and dress codes began to undergo gradual changes in the latter part of the eighteenth century.¹⁶ In the era of Louis XV (1710-1774), masculine dress adopted a more linear form, while during Louis XVI's reign, the silhouette became even narrower. This change was strongly influenced by the philosopher Jean-Jacques

¹⁵ Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun, *Mémoires of Mme. Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun*, Mar. 23, 1779, quoted in Baumgarten, "Homespun and Silk," 100.

¹⁶ Davray-Piécolek, Renée, "Vie Mondaine, Vie Quotidienne," in *Benjamin Franklin : Un Américain À Paris (1776-1785)*, by Miriam Simon Gratz et al. (Musée Carnavelet - Histoire de Paris, 2007), 124; Chloe Chapin, "Masculine Renunciation or Rejection of the Feminine?: Revisiting J.C. Flügel's 'Psychology of Clothes,'" *Fashion Theory* 26, no. 7 (2022): 997, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1362704X.2021.1952919>.

Rousseau's ideology of a return to nature and simple ways of life. The English style of dress known for its modest, unadorned appearance came into fashion in the 1780s. A silk version of the English riding-coat became popular in Paris, while French attire was still predominantly reserved for special events.¹⁷ This shift in men's fashion, known as "The Great Masculine Renunciation," was identified by the psychologist Carl Flügel in 1930. In his book, *The Psychology of Clothes*, Flügel described that men, "gave up their right to all brighter, gayer, more elaborate, and more varied forms of ornamentation [...] Man abandoned his claim to be considered beautiful. He henceforth aimed at being only useful."¹⁸ While some historians may dispute the term "renunciation" due to its negative connotation, arising from the Latin word *renutiare*, meaning "to formally reject something," historian Chloe Chapin offers an alternative perspective. According to Chapin, men were not renouncing a style that might later be associated with femininity, but rather, they were defining masculinity, and therefore masculine dress, through the adoption of monochromatic, dark-coloured, and tailored wooden suits.¹⁹

Bright colours and elaborate embroidered patterns were associated with nobility and high social status. Born in a Puritan Boston, Franklin was the tenth son and seventeenth child of a tallow chandler and soap boiler who emigrated from Northampton. Unlike the other revolutionary leaders, Franklin began as an artisan, a lowly printer who became the architect of his own fortune. Nevertheless, he wore plain colours and simpler suits,

¹⁷ Madeleine Delpierre, *Dress in France*, 26; Norah Waugh, "Part Two: 1680-1800," in *The Cut of Men's Clothes, 1600-1900* (London: Faber, 1964), 54, 104; Davray-Piékolok, "Vie Mondaïne, Vie Quotidienne," 124.

¹⁸ John Carl Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (New York: International Universities Press, 1966), 111.

¹⁹ Chapin, "Masculine Renunciation or Rejection," 998-99.

suggesting that he did not want to overstep his social status as is shown in Feke's portrait. According to Wood, this indicates Franklin was a smart and talented gentleman, he did not try to emulate aristocrats nor nobility.²⁰ Contrary to Wood's proposition, Esmond Wright suggests that Franklin was completely and avowedly bourgeois, embracing his status as a member of the middle class.²¹ Additionally, Linda Baumgarten explains that Franklin was aware of the power of clothing to create an image, as he wrote:

In order to secure my Credit and Character as a Tradesmen, I took care not only to be in Reality Industrious & frugal, but to avoid all Appear—ances of the Contrary. I drest plainly.²²

Moreover, American sociologist Thorstein Veblen's perspective on fashion highlights how fashion is often employed to showcase wealth and assert dominance over others.²³ Franklin demonstrated that he already benefited early in his career from the advantages of fashion when used for other than social purposes.

Similarly, the wig was popularized in France throughout the seventeenth century, first introduced by Louis XIII (1601–1643) and later embraced by his son, Louis XIV (1638–1715). Wigs became associated with long hair, symbolizing royal lineage and high social status. Over the seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century, powdered wigs became a fashionable accessory of great

²⁰ Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 2, 59.

²¹ Wright, "Franklin: The Self-made Man," 99.

²² *Benjamin Franklin, Autobiography and Other Writings*, ed. with an introduction and notes by Ormond Seavey (Oxford, 19993), 68, quoted in Baumgarten, "Homespun and Silk," 98.

²³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Penguin, 1994), quoted in Joshua I. Miller, "Fashion and Democratic Relationships," *Polity* 37, 1 (2005): 6.

luxury symbolizing high status, an essential accessory for aristocrats across Europe and North America.²⁴ Before the French Revolution wigs remained a symbol of respect and authority for gentlemen, representing qualities such as manliness, control, ownership, wisdom, and reason.²⁵ However, fashion historian Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell explains in her article “American Idols: Fashions ‘à l’américaine’ in Prerevolutionary France,” that Franklin’s eczema, a scalp condition, made wearing wigs uncomfortable for him. Consequently, during his voyage across the Atlantic, Franklin brought along a fur hat for practical warmth. Surprisingly, upon realizing that the French perceived the fur hat as a symbol of simplicity, he chose to retain it during his stay in France.²⁶ Franklin’s fur cap showcased his preference for authenticity and resisting the trappings of conventional fashion norms.

Despite the recognition of Franklin’s “humble dress” by the British and pro-British as a propaganda maneuver, the meaning and significance of sartorial decisions, motivations, and hidden aspects remain incomplete without the social context.²⁷ Franklin proved to be a master of symbolism and political propaganda through his clothing and public appearance.²⁸ Notably, during his diplomatic visit to France, Franklin was received with tremendous enthusiasm, and the extent of interest in him was truly remarkable, turning him

²⁴ Ford, “The Great Masculine Renunciation,” 55-56.

²⁵ Susan J. Vincent, “Head and Neck,” in *The Anatomy of Fashion: Dressing the Body from the Renaissance to Today* (English ed. New York: Berg, 2009), 3-9.

²⁶ Chrisman-Campbell, “American Idols,” 190; Wright, “Franklin: The Self-made Man,” 100.

²⁷ Aspers and Godart, “Sociology of Fashion,” 185-86; Chrisman-Campbell, 189; Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750 to 1820* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 3.

²⁸ Baumgarten, “Homespun and Silk,” 99.

into an object of curiosity and admiration.²⁹ Such was his renown that Queen Marie-Antoinette dubbed Franklin “l’ambassadeur électrique”³⁰ (the electrical ambassador). While Franklin had already gained fame in Europe due to his work on electricity and as the author of *Poor Richard Almanac*, it was during his mission that his celebrity reached its peak.

Franklin’s newfound fame was captured in numerous portraits, with some of the most significant works created by French painter Joseph Siffred Duplessis (1725–1802), creating some of the most notable works. Between 1777 and 1780, Duplessis’s portraits showcase Franklin’s evolving fashion choices, offering valuable insights into the image he projected as a prominent American diplomat.³¹ According to Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, “Nul homme à Paris ne fut plus à la mode, plus recherché que le docteur Franklin”³² (No man in Paris was more fashionable or more sought-after than Dr. Franklin). Despite his reluctance to sit for portraits, a few privileged artists had the opportunity to capture the elderly diplomat. These portraits remain invaluable records of Franklin’s appearance and the significant role he played as a fashion icon during his time in France. Two of the most famous portraits of Franklin were done by the French painter Duplessis, who also served as Louis XVI’s official painter. In 1778, Duplessis painted the *VIR Portrait*, as is commonly known, on a carved and gilded frame inscribed in Latin *VIR*, or “man,” reflecting the fame of the sitter,

²⁹ Katharine Baetjer et al., “Benjamin Franklin, Ambassador to France: Portraits by Joseph Siffred Duplessis” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 52, no. 1 (2017): 59, <https://doi.org/10.1086/696547>; Lerat, “Image et Influence,” 106.

³⁰ Lerat, “Image et Influence,” 106.

³¹ Baetjer et al., “Benjamin Franklin, Ambassador to France,” 59.

³² Chrisman-Campbell, “American Idols,” 181.

which needs no further identification (figure 4).³³ This portrait, exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1779, features Franklin wearing an unbuttoned red coat with a fur collar and fur lining, along with a matching red waistcoat and a white cravat, a typical three-piece suit. The coat reflects English styles, also known as *à la anglaise* (figure 7), lacking ornamentation typical of French court suits, commonly known as *à la française* (figure 8). Each style carried its own symbolic significance; the English style symbolized national pride, while the French costume showcased the grandeur and splendour of the French people.³⁴ However, Franklin preferred the English style stemming from its association with “equality,” embodying a simpler and more practical approach to fashion.³⁵

The renowned Duplessis portrait depicting Franklin in a red suit with fur collar achieved fame not only during the eighteenth century but was also featured in the hundred-dollar bill series in 1928. A recent X-ray analysis conducted by the Metropolitan Museum of Arts (MET) in New York revealed that, originally, the three-piece suit that Franklin is wearing in the *VIR Portrait* did not have a fur collar (figure 4). The X-ray confirmed that the fur collar was added later by the painter. In the eighteenth century, fur was employed in a discreet manner. It was seldom used with the fur facing outward in Western Europe; instead, it was used as a lining for coats and mantles, providing a luxurious contrast to silk garments. However, this opulence appealed less to the more restrained British fashion preferences.³⁶ It is important to mention that fur holds various symbolic meanings, including associations with nobility and high social classes. Moreover, it is linked to hunting, representing the triumph of the hunter over their prey

³³ Baetjer et al., “Benjamin Franklin, Ambassador to France,” 57.

³⁴ Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 48.

³⁵ Ribeiro, 34.

³⁶ Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 43.

and, consequently, symbolizing victory and honour. Additionally, fur's ability to protect against the cold can be extended to the notion of safeguarding against external aggression, further enhancing its significance.³⁷

As to the colour of Franklin's suit, the three-piece suit features a red colour, a deliberate choice that holds deep symbolism. During the initial months of the American Revolution, both the elderly American diplomat and the American cause faced significant challenges. British General John Burgoyne's advance from Canada resulted in the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, while an army led by Sir William Howe defeated George Washington at Brandywine Creek as it moved towards Philadelphia.³⁸ However, the situation changed for the Americans in 1778 when France openly joined the conflict by forming a treaty of alliance with the United States and deploying its warships against the British Royal Navy in support of its new allies.³⁹ The red hue of the coat carries connotations of nobility, qualities that were highly valued by the French. The collar and lining possibly depict a red fox, a creature highly sought after for its pelt in North America. The visual representation served as a reminder of the "pioneering American spirit," a trait admired by the French.⁴⁰ The colour and design of Franklin's suit were thoughtfully chosen, reflecting a strategic alignment with the French admiration for American resilience and embodying the fervour of the revolutionary cause. These elements of his attire likely served to project a specific image and foster a

³⁷ Marc-Alain Descamps, *Psychosociologie de la mode* (2e éd. rev. et corr. Paris : Presses universitaires de France, 1984), 67-68.

³⁸ Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Fleming, *Benjamin Franklin : a Biography in His Own Words* (New York: Newsweek ; distributed by Harper & Row, 1972), 292.

³⁹ Chrisman-Campbell, "American Idols," 185-86, 192.

⁴⁰ Baetjer et al., "Benjamin Franklin, Ambassador to France," 63.

deeper connection between Franklin, the American cause, and his French counterparts.

In addition, in its study, the MET found that Duplessis's portrait of Franklin, supposedly painted between 1783 and 1785, known as *Gray Coat* (figure 5), preceded the *VIR Portrait* and served as a source. This portrait of equal fame and recognition, features Franklin in a gray suit, was made spontaneously, as it is the simplest, the most natural and the most acutely observed, although it has not been taken to a high degree of finish in the details.⁴¹ The *Gray Coat* shows a Franklin more aligned with his principles of simplicity. It also shows that the nesting of the fur in Franklin's coat in the *VIR Portrait* was a thoughtful and predetermined act. Portraits and costumes are artificial constructs lacking complete honesty, influenced by the interplay between the artist, sitter, and attire. Portraits may aim for reality or showcase creativity through historical or imaginative dress, yet the contemporary sartorial aesthetic remains influenced by the artist's perspective and ideological aspirations.⁴² It is worth noting that although the fur collar was added to the *VIR Portrait* after the painting was completed, either by the artist's choice or the sitter's, the iconic fur cap that brought Franklin so much fame was not added.

Similar to language, fashion also serves as a means of communication that allows people to project and express a wide variety of thoughts, beliefs, and positions, while simultaneously interpreting and perceiving other people's messages. Fashion as a means of communication allows the diffusion and circulation of ideas.⁴³ Indeed, despite Franklin's reluctance to sit for portraits, he

⁴¹ Baetjer et al., "Benjamin Franklin, Ambassador to France," 61.

⁴² Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 7.

⁴³ Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion," 184; Chrisman-Campbell, "American Idols," 183; Haulman, "Fashion and the Culture Wars," 626; Miller, "Fashion and

authorized their creation and distribution to convey a specific image of the American insurgents. He desired to be depicted as a humble and unpretentious man, dressed modestly, and distanced from the opulent European courtly manners.⁴⁴ Queen Marie-Antoinette's lady in waiting, Madame Campan, described the image of Franklin as:

ses cheveux plats sans poudre, son chapeau rond, son habit de drap brun contrastaient avec les habits pailletés, brodés, les coiffures poudrées et embaumantes des courtisanes de Versailles.

[His flat, powder-free hair, round hat and brown suit contrasted with the sequined, embroidered clothes and powdered, embalmed hairstyles of the Versailles courtiers].⁴⁵

Thus Franklin became renowned at the French court not only for his contributions to science, but for his attire. Franklin's intentions to be noticed for his simplicity in high society became a rarity admired by the French.

Nevertheless, Benjamin Franklin was not the first person in using fashion and clothing to make a statement. The Genevan moral philosopher and author of *Du Contrat Social*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Democratic Relationships," 18. Furthermore, Aspers and Godart's article highlights that in fashion, the signified aspect pertains to the garment itself, and its meaning is derived from the signifier. Consequently, the understanding of a particular garment's significance relies on comprehending the underlying "code," which consists of shared rules similar to a language. Furthermore, an object in fashion possesses both denotation and connotation. While denotation refers to the objective characteristics of the garment, such as its color or fabric, connotation delves into the symbolic meaning of the garment concerning its usual wearers and the associations it invokes.

⁴⁴ Lilti, "A First Media Revolution," 63.

⁴⁵ Madame Campan, cited in Lerat, "Image et Influence," 106.

(1710–1778), symbolically discarded his wig in favour of a fur cap, signifying his philosophical rejection of social constraints and advocating a return to nature while promoting the virtues of democracy.⁴⁶ Although wigs were considered customary, they were far from natural in appearance, as the hair, sourced from someone else, required extensive maintenance and proved challenging to keep clean. It was secured in a garment of artifice, adding to the complexity of maintaining its appearance.⁴⁷ While during the 1760s, Franklin showed a willingness to adapt to French culture, as evidenced by his adoption of a French wig, Ford and Chrisman-Campbell suggest that Franklin must have been aware of the resemblance of his fur cap to Rousseau's, possibly alluding to similar ideological views.⁴⁸ However, whether or not Franklin was aware of his similarities to the Genevan philosopher, he was clearly aware of the impact of his attire. In a letter of February 8, 1777, to Emma Thompson, he described himself as follows:

Figure me in your mind as jolly as formerly, and as strong and hearty, only a few Years older, very plainly dress'd, wearing my thin grey strait Hair, that peeps out under my only Coiffure, a fine Fur Cap, which comes down my Forehead almost to my Spectacles. Think how this must appear among the Powder'd Heads of Paris.⁴⁹

In fact, Aspers and Godart point out that cognitive factors of imitation in fashion have garnered recent attention. This concept is

⁴⁶ Chirsman-Campbell, "American Idols," 190; Ford, "The Great Masculine Renunciation," 56; Waugh, "Part Two: 1680-1800," 54.

⁴⁷ Susan J. Vincent, "Head and Neck," in *The Anatomy of Fashion: Dressing the Body from the Renaissance to Today* (English ed. New York: Berg, 2009), 2.

⁴⁸ Christman-Campbell, "American Idols," 190; Ford, "The Great Masculine Renunciation," 56; Rashba, "Benjamin Franklin and the Sartorial Identity," 9.

⁴⁹ Benjamin Franklin, "From Benjamin Franklin to Emma Thompson, 8 February 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-23-02-0188>.

emphasized in the study of Hajo Adam and Adam D. Galinsky that explores how garments can impact individuals, influencing their behaviour by shaping their identities.⁵⁰ Similarly, the economist and philosopher of the eighteenth century, Adam Smith, argued that individuals partake in the glory and happiness of the rich by adopting their fashion trends.⁵¹ That is to say, certain garments have the power to enhance an individual's confidence, sense of security, and more.

Although fashion is seldom portrayed as a driving force for democratic action, its performative nature makes it a catalyst for societal transformation through negotiation, rather than merely mirroring existing social structures.⁵² Nevertheless, clothing is replete with symbols, occasionally contradictory, and frequently ambiguous, making it conducive to disguises and role-playing.⁵³ To give an example, in Rousseau's *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, the philosopher claimed that fashion can lead to moral corruption and hide vices. In his discourse, he stated that people in society often wear a mask, and what they truly are may not align with their appearances. Notwithstanding, Ribeiro argues that appearances can be misleading even when it comes to Rousseau, who was portrayed wearing an Armenian costume, which includes a fur-lined gown and a fur cap (figure 6). However, unlike Franklin, the controversial philosopher came under attack for wearing his "very

⁵⁰ Hajo Adam and Adam D. Galinsky, "Enclothed Cognition," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 48, no. 4 (2012): 918–25, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.02.008>, cited in Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion," 186.

⁵¹ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty, 1759 [1982]), cited in Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion," 177.

⁵² Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion," 181; Miller, "Fashion and Democratic Relationships," 5–6.

⁵³ Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 5.

silly.... pellise & fur cap” on the street.⁵⁴ There are two critical conditions for fashion to thrive: individuals must have the liberty to choose their attire with relative freedom from regulations, and they must possess the economic means to do so.⁵⁵ For this reason, Franklin was exceptionally cautious about his public persona, meticulously crafting a calculated image intent to achieve political advantages.⁵⁶ However, clothing can also serve as a means to show respect towards others and display allegiance to a group, reinforcing bonds with both the immediate community and the larger society. When fashion embodies loyalty, membership, and respect for individuals within the group and the broader community, it fosters a sense of democratic values and widely distributed power.

Franklin became a fashion icon in France, but, it is important to note that he did not create new trends himself. To understand fashion, it is essential to distinguish between trends and fashion. In their article, Aspers and Godart understand a trend as “a direction in which fashion may be heading.” Simultaneously, they argue that fashion encompasses both “fashion as change” and “fashion as dress.” The term “fashion” comes from the Latin word *factio*, emphasizing the active role of fashion in making and doing things. Similarly, the French term “*mode*,” meaning fashion, comes from the Latin word *modus*, which refers to manners and modernity.⁵⁷ In this way, Franklin and his attire were the incarnation of America, in the French popular imagination he represented the best that America had to offer—a man of many talents.⁵⁸ While Franklin assumed the role of the representative American, embodying the simplicity of

⁵⁴ Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 3-4.

⁵⁵ Aspers and Godart, “Sociology of Fashion,” 181.

⁵⁶ Chrisman-Campbell, “American Idols,” 182; Lilti, “A First Media Revolution,” 63.

⁵⁷ Aspers and Godart, “Sociology of Fashion,” 173-75.

⁵⁸ Lerat, “Image et Influence,” 106-7.

the New World and its contrast with the Old World's corruption, he became increasingly aware of his image. Thus, French people fashioned the image of Franklin as the rustic democrat, a simple, untutored genius from the American wilderness who had risen to become one of the world's renowned scientists and writers.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Franklin's sartorial choices reflected modernity and represented the evolving fashion landscape of the time, even though he was not a trendsetter in the conventional sense.⁶⁰ Regarding Franklin's fur cap, it did not gain popularity in its own right. Jonathan Williams, Franklin's nephew, sent a letter from Nantes, informing his uncle that "the Ladies of Nantes are about making an addition to their heads in imitation of your Hair Cap, which they intend to call *a la Franklin*."⁶¹ While this fashion emerged during that period, it was, in fact, Franklin himself who became widely popular. It is important to emphasize that Franklin's actions were not solely responsible for shaping American identity. While he might have experienced *anxiety of national identity*,⁶² it should be noted that the expression of identity through fashion is ambiguous, and interpreting its significance can be uncertain. With Franklin playing an important role in representing the United States during her diplomatic mission, fashion as a means of expressing identity is complex and subject to varying interpretations.⁶³

Franklin's rising celebrity was accompanied by the extensive dissemination of his portrait. Likewise, the distribution of Franklin's

⁵⁹ Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 12, 174-75.

⁶⁰ Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion," 177.

⁶¹ Jonathan Williams, "From Jonathan Williams to Benjamin Franklin, 25 January 1777," *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, <https://franklinpapers.org/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=30&page=582b>.

⁶² Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 10.

⁶³ Aspers, "Sociology of Fashion," 186.

portrait was a sign of his popularity and perfect mastery of public communications.⁶⁴ He was astonished by the extensive proliferation of artistic representations, such as the terracotta medallions produced by Jean-Baptiste Nini's (figure 10). The latter depicted Franklin in profile with his famous fur cap and glasses and made his face widely recognizable.⁶⁵ In fact, on October 25, 1779, Franklin wrote a letter to his sister, Jane Mecom, where he discusses his rising fame as a result of his image becoming widely known and humorously compares his popularity to that of the Moon:

This Popularity has occasioned so many Paintings, Busto's, Medals & Prints to be made of me, and distributed throughout the Kingdom, that my Face is now almost as well known as that of the Moon.⁶⁶

In addition, the nobility idolized him, addressing him with great reverence, much like they would have done with legendary figures such as Plato or Socrates.⁶⁷ Franklin earned various illustrious titles, such as "The Apostle of Modern Times," "Father of American Democracy," "The First High Priest of the Religion of Efficiency," among others. In Paris, he rose to a remarkable status, being considered a prominent figure.⁶⁸ Recognizing his renown and public image, Franklin was well aware that his popularity could be leveraged for the benefit of his country. He was prepared to employ his fame to support and aid America's cause.⁶⁹ This adoration

⁶⁴ Lilti, "A First Media Revolution," 62, 65.

⁶⁵ Chrisman-Campbell, "American Idols," 182; Lilti, 63.

⁶⁶ Benjamin Franklin, "From Benjamin Franklin to Jane Mecom, 25 Octobre 1779," *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin Papers*, <https://franklinpapers.org/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=30&page=582b>.

⁶⁷ Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 177.

⁶⁸ Wright, "Franklin: The Self-made Man," 96.

⁶⁹ Lerat, "Image et Influence," 110, 113-15; Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 171; Benjamin Franklin and Ralph L. Ketcham, "The Art of Congeniality,"

became evident through an abundant and fashionable iconography, with his image adorning many objects such as jewelry, medallions, and dolls. In his study of celebrities, *The Invention of Celebrity: 1750–1850*, Antoine Lilti states that Franklin as a “celebrity was an object of both fascination and derision.”⁷⁰ Even in the opinion of the French philosophers, he was an unparalleled hero, providing tangible evidence for all their optimistic theories about humanity and society.⁷¹

In fashion, the dress code can be considered a means of expressing freedom of speech. Elements associated with democracy, such as expressions, equality, solidarity, respect, and citizen action, are relevant to an exploration of fashion.⁷² However, attire is the most transient of artistic expressions, vulnerable to the capricious whims of trends and the scrutiny of critics, making it a subject of perpetual speculation.⁷³ Since fashion and clothing serve to communicate messages and convey information, sartorial communication can also lead to misinformation.⁷⁴ For instance, despite the fact that Franklin was popular at the French court and in the social circles of Paris and Pym due to his sartorial style of simple clothing and unpowdered hair, he was often described as a Quaker—although he was not a Quaker. Moreover, his choice of a fur cap and a wideawake hat, akin to those worn by Quakers, contributed to this misperception.⁷⁵ Regardless of the

in *The Political Thought of Benjamin Franklin* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co., 1965), 144.

⁷⁰ Lilti, “A First Media Revolution,” 65.

⁷¹ Ralph, “The Art of Congeniality,” 144.

⁷² Miller, “Fashion and Democratic Relationships,” 4, 7.

⁷³ Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, 3.

⁷⁴ Miller, “Fashion and Democratic Relationships,” 16.

⁷⁵ Chrisman-Campbell, “American Idols,” 190; Baetjer, “Benjamin Franklin, Ambassador to France,” 59; Ralph, “The Art of Congeniality,” 143; Rashba,

misconceptions surrounding his true persona, Franklin made little effort to counter the myths and assumptions about his appearance and personality. Appearance encompasses more than just deception, playfulness, and misinterpretation; it also serves as a crucial indicator of one's class, profession, and ideology.⁷⁶ Residing in a fashion-conscious city, he had much to gain by presenting himself not as he truly was, but as he was perceived to be by different groups: a virtuous Quaker to some and a bourgeois figure straight from the pages of *Poor Richard Almanac* to others.⁷⁷ Franklin's commitment to embodying the stereotypes associated with him quickly resulted in significant admiration. He became a true object of reverence, known as "*franklinomania*."

In conclusion, Franklin's efforts to embody the social expectations and stereotypes that fell upon him soon paid off. In 1778, France joined forces with the United States signing the Treaty of Alliance. Thanks to the Treaty, France began supplying weapons, gunpowder and ammunition to the American rebels, and the alliance between the two nations deepened. Truly, it cannot be overstated that Franklin's capability as a congressional commissioner to secure funds and resources from the French court was undeniably one of the most remarkable aspects of his mission. Furthermore, it had far-reaching consequences for the French monarchy.⁷⁸ The significance of clothing extends far beyond the individual expression, as it is inherently interwoven into the social fabric. Fashion extends beyond attire and garments; rather, it

"Benjamin Franklin and the Sartorial Identity," 13. Quakers dress simply, wearing plain hats and coats without decorations, avoiding ruffles, hair powder, and shoe buckles, opting for cord-tied shoes. However, despite the simplicity of their clothing, Quakers choose excellent quality materials, with their hats, clothes, and linen being of the finest make; see Waugh, "Part Two: 1680-1800," 103.

⁷⁶ Miller, "Fashion and Democratic Relationships," 17.

⁷⁷ Lerat, "Image et Influence," 110.

⁷⁸ Lerat, 106, 110.

encompasses a social phenomenon, mechanism, or even process in different domains.⁷⁹ Dressing is influenced by observing public images and following role models. The pervasive nature of dress in everyday life underscores the fact that people constantly engage in visual presentations of themselves and witness others doing the same. The fashion system's public nature becomes apparent as clothes are worn in public to convey particular messages. The notion of dressing solely for oneself is largely illusory; individuality is expressed by aligning self-presentation with identified groups and role models and by selecting from pre-existing styles.⁸⁰ Franklin, therefore, took advantage of these elements to stand out and make himself heard at the French court. It is worth noting that the suit that Franklin wore when signing the Treaty (figure 9), although it appears simple in its cut, is made of silk, demonstrating Franklin's high ability to combine fashion and diplomacy.

Although it is argued that Franklin's clothing choices were predetermined, it is essential to recognize that fashion itself is a social process of mutual adaptation, driven by the decisions of free agents. Actors in the fashion process have the liberty to choose whether and to what extent they adopt new objects, practices, or representations. Nevertheless, their preferences can be influenced not only by their peers but also by third parties' strategies and institutional power.⁸¹ However, Franklin was fully aware of the political advantages of leveraging his fame and appearance in support of the American cause, skillfully using the public's fascination with him. In a remarkable way, Franklin transformed his image into a popular icon, depicted across various mediums.⁸² It

⁷⁹ Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion," 176.

⁸⁰ Miller, "Fashion and Democratic Relationships," 10, 18.

⁸¹ Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion," 186.

⁸² Lilti, "A First Media Revolution," 63.

was until the nineteenth century that Franklin became not only an often emulated icon but also a central mythical figure used to assimilate foreigners to American values.⁸³ His symbolic importance and progressive mentality made him more formidable and threatening, even than his fellow rebels. He was admired for his exceptional ability to accumulate wealth and navigate through life with apparent ease. John Adams, often envious of the admiration the French felt for Franklin, went so far as to speculate that he might have influenced the French Revolution.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, it is important to mention that Franklin was not the sole individual who employed fashion for political ends. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, throughout their political careers, also pursued an informal approach, preferring locally made homespun fabrics and embracing a simple attire, which set the stage for the sartorial transformations that would unfold in the nineteenth century.

⁸³ Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, 3.

⁸⁴ Wright, "Franklin: The Self-made Man," 101.

Appendix

Paintings



Figure 1. John Trumbull, *Benjamin Franklin*, 1763, oil on wood, 14 x 11.1 cm, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/51661>.



Figure 2. Robert Feke, *Benjamin Franklin*, ca. 1746, oil on canvas, 127 cm x 102 cm, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, <https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/299815>.

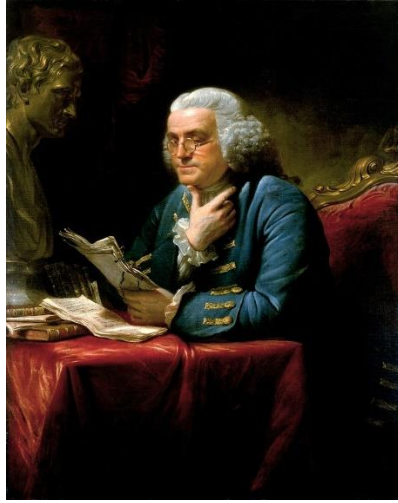


Figure 3. David Martin, *Benjamin Franklin*, 1767, oil on canvas, 125.8 cm × 100.4 cm, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, <https://www.pafa.org/museum/collection/item/benjamin-franklin>.



Figure 4. Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Benjamin Franklin [VIR Portrait]*, 1778, oil on canvas, 72.4 cm × 58.4 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436236?ft=*&oid=436236&pkgids=474&pos=160&nextInternalLocale=en&pg=0&rpp=20&offset=20&exhibitionId=%7Bf7a75a7e-4de5-4cc5-8379-56087e8600f7%7D.

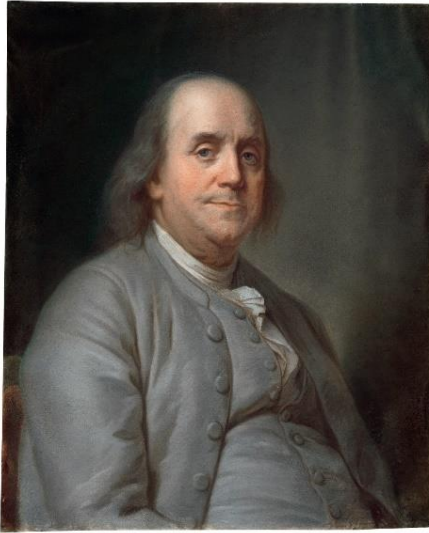


Figure 5. Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Benjamin Franklin*, ca. 1783-85, pastel, 82.5 cm × 68.8 cm, The New York Public Library, New York, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/78be0425-f96b-476f-e040-e00a1806784e>.



Figure 6. Allan Ramsay, *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, 1766, oil on canvas, 74.90 cm × 64.80 cm, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburg, <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5337>.

Costumes



Figure 7. *Suit, habit à l'anglaise*, ca. 1755-65, wool and silk, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/159500?ft=*&oid=159500&pkgids=474&pos=6&nextInternalLocale=en&pg=0&rpp=20&exhibitionId=%7Bf7a75a7e-4de5-4cc5-8379-56087e8600f7%7D&offset=20.



Figure 8. *Suit, habit à la française*, ca. 1774-92, silk, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/81134>.



Figure 9. *Three-piece suit, 1778, ribbed silk and linen, National Museum of American History, Washington, https://www.si.edu/object/franklins-suit:nmah_368658.*

Objects



Figure 10. Jean-Baptiste Nini, *Benjamin Franklin, 1777, terra-cotta medallion, 8.9 cm, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, https://www.si.edu/object/benjamin-franklin:npg_NPG.66.13.*

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Imperialism, French-Canadian Nationalism, and the South African War: Henri Bourassa's Rejection of the Imperialist's "Megalomaniac Ambitions"

Joshua Fuhr¹

This paper will argue that the controversy generated by Canada's involvement in the South African War (1899-1902) was primarily caused by competing visions of what Canadian Confederation and nationhood meant to its two leading populations, the primarily French-speaking Catholics and the primarily English-speaking Protestants. Firstly, the French-Canadian and Protestant Imperialist nationalisms will be explained and contrasted to illustrate the ideological fissure at the heart of Confederation in this period. Then, the historical context of the South African War debate and its leading figures, Wilfrid Laurier and Henri Bourassa will be examined. This paper will also explore French-Canadian loyalism to demonstrate that although Henri Bourassa was the leading French-Canadian intellectual of his day, he did not fully represent public opinion in that sphere, as some French-Canadians supported participation in the South African War. However, Bourassa was not disloyal to the Crown or Confederation, two institutions which he revered as the safeguards to French-Canadian political liberty.

The South African War did not create a new debate about Canada's identity, nor its role within the British Empire, and the

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controversies precipitated by its outbreak did not surprise the leading political and intellectual figures of the time. On the contrary, the seeds of an identity crisis within Canada's Confederation had been sown generations before, in its first attempts to join Canada's French-speaking Catholics with its English-speaking Protestants in the tenuous 1840 political union of Canada East and Canada West. In 1867, the British North America Act (BNA Act) joined the former colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, henceforth to be "One Dominion under the Name of Canada."² However, the meaning of Canadian Confederation was not yet fully understood, and its patchwork of religious and linguistic populations were far from unified in their vision for Canada's future. Questions over minority religious and linguistic rights remained unanswered, and Canada's role within the British Empire contested.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was elected Canada's Prime Minister in 1896 and inherited a deeply divided country. Canada was enduring an ongoing crisis of unity, which would only grow and evolve during his premiership. In the decades preceding his election, Anglophone-Francophone tensions grew over issues such as the execution of Louis Riel for treason in 1885, and the marginalisation of French-Canadians in Manitoba. In executing Louis Riel, a man who fought for the rights of French speaking Roman Catholics, the federal government demonstrated that it could turn on French Canadians, whose rights were supposedly preserved in section 133 of the BNA Act. French Canadians in Quebec asked themselves

² The British North America Act, 1867, SS 1867, c 3, retrieved on 2023-11-24.

whether the federal government could be relied upon to protect them, or whether their own rights might also be at risk.³

Evidence for the growing dissatisfaction among French-Canadians with the federal government can be found in the rise of ultramontanist,⁴ which hit a high point with the 1886 election of Honoré Mercier's *Parti National* in Quebec's provincial legislature. Ultramontanists rejected secular government, espousing *papal infallibility* (the unerring nature of the Pope's judgement) along the lines laid out at the First Vatican Council of 1869-70, which decreed that the "Roman pontiff, by the divine right of the apostolic primary... is the supreme judge of the faithful." ⁵ Mercier, who had close ties to the Roman Catholic Church, formed a government with support of former *Rouges* and *Castors*,⁶ an uncomfortable union of radical anticlerical republicans with ultramontane conservatives.⁷

³ Roderick Stewart, *Wilfred Laurier, A Pledge for Canada*. (Montreal, CA: Roderick Stewart and XYZ Publishing, 2002): 63.

⁴ Ultramontanists were a political minority in Quebec (and elsewhere around the world) who rejected notions of modernisation, democracy and secularism. They sought a return to a fundamentally Roman Catholic, 'traditional', social hierarchy, in which the Pope's judgement was seen as both supreme and infallible. For Ultramontanists, the Pope's judgements superseded the authority of local secular or ecclesiastical bodies, where conflicts arose. For further reading on ultramontanist, papal infallibility, and the First Vatican Council (1869-70), please see Paul Collins' "The First Vatican Council".

⁵ Fathers, Council. "Decrees of the First Vatican Council." *Papal Encyclicals*, June 29, 1868; Collins, Paul. "The First Vatican Council (1869-1870)." *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 41 (2020): 68+. *Gale Academic OneFile* (accessed February 11, 2024).

⁶ Castors ("Beavers"), a faction of ultramontane Catholic conservatives in 19th century Quebec.

⁷ Daniel H. Heidt, "'First among Equals': The Development of Preponderant Federalisms in Upper Canada and Ontario to 1896." (Canada: The University of Western Ontario, 2014): 288.

The *Parti National* organised a conference to “renegotiate the terms of union,” which produced resolutions calling for the nullification of the federal government’s power of disallowance (veto on provincial legislation) and the readjustment of the Dominion’s financial framework. Mercier’s loyalty to the Jesuit Order and his fervent Catholic nationalism accurately represented a portion of the French-Canadian population who felt threatened by Canada’s Protestant majority, resented the execution of Louis Riel, and felt that the Catholic church should be strengthened to protect them.⁸ Although not all French-Canadians agreed with Mercier, his rise to power was indicative of a broad dissatisfaction with Confederation among the French-Canadian population.

On the other side of the ideological fence sat the Anglophone-Protestants, who held opposing views of Confederation and the status of French-Catholics. Many of these Protestants believed that they represented a superior “race” in Canada, one which was progressive and civilized. Having adopted Social Darwinism, they believed that minority groups such as the French-Canadians would gradually assimilate to the majority Anglophone-Protestant population because every nation required a strong dominant ‘race’. Adherents of these beliefs felt that Catholicism was a “medieval religion that blocked the advancement of its adherents by discouraging education, individualism and the pursuit of material progress.” These Protestants resented Mercier’s ultramontanistism because it violated their belief in a clear separation of Church and state, and they dreaded anything which might grow into French-Catholic “domination” in Canada.⁹ While tolerating some French-Catholic rights within the province of Quebec, they

⁸ Heidt, “First Among Equals”, 288.

⁹ Heidt, “First Among Equals”, 289.

believed emphatically that the rest of Canada should be Anglophone and Protestant. In essence, they believed fervently in the superiority of the 'Anglo-Saxon race' and the British Empire, held anti-Catholic views, and thought that French Canada should be marginalised or assimilated. Although these extreme beliefs were not held by all English-Protestants, their proponents were vociferous enough to dominate the political discourse of the time.¹⁰

At the crux of the dilemma facing the Dominion of Canada was its role within the British Empire. French Canadian nationalists maintained a civic bond with the British Empire and perceived the benefits of British institutions and legal system which bound them to the Protestant majority. These nationalists did not see their religious and linguistic differences as reasons for them to be subordinated to the Protestant population, but as things which Confederation should preserve and protect while enabling the economic and political benefits of the union.¹¹ Henri Bourassa was chief among those who advocated this view. Bourassa was a leading French Canadian intellectual and Member of Parliament from Labelle, Quebec, who spread his messages through journalism (including in his newspaper *Le Devoir*) and essay writing. Bourassa identified as a "Liberal of the British school", but condemned what he called the "megalomaniac ambitions" of Britain's politicians, who were blinded by avarice in their desire to drag the Dominion into colonial conflict.¹² Canada, according to the nationalists, was under no obligation to help Britain defend its far-flung empire, but

¹⁰ Andre Pratte, *Wilfrid Laurier*. Toronto: Penguin Group Canada. 2011: 46.

¹¹ Geoff Keelan, "Catholic Neutrality: The Peace of Henri Bourassa." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 22, no. 1 (2011): 104.

¹² Henri Bourassa, "House of Commons Debates, 8th Parliament, 5th Session: Vol. 1: Library of Parliament, 1900: *Canadianna*. Org: 1828.

was instead responsible only for its own borders.¹³ It is important to recognize this key point: the French-Canadian nationalists, led by Bourassa, were not anti-British, nor were they separatists in this period. They nurtured a pan-Canadian national ideal and did not see Canada or the British Empire in 'racial' terms but held a civic attachment to liberal institutions as viable structures to defend their rights within Canada.¹⁴

Imperialists on the other hand saw Canada as an important member of a global imperial community with Great Britain at its head. For these imperialists Canadian identity was British first and foremost. Unlike the French-Canadian nationalists, Imperialists conceived of a Britishness which was not confined to the institutions and laws of the mother-country, but also encompassed cultural and ethnic qualities including religion, language, and a need to help Britain expand and defend its global empire. Imperialists of the 1890s were "staunchly Anglo-Saxonist" in nature and subscribed to Lord Durham's belief that Canada contained "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state...a struggle, not of principles, but of races."¹⁵ This belief in the 'civilising' mission of the British Empire and the superiority of their 'race' led many Imperialists to believe that Canada should participate in Imperial defence without hesitation.

The British, themselves being swept up by a wave of imperialist sentiment, sought to expand and strengthen their Empire with help from their Dominions. In 1897, Wilfrid Laurier

¹³ Graeme Thompson, "Ontario's Empire : Liberalism and 'Britannic' Nationalism in Laurier's Canada, 1887-1919." (United Kingdom: University of Oxford, 2016): 106.

¹⁴ Keelan, "Catholic Neutrality," 104.

¹⁵ Thompson, "Ontario's Empire," 78.

and his wife attended Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, where they were treated as guests of honour and entertained lavishly. At the Colonial Conference which followed shortly thereafter, the British proposed a council of Empire in which Canada and the other dominions were to have a seat. Among other motivations, it appears that the British attempted to draw Canada and the other colonies into promising support for Britain's imperial ambitions in exchange for a voice in colonial policy.¹⁶

Centralising and strengthening the Imperial bond was popular in Canada and the British Empire at large in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with many even favouring an imperial federation. Imperial federationists wanted to apply the federal principle to the British Empire for mutual defence, political and economic benefits. The more ambitious of these people even advocated for an imperial parliament, where Canada would have representation alongside other dominions and colonies.¹⁷ This trend toward imperial solidarity is reflective, among other things, of a global intensification of "racial nationalism" in the late 19th century, which was manifested in "a virulent belief in Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy."¹⁸ Intransigent support for the British Empire set the Dominion's Imperialists on a collision course with French-Canadian nationalists on the eve of the South African War.

In 1899, the British began moving troops into the faraway region of southern Africa known as the Transvaal, ostensibly to defend immigrant minority groups in the region (known as

¹⁶ Stewart, *Wilfred Laurier, A Pledge for Canada*, 79.

¹⁷ Dorothy Alice Guthrie, "The Imperial Federation Movement in Canada." Northwestern University, 1940: 25.

¹⁸ Thompson, "Ontario's Empire," 81.

Uitlanders) who did not enjoy political rights under the Afrikaner republics.¹⁹ One of the true reasons for the incursion was that the Transvaal had some of the most abundant gold fields in the world, and the British wanted them.²⁰ This was a fine example of the British government's "clever tactics in clothing Imperialist policies in radical formulas."²¹ Despite this flimsy pretext, colonial governments around the Empire, including Canada's, sympathised with the Uitlanders and supported the British effort in the Transvaal.²² As rumours of the war in South Africa spread, the Imperialists began to muster support for it in Canada. French Canadian nationalists, led by Henri Bourassa, felt sympathy for the Uitlanders but did not think Canada should send troops to a faraway war which had nothing to do with them.²³ On October 9th, 1899, President Kruger of the South African Republic delivered an ultimatum that the British must withdraw troops from the Transvaal region, officially plunging the belligerents into the South African (Boer) War.²⁴

¹⁹ The Afrikaner republics were two independent Boer territories, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, known collectively as the Transvaal. The Boers fled the 1815 British annexation of the Cape Colony (in modern South Africa) from the Dutch, establishing themselves in the Transvaal. Their independent existence was tenuously recognized by the British in the 1850s.

²⁰ Jodie Noelle Mader, "Patriotic Dissent: The Pro-Boer/anti-War Movement in the South African War, 1899–1902." (KT: USA, University of Kentucky, 2008): 31.

²¹ Douglas Oscar Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfred Laurier Vol. II.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. 1971: 35.

²² J. C. Blaxland, "Strategic cousins: Canada, Australia and their use of expeditionary forces from the boer war to the war on terror" *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global Closed Collection*. 2004: 133.

²³ Stewart, *Wilfred Laurier*, 85.

²⁴ Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfred Laurier*, 35.

Immediately, Wilfrid Laurier found himself in the middle of a deeply divided cabinet, which broadly reflected a profound rift in the Canadian polity on the question of sending troops to aid Britain's war effort. On the one hand, Imperialists led by Sir Charles Tupper demanded that Canada join the fight to advance their cause and free the Uitlanders from political oppression. On the other hand, French Canadians such as Member of Parliament (MP) Henri Bourassa and MP Israel Tart felt that "not one man, not one cent" should be spent on South Africa.²⁵ The divisive nature of the question was palpable even to the Governor General, Lord Minto, who wrote in a private letter: "I don't see why they should commit their country to the expenditure of lives and money for a quarrel not threatening Imperial safety and directly contrary to the opinion of a Colonial Govt."²⁶ Minto also felt that the time to enlist colonial support had not yet come, but that he had little choice but to pressure Laurier on the matter because Joseph Chamberlain, his "chief at home" was "thirsting for blood, [and] all my friends here are ditto"²⁷. The fact that even the Governor General felt that the Dominion was in a "nice muddle" politically and wanted to avoid the fray shows the scale of the dilemma facing Laurier.²⁸

The Governor General's papers also reveal the extent to which opposition to Canada's participation in the South African War was coming from the French-Canadian demographic. Israel Tarte, the Minister of Public Works in Laurier's cabinet threatened

²⁵ Stewart, *Wilfred Laurier*, 85.

²⁶ Paul Stevens & John T. Saywell. *Lord Minto's Canadian Papers, A Selection of The Private and Public Papers of the Fourth Earl of Minto, 1898-1904*. Toronto: T.H. Best Printing Company Ltd. 1981: 131.

²⁷ Stevens and Saywell, *Minto's Canadian Papers*, 131.

²⁸ Stevens and Saywell, *Minto's Canadian Papers*, 131.

to resign if Canada sent a contingency of troops, citing “strong opposition in the Province of Quebec” during a cabinet meeting on October 13th, 1900. Tarte and Bourassa’s bellicose denunciation of Canadian involvement led Laurier to adopt a hesitant stance on sending troops despite intense pressure coming from Imperialists and the British government. In a letter to Chamberlain, Minto outlined Laurier’s position thus:

He is thoroughly imperialist though he may have his doubts as to Colonial action. I like him very much – he takes a broad view of things - & has an extremely difficult team to drive. But he is a Frenchman, & in saying that I think one covers the entire reason for the Quebec opposition – Quebec is perfectly loyal - but you cannot on such an occasion expect Frenchmen to possess British enthusiasm or thoroughly to understand it. He said to me last night, the two nationalities make this an extremely difficult colony to govern.²⁹

In other words, the French-Canadians were not disloyal to the British Empire, they simply had no interest in defending any territory beyond the Dominion’s borders. Because French-Canadians were not ‘Anglo-Saxon’ Protestants, the Imperialist doctrine could not be adopted by them, as it placed English ethnicity and Protestantism above them and suggested that they should betray their core values as Roman Catholics. Therefore, they could not be expected to have ‘British enthusiasms’, such as the wish to advance the British Empire’s Protestant ‘civilising’ mission. This did not indicate a disloyalty to British liberalism or the British Crown, but a rejection of Imperialist doctrine.

²⁹Stevens and Saywell *Minto’s Canadian Papers*, 153.

Wilfrid Laurier sought to fashion a compromise which would pacify both sides of the debate and reunite the country. Laurier would not send official Canadian troops to South Africa but would pay for much of the equipment and supplies of volunteer contingents which would join the British forces, among which some French Canadians did enlist. He felt sure that his decision to go ahead without the consent of parliament was the surest way, and that his critics could not justly “construe [it] as a precedent for future action.”³⁰ Laurier may not have seen Bourassa’s accusations of constitutional subversion coming, or he may have decided to hedge his bets on using orders-in-council despite the risk of a political backlash. Though many favoured Laurier’s approach, he received immediate condemnation from the extreme elements of both sides of the debate. The Imperialists accused him of tepidity, while Bourassa and Tarte felt betrayed by his decision to intervene. Laurier told Bourassa that he did not have a “practical mind,” because Bourassa insisted that he risk his ministry by upholding the principle that Canada would not intervene in colonial wars.³¹ Bourassa immediately resigned his Liberal seat over the affair and ran as an independent in a byelection, which he won, in part because Laurier instructed that no Liberal candidate should run against Bourassa in his riding. That Bourassa was willing to endanger his political career over Laurier’s South African War policy is testament not only to the polarizing effect of the conflict on Dominion politics, but also to his scrupulous adherence to the political principles he espoused.

³⁰ Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfred Laurier*, 39.

³¹ Stewart, *Wilfred Laurier*, 86.

In the end, Lord Minto's observations were validated by the words of Henri Bourassa. In March of 1900, Bourassa delivered an hours-long speech before the Commons, castigating Laurier's government over his war policy. He roundly accused the Liberals of being in the pockets of "unprincipled demagog[ues]" and reminded them that Cabinet was "but the executive committee of Parliament", which had acted contrary to the constitution when it used orders-in-council.³² Among the many points in his speech, Bourassa said that the government had allowed itself to be led by an uninformed "current" of public opinion, which was misled by the British establishment, including Lord Minto and Chamberlain (presumably the demagogues he was referring to).³³ He accused that: "Nobody but a few specialists and scholars" had known anything about the Transvaal but a few months before, and that the "Liberal organs" of the press had manipulated all classes of people with a "deluge of crocodile tears" to support the embattled Uitlanders.³⁴ The danger of this blind rush to war was in the setting of a bad precedent, where Canadians would foot the bill for Imperial defence at the drop of a hat. The fact that Laurier had succumbed so quickly to the pressure of the Imperialist press portended a day when "parliaments are going to be reduced to the position of smoking concerts where the representatives of the people will be called to applaud".³⁵ What he meant is that the influence of the Governor General and Chamberlain would have reduced the power of Parliament to such an extent that it would be forced to comply with executive authority on military matters, rather than using

³² Henri Bourassa, "House of Commons Debates, 8th Parliament, 5th Session: Vol. 1: Library of Parliament, 1900: *Canadianna. Org*: 1800.

³³ Bourassa, "Debate," 1800.

³⁴ Bourassa, "Debate," 1808.

³⁵ Bourassa, "Debate," 1809.

democratic processes. This incursion on parliamentary sovereignty stemmed in his view from a “Tory interpretation of the Constitution”, which he compared to Charles I, who was in the end “made to understand that parliament meant the government of the people, by the people and for the people.”³⁶

Alongside the rejection of Canada’s involvement in the South African War, one can see plainly that Bourassa admired the Constitution and felt profound loyalty toward “the noble woman who every true Britisher is proud to call the Queen”.³⁷ This profound loyalty to the liberal tradition, complete with references to the execution of Charles I, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Whiggish tradition of checking the power of the Crown was not unique to Henri Bourassa and his following in Quebec.³⁸ Many French-Canadian loyalists had supported the British Crown throughout the 19th century and continued to do so during the South African War. These loyalists had sent delegates to London to petition the Crown for equal treatment under the law, justifying their demands by demonstrating their continued support. The French Canadians saw that fostering a distinct relationship with the Crown would be “mutually beneficial to Britain and Quebec.”³⁹ At the time of Bourassa’s speech many French-Canadians still held onto the belief that Canada’s British-style constitution could preserve their minority rights within and outside of Quebec’s borders. This pan-Canadian national identity precluded thoughts of separatism, which did not appear until after the barrage of later

³⁶ Bourassa, “Debate,” 1807.

³⁷ Bourassa, “Debate,” 1805.

³⁸ Bélanger, D.-C., “Loyalty and Lobbying: French-Canadian Delegates in London, 1763–1840,” *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, 35 vol. 1 (2020): 32.

³⁹ Bélanger, “Loyalty and Lobbying,” 32.

disappointments such as Regulation 17 of 1912, and the Conscription Crises of 1917 and 1944. Below is a quotation drawn from Bourassa's speech which demonstrates his loyalty to the constitutional framework in Canada:

But in this country we have a constitution. And that constitution is not the only legal form of our government; it is also the solemn and sacred compact between the various provinces of British North America. It was framed with great care and solicitude by the best men of those provinces. Those men belonged to different races, to different religious creeds... They united their efforts to put a stop to dangerous rivalries, and to offer the world the comforting and glorious spectacle of a broad, united and free nation, devoted to the Crown of England.⁴⁰

In conclusion, the controversy generated by Canada's involvement in the South African War was primarily caused by competing visions of what Canadian Confederation and nationhood meant to its two leading groups. To demonstrate this, the French-speaking Catholic demographic was examined, and it was found that many subscribed to Henri Bourassa's vision for a pan-Canadian *civic* nationalism which embraced Confederation as an institutional safeguard for French Canadian political liberties. Then, Protestant Imperialism was described as a doctrine which sought the expansion and preservation of the British Empire, and believed in the supremacy of the 'Anglo-Saxon race.' The South African War laid bare the depths of mutual incomprehension and antagonism between these two groups, and Wilfrid Laurier struggled to find a war policy to satisfy both elements. Henri Bourassa emerged as one of Laurier's most vocal critics, resigning

⁴⁰ Bourassa, "Debates," 1805.

his Liberal seat in the Commons and castigating the government's war policy. Although Bourassa spoke for many in French (and to a lesser degree, English) Canada, there was a minority of French Canadians who supported Britain in the South African War. Referencing the work of D.C. Bélanger, French-Canadian loyalism was briefly explored to demonstrate that although the Imperialists and French-Canadian nationalists made up the majority of political discourse surrounding the conflict, the full range of public opinion during the South African War cannot accurately be divided into two tidy, diametrically opposed spheres.

Authors Finishing Thoughts:

Research for this paper revealed a substantial deficit of English-language academic sources on French-Canadian history, especially during the 19th and early 20th centuries. To encourage a broad and diverse academic discourse on this topic, more bilingual research could be conducted and published. This paper has given only a cursory glance at the South African War controversy in Canada, so each paragraph could be elaborated to the length of a book chapter. For example, English Canadians were not all Protestant Imperialists, so their views, as well as the position of minority groups such as Indigenous, Irish-Canadian Catholics, and European immigrants could be elaborated upon. It came to my attention that there was a robust anti-war movement in Britain which had branches throughout the Empire, the Canadian context of which could also be researched further. In essence, an historian with more time could paint a far more comprehensive picture of Canada during the South African War than I have done here.

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**Partie III. Les luttes que nous choisissons
d'oublier : la persistance des conflits dans la
mémoire**

**Part III. The Fights we Choose to Forget: The
Persistence of Conflict in Memory**

The Cartographic Soldier: The use of cartographic material during the Battle of Vimy Ridge, April 1917

Ethan Coudenys¹

In contemporaneous military operations, it is typical that every soldier in a unit has access to cartographic material for a given operation, this practice was not the norm during the initial battles of the First World War, but the Battle of Vimy Ridge (April 9 - 12, 1917) changed this. Approximately 33 million maps were produced by the British Expeditionary Force over the course of the war, the majority of which were used by the officers and staff responsible for planning operations, or by middle-level officers who commanded battalions in the field.² By the time the Canadian Corps³ arrived at the front, facing the infamous Hill 145,⁴ many of the generals and

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² Keith D. Lilley, "Commemorative Cartographies, Citizen Cartographers and WWI," chapter in *Commemorative Spaces of the First World War: Historical Geographies at the Centenary*, (Toronto, ON: Taylor & Francis Group Publishing, 2017): 115.

³ The Canadian Corps is the official title of the four Canadian Divisions and one British division which made up the force which advanced on the ridge. The Canadian Expeditionary Force refers only to the four divisions which were sent by the Dominion of Canada to the Frontlines.

⁴ This essay refers to "Vimy Ridge" and "Hill 145" interchangeably. The former is the popular name for the hill upon which the Canadian Corps attacked the German lines during the Battle of Arras (April 1917). The latter term is the name

commanders who witnessed the slaughter during the Battle of the Somme (July-November 1916) began to question whether this was an effective use of cartographic resources. Thus, between November and December 1916, a group of Canadian and British officers investigated the French Army's tactics and use of resources during the Battle of Verdun (February-December 1916), among other offensives.⁵ These tactics included using geographic formations as objectives for offensive actions and issuing maps to lower-ranking soldiers.

It was through this investigation that the use of maps on the battlefield became more commonplace outside the ranks of planning officers, as French-style tactics⁶ were adopted by the Canadian Corps for the Battle of Vimy Ridge. This paper will argue that the use of maps and the strategic modification that came with the adoption of such tactics allowed the Canadian Corps to achieve great success in the attack; the maps provided a critical resource for the infantry and allowed for a more accurate artillery attack prior to, and during, the offensive. To this end, this essay will first discuss the methods by which the Canadian Corps collected intelligence, which informed their maps. Second, an investigation of the use of

used by the Canadian Corps and the British Forces in reference to the height of the ridge. The terms will be used interchangeably.

⁵ Mark Osborne Humphries, "'Old Wine in New Bottles': A Comparison of British and Canadian Preparations for the Battle of Arras," in *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, ed. Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Larocci, Mike Bechthold, (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007): 67.

⁶ These tactics, in brief, include the use of easily identifiable geological or human made features as objectives for advances; the use of "leapfrog" techniques, which involved one unit reaching an objective, holding it while a second wave would advance to the secondary objective; the use of aerial photography in the planning of offensives; and the use of specialized units of soldiers to benefit the entire attacking force (ie. machine gun, grenadier, and mortar units).

cartographic materials by the infantry in preparation for the assault, and during the battle itself will be completed. Third, a review of the use of these maps by the Counter-Battery units in connection with the attack and the bombardment which preceded it. Finally, this essay will outline the use of maps during the integral rolling barrage.

Canadian Tactics Before Vimy

Before discussing the use and importance of maps, one must first understand the significant changes that the Canadian Corps underwent between December 1916 and April 1917. Following the Battle of Flers-Courcelette on the Somme (November 1916), the Canadian Expeditionary Force was selected to take up a seven kilometers-long front near the town of Arras. This region of the battlefield had been relatively quiet during the previous year and remained so until the beginning of 1917.⁷ After the return of the investigative group from the French lines, Lieutenant General Julian Byng, commander of the Canadian Corps, began to innovate—in collaboration with subordinate officers—in the use of different tactics which had not been used by British troops on the Western Front up to this point.⁸ For one, the use of arbitrary lines on a map as objectives in an offensive was changed to strategically important and easily identifiable geological or man-made features,

⁷ LAC, RG-9 III-C-1, vol. 4010, "Intelligence Summaries of the 1st Canadian Division, 21 January 1917 to 27 February 1918," 26 January 1917, 1.

⁸ Cedric Jennings, *Canada in the First World War and the Road to Vimy Ridge*, (Ottawa, ON: Ministry of Veterans Affairs, Government of Canada, 1992): 7-8.

such as trenches, craters, the top of a given ridge, and so on.⁹ Moreover, soldiers underwent an intense and comprehensive training regimen so that they could competently use new machinery and tactics designed specifically for the Vimy battlefield.¹⁰ Indeed, a soldier in the Canadian Corps, Stuart Ramsay Thomas writes in his letters to his mother that “At eight o’clock it came our time to move, we climbed out of the trenches and formed up in *artillery formation* [emphasis added] ie. small columns in a single file.”¹¹ The adoption of such formations is an example of the Canadian Corps innovating in the use of varying tactics to prevent losses, and to ensure an effective advance. These formations were one of the innovations brought into the Canadian Corps’s tactics from the French army.

Intelligence Gathering in the Canadian Corps

Collecting accurate intelligence of the layout of the enemy’s trenches, and the ability to navigate the winding, confusing maze of trenches during the battle was a critical element in ensuring a successful offensive on one of the strongest points on the Western Front. The German army had been fortified on Hill 145 since

⁹ A. M. J. Hyatt, *General Sir Arthur Currie: A Military Biography* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1987): 64.

¹⁰ Donald Fraser, *The Journal of Private Fraser: Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918*, ed. Reginald H. Roy, (Victoria, BC: Sono Nis Press, 1985), date of entry: 17 March 1917, 254.

¹¹ Stuart Ramsay Thomas, *A Canadian’s Road to Russia: Letters from the Great War Decade*, ed. Doris H. Pieroth (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press 1989), letter date: 14 April 1914, p. 314; The use of artillery formations was modelled after the French, which, in theory, would decrease the number of casualties as a result of enemy fire as the groupings of men were not in one single line, but in small, more mobile units.

November 1914, and had held off all significant efforts by the French army to advance on the German position. Although the French Army was able to advance the Allied lines over three kilometers closer to the top of the ridge, they were never successful in holding the ridge for longer than three days. The Canadian Expeditionary Force used four different methods to collect intelligence on the enemy's fortifications, these methods were trench raids, aerial observation, listening and observation posts, alongside sound and flash ranging.

The infiltration of enemy lines caused significant damage to important targets, and mappings of the fortifications in the enemy's lines allowed the Canadian Corps to further its cartographic understanding of the German trench lines. The official history of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, written by Gerald W. L. Nicholson notes that "in order to gain accurate information about possible changes to the German dispositions there was [sic] nightly raids into the enemy's lines during the bombardment [preceding the attack]."¹² These were completed by a group of soldiers, usually between six to ten men, who would infiltrate the German lines and gather information, capture prisoners and destroy important targets. Between November 1916 and April 1917, sixty raids by the Canadian Corps against the German line were attempted, forty-eight of which were successful in infiltrating the lines. Typically, strategic targets were identified—such as dug outs, machine gun emplacements, mine shafts, and concrete "pill boxes"¹³—and were

¹² Gerald W. L. Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918: Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War* (Ottawa, ON: Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage, 1962): 251.

¹³ "Pill Boxes" were a type of fortification made of concrete and rebar. The fortification would have a small slit in the side facing the enemy where a soldier

bombed using grenades or other types of explosives.¹⁴ In addition, raiding parties collected information on the condition of the enemy's trenches, the status of their fortifications, and the enemy's morale was collected by the raiding parties and passed the information along to battalion or brigade headquarters.¹⁵ The most important information included in these reports pertained to the relief of enemy battalions, regiments, or brigades, as well as the condition of the troops relieving the others present in the lines.¹⁶ Trench raids were completed in conjunction with patrols of the area between the two front lines, referred to as "No Man's Land."¹⁷ These patrols were well documented in narrative histories of the battalions and brigades on the Vimy Front as patrols were usually completed nightly.¹⁸ As noted in a report from the Canadian Corps, "No Man's Land has been patrolled regularly and information of considerable value as to the enemy's [barbed] wire and occupation or otherwise of various craters [sic] on our front was secured."¹⁹ A report would be made almost immediately after the raiding party returned and was sent by a special telephone line to the Counter-

could aim a machine gun or rifle to shoot through while being protected from opposing fire.

¹⁴ LAC RG9 III-D-1, Vol. 4677, "Summary of Raids by Canadian Corps during period Nov. 1st, 1916 - April 1st, 1917," 1.

¹⁵ LAC, RG9 III-D-1, Vol. 4677, "Report on Raid Carried out by 72nd Canadian Infantry Battalion on Night 15th/16th February 1917, on Vimy Ridge," 17 February 1917, 2; LAC, RG9 III-D-1, Vol. 4677, "Report on Raid Carried out by 73rd Canadian Infantry Brigade at 2 p.m. on February 4th, 1917," 4 February 1917, 1.

¹⁶ LAC, RG9 III-D-1, vol. 4677, "Canadian Corps: Summary of Intelligence for Week ending 25th March, 1917," 25 March 1917, 2.

¹⁷ "No Man's Land" was a colloquialism used for the land between the Canadian and German lines. This space could be as wide as hundreds of meters to tens of meters.

¹⁸ LAC, RG9 III-D-1, Vol. 4677, "Canadian Corps: Summary of Operation, Nov 2nd to 9th, 1916," 1.

¹⁹ "Canadian Corps: Summary of Operation, Nov 2nd to 9th, 1916," 1.

Battery Intelligence Section. In turn, a compilation of these reports on the collection of information by aerial observers, prisoner interrogation and so on would be shared with “all relevant group and section commanders.”²⁰ These night raids allowed the Canadian Corps to add to its understanding of the enemy’s fortifications and helped to build accurate maps which reflected the actual trench systems. The raids provided a near constant flow of information and cartographic data which allowed the Canadian Corps and the planning officers to have a complete understanding of the front lines as they appeared on a daily, or even hourly basis. Therefore, these raids allowed for a more complete and in-depth understanding of the coming battlefield.

The second method of collecting intelligence on the Vimy front was through aerial observation. There were three ways by which the Canadian Corps observed the enemy in the air: kites, balloons, and airplanes. The most popular and effective of these methods were airplanes. In order to collect photos, airplanes were mounted with a special camera, housing a built-in grid on the lens to allow for a scale of the image to be identified, which in turn allowed targets to be accurately measured.²¹ Reconnaissance aircraft flew over the enemy’s lines—usually accompanied by fighter planes— and captured photos of their trenches, artillery emplacements, the condition of telecommunication equipment, and

²⁰ LAC, RG9 III-C-1, vol. 3922, “Report to the GOCRA & Canadian Corps,” 8 February 1917, 1.

²¹ Jeffrey S. Murray, “Weapons of the Great War,” chapter in *Terra Nostra: The Stories Behind Canada’s Maps, 1550-1950*, (Toronto, ON: McGill-Queen’s University Press 2006): 165.

the condition of defense fortifications, such as barbed wire.²² The collection of such photographs was motivated by the example of the French Army, who, as the historian, Bill Rawlings, shows “[T]ook innumerable air photos and distributed them to the officers of attacking units.”²³ This was a new strategy for the war, as the historian Alexander McKee notes, “The use of aircraft as mobile observation posts was then highly experimental, but vitally important to the conduct of a battle [like Vimy].”²⁴ The information collected by these pilots was vital to completing a series of maps which the artillery and infantry used to plan the attack. A map in the planning officers’s headquarters was continuously brought up to date by the Intelligence Office and showed the immense care the Corps took when it came to planning the artillery portion of the offensive.²⁵ This map was then disseminated to the Corps in the form of updated cartographic materials. However, there was a significant risk for the Intelligence Office in depending so heavily on aircraft to collect information as several memoirs from soldiers within the Corps noted downed planes who were in the process of collecting intelligence.

The third form of intelligence gathering was the use of listening posts. These were used to a lesser extent before the Battle

²² LAC, RG9 III-D-1, Vol. 4677, “Information from Aeroplane Photographs,” 27 March 1917, 1; Mike Bechthold, “Vimy and the Battle of Arras: The Evolution of the Air Campaign,” *Journal of Military and Strategy Studies* 18 (2), n.d., 73.

²³ Bill Rawlings, “Towards Vimy,” chapter in *Surviving Trench Warfare: technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918*, 2nd ed., University of Toronto Press (Toronto, ON: 2014): 90.

²⁴ Alexander McKee, *The Battle of Vimy Ridge* (New York, NY: Stein and Day Publishers, 1966): 57.

²⁵ Brereton Greenhaus, Stephen Harris, Jean Martin, *Canada and the Battle of Vimy Ridge*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa, ON: Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of Defense, 2007): 67.

of Vimy Ridge, but were important in collecting information on the morale of the soldiers whom the Canadian Corps attacked during the preparatory stages before the advance on the Ridge. In some instances, observation posts were only a few meters away from the German front line (see Appendix A). Nonetheless, observation posts played a vital role for the artillery, as this is where the Forward Observation Officers²⁶ directed and guided bombardments and attacks against enemy fortifications. These posts were occupied by a limited number of soldiers, especially in areas where the posts were close to German lines, as any conversation would be overheard by the enemy. Listening posts were also used during the underground warfare waged at Vimy by members of the Canadian Corps stationed in one of the 13 underground “subways.”²⁷ These were used by miners who constructed tunnels to detect and destroy enemy tunnels and subways but came with the added risk of the enemy hearing the Canadians digging, and their own tunnel being destroyed. In some cases, the Canadian and German tunnels would intersect, resulting in what is sometimes referred to as “fighting tunnels.”²⁸ Strategically, though, this method of collecting

²⁶ Forward Observation Officers were members of the artillery who were responsible for targeting enemy targets and passing along targeting information and strategic intelligence to the artillery troops to which they report. These officers were stationed in the observation lines, and in some cases in the front line.

²⁷ The term “subways” refers to the tunnels which run perpendicular to the Canadian trenches. These were used by the Canadian Corps to move troops forward in secret before the attack happened; Diederichs and Hutchinson, “Tunnel Warfare in World War I: The Underground Battlefield Tunnels of Vimy Ridge, France,” in *Tunnels and Underground Cities: Engineering and Innovation Meet Archaeology, Architecture and Art*, Eds. Daniele Peila, Giulia Viggiani, and Tarcisio Celestino, 1st ed (London, UK: CRC Press, 2019): 55.

²⁸ Diederichs and Hutchinson, “Tunnel Warfare in World War I: The Underground Battlefield Tunnels of Vimy Ridge, France,” 55.

information was limited during the Battle of Vimy Ridge as these tunnels were mostly used by the planners of the operations and for the housing of troops in the days leading up to the attack.²⁹

Finally, two technological methods of observation allowed the artillery to identify and map targets through sound ranging and flash ranging. The former measured the length of time it took for the sound of the firing gun to reach the instrument, by comparing these sounds to sample ranges, this device allowed for these operators to measure the distance. According to the memoir of the commander of the artillery, Major General Edward Morrison, this technique was able to locate a gun within fifty yards of its actual position.³⁰ In comparison, flash ranging relied upon the ability of the operator to see the muzzle flash of a gun when it was fired, and then locating it through complex mathematical calculations. Both techniques, however, required that guns be fired before their locations could be found. Thus, it can be seen as fatalistic because the officers operating this equipment were relying on a shell being fired, and in very few cases, the shell did not explode. Despite the necessity of the artillery to have this information, the counter battery command almost exclusively used this information to also identify trench mortars. In daily reports of “all pertinent information” sent to all group commanders (including those in the infantry), the Lieutenant Colonel of the Counter Battery shared the identification of strategic targets—both artillery pieces and mortars.³¹

²⁹ Diederichs and Hutchinson, “Tunnel Warfare in World War I,” 55.

³⁰ Edward Morrison, *Morrison: The Long-Lost Memoir of Canada's Artillery Commander in the Great War*, ed. Susane Raby-Dunne (Toronto, ON: Heritage House Publishing, 2017): 119.

³¹ LAC, RG9 III-C-1, Vol. 3922, “Report to the GOCRA & Canadian Corps,” 8 February 1917, 1.

In summation, the methods used by the artillery officers, Forward Observation Officers, aircraft observation, and trench raids were vital to the planning of the battle for Hill 145. The information collected by these methods were compiled by several teams and was sent to the commander of the Counter Battery units. This commander would then disseminate this information to all relevant recipients, including the counter battery troops, artillery troops, the infantry command, and the General Staff of the corps. The constant flow of updated information allowed for officers to see the changes in the German fortifications and manpower on a near real-time basis. Furthermore, this intelligence was incredibly useful in the planning and execution of the assault on the ridge.

Cartographic Infantry

The motivation for modifying the strategy used by the infantry was based on the realization that the Germans had the upper hand, in that the enemy was defending a heavily fortified front. As the historian Kenneth Macksey notes in his book, *Vimy Ridge, 1914-18*: "Frequently, the individual German infantryman, the equal of his opponent in personal prowess, was more effective [in battle] due to superior organization and direction."³² It was thus essential to change the common practices of the infantry to allow for a more successful offensive than that of the Somme. The British Expeditionary Force and the Canadian Corps adopted three major modifications to allow for the superiority, in military strength and in planning, to change hands. (1) The advancing units would leapfrog. In other words, once one unit reached their objective, the

³² Kenneth Macksey, *Vimy Ridge, 1914-18*, vol. 6 (London, UK: Pan Books, 1973): 58.

unit behind them would advance to their unit, allowing the first to regroup, reform, and prepare for the following phases of the battle. In addition to maintaining the morale of the unit, this would allow depleted units to be replenished by reserves.³³ (2) The Canadian Corps established a very precise timeline, which guided the offensive of both infantry and artillery units involved therein. The attack would begin at 5:30 a.m. In thirty-five minutes, it was expected that the first wave of troops would reach the first objective (the Black Line). The advance then would pause for forty minutes, after which the advancing force would have twenty minutes to reach and capture the second objective (the Red Line). After a pause of two hours and thirty minutes, the soldiers would have exactly one hour and twenty-one minutes to take the third objective (Blue Line). After a final pause of one hour and thirty-six minutes, they would advance once more to the final objective (Brown Line) no later than 1:18 p.m.³⁴ (3) The use of identifiable geographic marks—such as a given line of trenches, or a certain crater—as objectives for an attack was a major factor in the planning of a battle.³⁵ As Arthur Currie's³⁶ military biographer, A. M. J. Hyatt, has noted, Currie asked Byng to ensure that the lines of objective were tactically important and defensible, but also identifiable for the men on the ground.³⁷

³³ Macksey, *Vimy Ridge, 1914-18*, 182.

³⁴ LAC, RG9 III-C-1, vol. 3939, "Report on Operations of Canadian Corps Against Vimy Ridge," n.d., p. 3

³⁵ Prior to the Battle of Vimy Ridge, the British Expeditionary Force, and the Canadian Corps by extension used "arbitrary" lines on a map as objectives. This was incredibly difficult to coordinate with the infantry as most of the soldiers involved in the attack were not issued maps of the battlefield.

³⁶ Arthur Currie was the Major General in command of the First Canadian Division and was instrumental in the planning of the Battle of Vimy Ridge.

³⁷ A. M. J. Hyatt, *General Sir Arthur Currie*, 64-5.

However, the modifications did not permeate through the entire plan of the attack. The offensive at Vimy Ridge relied on the antiquated school of continuous offensive, under which the French were known to have suffered heavy losses. Nevertheless, the attack was to continue regardless of the losses a platoon, battalion or brigade suffered during the advance. In his memoir, Lieutenant R. Lewis of the 25th Canadian Infantry Battalion wrote, "The officers were made to understand that even if only one man was left alive the objective must be taken."³⁸ Indeed, there was emphasis put on the continued advance of troops despite the possibility of officers or senior Non-Commissioned Officers being killed. Historian Tim Cook writes, "If officers (majors, captains, and lieutenants) were knocked out in battle, the lower ranks (sergeants, corporals, and privates) were to continue on to their objectives."³⁹ As N. M. Christie notes in his book, the production and distribution of maps prevented disorientation of the troops in the instance that their commanding officer was killed.⁴⁰ The continuation of the attack regardless of the loss of one or all of a unit's commanding officers is extremely relevant, as noted in Deward Barnes's diary, in which he writes on 11 April 1917, "All officers except one were killed in 'A' company."⁴¹

One of the central factors in planning the offensive on Vimy Ridge was the possible confusion the advancing troops would

³⁸ R. Lewis, *Over the Top with the 25th: Chronicle of Events at Vimy Ridge and Courcelette* (Halifax, NS: H. H. Marshal Publishers, 1918): 52.

³⁹ Tim Cook, *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend*, (Toronto, ON: 2018): 26.

⁴⁰ N. M. Christie, *Winning the Ridge: the Canadians at Vimy Ridge, 1917*, CEF Books (Toronto, ON: Penguin Random House Publishers, 1998): 7.

⁴¹ Deward Barnes, *It Made you Think of Home: The Haunting Journal of Deward Barnes, Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1916-1919*, Ed. Bruce Cane, (Toronto, ON: Dundurn Group, 2004): 66.

suffer under such a heavy artillery barrage. The deafening explosions of the shells, the rifle fire, and the machine guns in the German trenches all amounted to an incredible level of noise. Moreover, in the event that a unit's commanding officer was killed during the advance, there was a good chance that the unit would lose its way and have a negative effect on the exact timeline of the attack. For this reason, intense training and thorough preparation for all ranks was required to prevent the attack from being sidetracked by the death of an officer. Therefore, the issuing of maps to Non-Commissioned Officers (Sergeants, Corporals, and Lance Corporals) allowed for the unit to continue on its path of advance regardless of its losses in the heat of battle.⁴²

Thus, to ensure that the attack was continuous and that the timeline was followed exactly, the way that battlefield information was disseminated to the soldiers changed. The dissemination of the information to the men was of the utmost importance prior and during the attack. As has been noted, more than 40,000 maps were produced to distribute to the soldiers. Moreover, troops were trained on the pace of the attack, tactics of attacking on the battlefield, and other relevant battlefield skills in specialized military training institutions. These training institutions were organized by divisions to train soldiers on various elements of the coming attack. These elements included the use of maps, the use of Lewis Machine Guns, an improved training of advancement tactics, and the use of maps on the battlefield. All of these schools worked to engage every soldier who was meant to advance on the ridge and to ensure that they were properly trained in all aspects of the attack for which they were responsible. In some cases, divisional schools constructed scale models of the enemy lines and the soldiers

⁴² N. M. Christie, *Winning the Ridge: the Canadians at Vimy Ridge, 1917*, 7

practiced the pace and method of the attack for many hours. Bill Rawling notes in *Surviving Trench Warfare: technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918* (2014),

Advancing in formations practiced day and night on taped courses helped prevent individuals from getting lost as they followed section and platoon leaders navigating across the deadly landscape with maps, compasses and air photos, trying to pick out landmarks that had not been destroyed or masked.⁴³

General David Watson notes in his diary on April 7, 1917, that practice attacks and drills in preparation for the offensive continued until just two days before the attack, ensuring that units were well versed in their objectives and allowing them to continue through the din of battle and the roar of the guns.⁴⁴

Artillery, Targeting, and Counter-Battery

Jeffrey Murray writes a profound passage which allows one to consider the effect to which the success of the battle relied upon the accurate and effective use of artillery in the battle.

Military historians universally agree that the secret of the Vimy success lay in Canada's ability to develop a whole new strategy for employing its artillery...Indeed, much of McNaughton's planning for Vimy had focused on accuracy in mapping targets, and on accuracy once the targets had been located.⁴⁵

⁴³ Bill Rawlings, *Surviving Trench Warfare*, 122.

⁴⁴ David Watson, *The War Diaries of General David Watson*, Ed. Geoffrey Jackson, (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2021), 188-189.

⁴⁵ Jeffrey S. Murray, "Weapons of the Great War," p. 164.

One of the most important factors in the success of the assault on Hill 145 was the effective use of counter-battery by the Canadian Corps in the months, weeks, and days leading up to the assault. Led by the Lieutenant Colonel of Counter-Battery, the unit was meant to identify targets and destroy them. The Colonel's primary duty, as outlined in a report to the Canadian Corps commandant, was to locate, catalogue, and destroy hostile batteries on the Corps's front.⁴⁶ In conjunction with this officer, the Canadian Artillery also relied on Major Cosgrave, the Artillery Reconnaissance Officer, to coordinate the creation and updating of two separate maps.⁴⁷ General Morrison wrote that "A map was constructed with the enemy's batteries placed on it and numbered, and so accurately was this done that on comparing the map to the ground after the battle, almost every battery was found to have been correctly plotted."⁴⁸ The second map was used to identify points at which the infantry advance would likely be held up. This included accurately marking and enumerating machine gun emplacements, barbed wire, trench mortars, dugouts and so on.⁴⁹ This map was a collection of the intelligence gathered by trench raids and nightly patrols discussed previously.

As noted in the first section of this essay, sound and flash ranging were techniques used by the artillery to identify and locate enemy guns that would be a significant danger to the advancing infantry on April 9. However, the artillery increasingly relied upon the Royal Flying Corps (RFC) to provide photographs of the front in order to locate enemy guns hidden behind the ridgeline or

⁴⁶ LAC, RG 8 III-C-1, vol. 3922, First Army File 1101 (G) "Status and Duties of the Counter Battery Lieut. Colonel in a Corps," 7 February 1917, 1.

⁴⁷ The author was unable to identify Maj. Cosgrave's first name.

⁴⁸ Edward Morrison, *Morrison*, 119.

⁴⁹ Edward Morrison, *Morrison*, 119.

concealed from the detection of these methods. This was especially true of guns deep within enemy lines; these were typically heavy artillery, and could cause significant damage to both the advancing infantry and the artillery providing the protective rolling barrage.⁵⁰ In preparation for the attack, a total of 132,150 shells were fired by the counter battery units between March and April 1917.⁵¹ In addition to the explosive shells, the counter-battery units also prepared more than 31,000 phosgene and chlorine gas shells, which were used in the harassment and decommission of the enemy's artillery troops and guns. However, due to the difficult weather on April 9, 1917, these weapons were not used as part of the Vimy Ridge assault.⁵²

During the offensive itself, the counter battery relied upon both the infantry and the Forward Observation Officers to establish observation posts and locate German defences which required destruction by artillery, such as particularly well fortified pill boxes, bunkers, or dug-outs. In one instance, Ibbotson Leonard of the Canadian Corps identified a German battery, and "sent in the location" to the Forward Observation Officers to be destroyed.⁵³ The work of the counter battery units was so effective and accurate that upon the inspection of actual targets on the ground already

⁵⁰ Alexander McKee, *The Battle of Vimy Ridge*, 53.

⁵¹ LAC, RG9 III-C-1, vol. 3922, "Expenditure during recent operations in wire, trenches, and villages by Canadian Corps Heavy Artillery Trench batteries," 11 May 1917, 1.

⁵² "Expenditure during recent operations in wire, trenches, and villages by Canadian Corps Heavy Artillery Trench batteries," 11 May 1917, 1

⁵³ "Letter from Ibbotson Leonard to his mother, 15 April 1917," in *This Hour of Trial and Sorrow: The Great War Letters of the Leonard Family*, ed. Lauren Abrams, et al., (London, ON: University of Western Ontario Press, 2015): 187.

mapped out, most of the targets were destroyed or effectively disabled.⁵⁴

The Barrage on Vimy Ridge

Perhaps the most infamous element of the attack on Vimy Ridge was the effective use of the rolling barrage as a way of disabling any defenses the Germans had constructed mere minutes before the infantry arrived. Over the course of the three-day battle, more than 800,000 shells were fired in support of the barrage, and many soldiers recounted the darkening of the sky by the flying shells that landed mere feet from them.⁵⁵ Planning for the barrage began in December 1916 in earnest as the Canadian Corps arrived in their trench lines. Almost immediately, stockpiles of shells and other munitions were amassed and prepared to be moved closer to the front. The initial planning for the barrage was completed in January 1917, and the Division commanders were briefed on the “big show,” that is, the attack, in late February 1917.⁵⁶ The barrage was initially meant to include the use of gas shells as well as barrels of burning oil—which would cause great clouds of black smoke—but neither were used during the battle for Hill 145; instead, the latter option was used on the Pimple (See Appendix B). For the barrage, the Canadian artillery—separated into divisional artillery and field artillery—would be responsible for ensuring that the pace of the advance of the barrage was accurate. To ensure the maximum effectiveness of the barrage, a record number of heavy artillery pieces (like the 18-inch Howitzer) were brought forward to support

⁵⁴ Edward Morrison, *Morrison*, 119.

⁵⁵ N. M. Christie, *Winning the Ridge*, 9.

⁵⁶ David Watson, *The War Diaries of General David Watson*, 177.

the advance. Each of these heavy pieces was responsible for about 20 yards of frontage, and the smaller guns would fill in the gaps.⁵⁷ All in all, the barrage would be devastating in terms of the sheer number of guns being used.⁵⁸

For the barrage to be effective, the infantry and the artillery were obligated to be completely in sync. In other words, the artillery relied on the infantry to follow the strict timetable of the attack, and the infantry relied on the artillery to follow the correct pacing for the lifting of the guns. Thus, communication with the artillery was vital to ensure the proper pacing. Forward Observation Officers and scouts were required to run messages from the advancing infantry to the observation posts, where they were able to pass messages via telephone. However, this communication method was fraught with numerous challenges. The first was that it relied on the messengers being able to effectively pass messages quickly enough for the artillery to receive information it required. The second was that telecommunication wires were unreliable on the front due to the constant risk of the wires being destroyed by shelling, or being cut by enemy raiding parties.⁵⁹ Thus, aerial observers from the RFC were employed to track the advance of the troops and report back to the artillery command any changes in the pace and general progress of the troops.⁶⁰ Although other methods were used, such as messengers, the danger of messengers being killed in the barrage was a major

⁵⁷ Alexander McKee, *The Battle of Vimy Ridge*, 53.

⁵⁸ LAC, RG9 III-C-1, vol. 3922, "Appendix 'A'" in "Expenditures during recent operations on wire, trenches, and villages by Canadian Corps Heavy Artillery Batteries," 11 May 1917, 1.

⁵⁹ LAC, RG9 III-C-1, vol. 3922, "Notes on Counter-Battery Work in Connection with the Capture of Vimy Ridge," n.d., 16.

⁶⁰ Alexander McKee, *The Battle of Vimy Ridge*, 57.

factor in the implementation of the use of aerial communications as the requirement for speed of passing communications during the battle necessitated the use of quicker means of communication. Thus, the necessity of speedy communications necessitated the use of aerial formats of communications instead of using messengers.

The training undergone during the winter has borne its fruit and its training coupled with the zeal and gallantry which are so conspicuous in all ranks of the Corps, that will continue to gain results as potent and far-reaching as those which began with the capture of *Vimy Ridge* [emphasis in original].⁶¹

The Canadian Corps introduced a new form of military preparations for the Battle of Vimy Ridge. The ridge, captured and held by the Germans since 1914, was heavily fortified, and well supplied. Thus, when the planning for the Battle of Arras—which included the capture of the Hill 145—it was clear to the commanders of the Canadian Corps, Julian Byng, and to the commander of the First Division, Arthur Currie, that significant preparations were required to effectively capture the ridge and hold the position in the face of the instantaneous German counterattack. In preparation for this, the Canadian Corps, following the example of French tactics observed by British and Canadian officers, began to modify the Corps's common practices to allow for a more successful offensive. Central to these preparations was the development and distribution of some 40,000 maps to soldiers in lower ranks. This use of maps and the familiarization thereto was

⁶¹ Julian Byng, "Letter to the Canadian Corps, 4 May 1917," quoted in Edward Morrison, *Morrison*, 127.

unheard of for soldiers holding the rank of corporal. This essay has shown that the use of such maps was crucial in the offensive for both the infantry and artillery.

The gathering of accurate information and the construction of maps required cross-unit communication and collaboration between infantry, artillery, and RFC. The information that was gathered by these individuals allowed for the infantry to train the advancing soldiers in the exact pace and objectives of the advance in addition to allowing for these troops to continue with their attack, regardless of the loss of their commanding officers. Thus, the dissemination of this information through the form of training, and through cartographic material, allowed for companies—such as the one to which Deward Barnes belonged—to continue to advance regardless of all but one of its officers being killed.⁶² Additionally, the modification of tactical formations and the specialization of various troops allowed for the individual sections within a platoon to follow a set course in their offensive with great success. Finally, the Canadian Corps adopted the practice of identifying objectives, not as arbitrary lines on a map, but as relevant and identifiable geographic features, like craters, hills, or trenches. This was too reflected in the cartographic material issued to the soldiers.

Additionally, the use of counter-battery was equally essential in the successful offensive on the ridge. Through the identification of strategic targets and the destruction thereof, counter-battery operations were essential in disabling the German artillery defensive posture. Much like the infantry operations above, the operations of the counter-battery units heavily relied upon the use of observations and accurate mapping to target artillery and

⁶² Deward Barnes, *It Made you Think of Home*, 66.

defensive positions such as machine gun emplacements, redoubts, and dugouts. Throughout the battle, the counter-battery command relied upon aerial observers of the RFC and the advancing infantry to identify and register enemy strongpoints that may have caused a delay in the advance. This included the identification of enemy batteries and trench mortars. The barrage, too, relied heavily upon the well-planned and mapped order of operations to ensure that the advance of the infantry was supported by the artillery. Thus, the maps issued to the crews of the artillery responsible for the barrage were of equal importance to the maps used by the infantry themselves, as they allowed for the commanders of each of the guns to know when and where to direct their shelling during the advance and during the various pauses in the attack. The barrage also relied heavily upon the use of accurate maps for the assault on the ridge.

It is clear, therefore, that the compilation and the use of cartographic materials had a great effect on the success of the attack on Vimy Ridge and the subsequent attack on the Pimple. The infantry and artillery depended greatly upon this material to direct the offensive and to ensure that the breaking of the strong German line would be done in a way that was lasting and effective. The collection of information and modification of battlefield tactics — especially the compilation of such materials — played a central role in the preparations for the attack and the assault on the ridge itself. In conclusion, the maps used by the Canadian Corps during the assault on Vimy Ridge played a central role in the operational success and would have a long-lasting effect on how the British Expeditionary Force and the Canadian Corps would wage war for the remainder of the Great War.

Appendix 'A'



Figure 1: Map depicting reconstructed trenches at Canadian Vimy Memorial Site. Map from Google Maps, 2023. Amendments by author.

Appendix 'B'

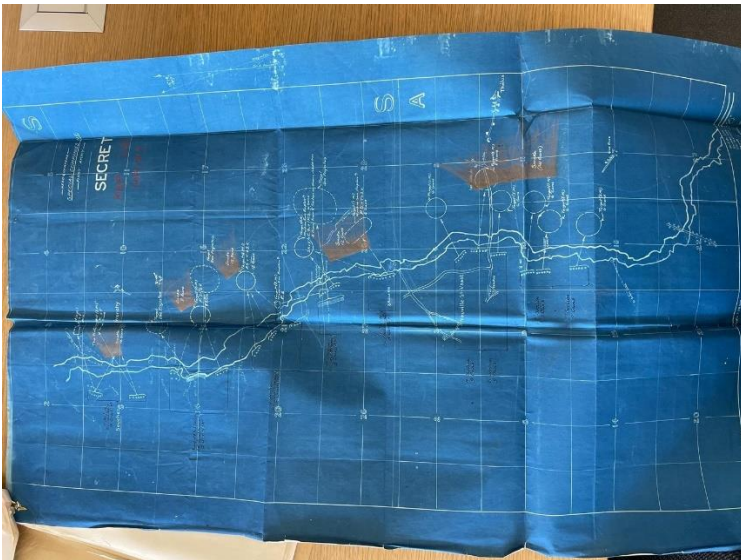


Figure 2: Map showing barrage and smoke screen plan for the Battle of the Pimple. LAC, RG9 III-C-1, vol. 3905, "Artillery Barrage Plan – Hill 119," 11 April 1917. Photo by author (2023).

Appendix 'C'

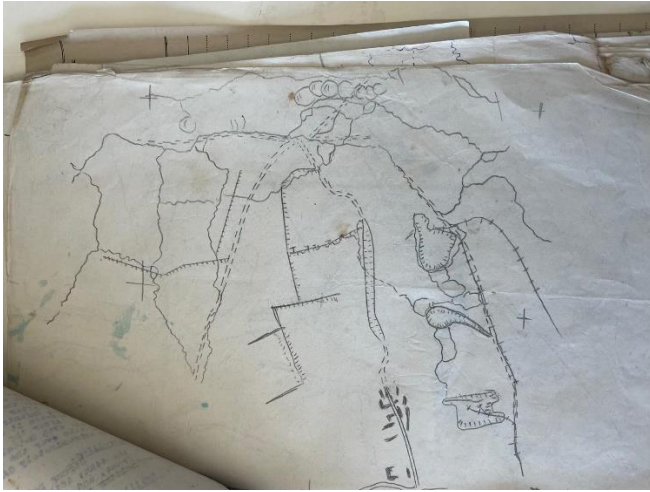


Figure 3: Hand drawn map of German fortifications and trenches. LAC, RG9 III-C-3, vol. 4209, "German Trenches," n.d. Photo by Author (2023).

Appendix 'D'



Figure 4: Example of a map used by the crew of a Canadian Artillery piece. LAC, RG9 III-C-3, vol. 4208, "Artillery Troop Map," n.d. Photo by Author (2023).

Appendix 'E'

1/2 + 1/2
1/2

APPENDIX "D"
DISTRIBUTION OF BARRAGE IN DEPTH

Nature of Barrage.	Approx. frontage per gun	Distance in Advance of Infantry and Objective.
2/3 Available 18-pdrs.	30 yards.	Rolling Barrage about 75 yards in advance of Infantry and composed exclusively of Shrapnel shell.
1/3 Available 18-pdrs.	60 yards.	On definite trenches in advance of Infantry attack, and to remain on such trenches until Rolling Barrage reaches the line of the trench. Composed partly of H.E. and partly of Shrapnel - the latter when Infantry advances close to trench.
4.5" Howitzers	60 yards.	On definite trenches not less than 200 yards in advance of the attacking Infantry. To "walk up" communication trenches in advance of the Infantry within above safety limit.
Med. Hows. (6")	60 yards.	On definite trenches not less than 300 yards in advance of the attacking Infantry.
Heavy Hows. (8" & 9.2")	200 yards.	On definite trenches and strong points not less than 400 yards in advance of the attacking Infantry.

N.B. The above system should ensure sufficient depth to the barrage, and allow necessary elasticity to admit of local circumstances being decided according to their requirements. The Heavy Artillery will be provided with Barrage Map (H) on which to base the required programme of Heavy Artillery fire in consultation with Divisions concerned.

Figure 5: The explanation of the use of artillery of varying sizes and classes during the Assault on Vimy Ridge. LAC, RG9 III-C-1, vol. 3922, "Appendix 'D': Distribution of Barrage in Depth," in "Expenditures during recent operations on wire, trenches, and villages by Canadian Corps Heavy Artillery Batteries," 11 May 1917, p. 23. Photo by Author (2023)

Appendix 'F'

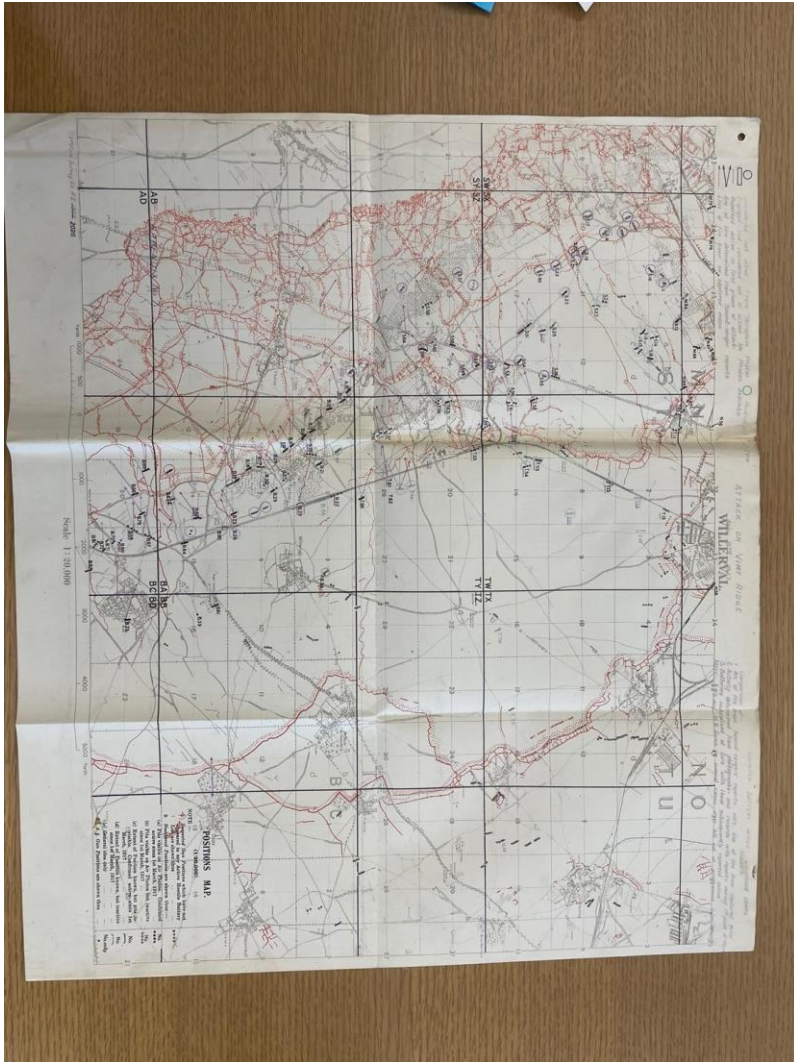


Figure 6: Map of aerial and sound ranging observations of enemy artillery and fortifications, used by artillery. LAC, RG9 III-C-1, vol. 3922, "Aerial Observation Map" in "Notes on Counter Battery Work in Connection with the Capture of Vimy Ridge," 9 April 1917, p. 39. Photo by Author (2023).

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The Precarious Portuguese Position – Radio, Nationalist Aid and Political Agendas – The Spanish Civil War Through Luso-Radio

Graciella Martinez¹

During the 1930s, Europe saw a multitude of regime changes, a majority of them being on the right side of the political spectrum, most notably in Italy under Mussolini, and in Germany under Hitler. On July 5th 1932, another country, Portugal, under their leader Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, rose to join the new European right-wing governments. Just prior to Portugal's rightward shift, in 1931 Spain decided to once again try its hand at a New Republic and the Second Spanish Republic was born. As everyone struggled under the weight of the Great Depression, Salazar's regime lasted, but the Second Spanish Republic would not. After the 1936 election and the election of the Popular Front, Spanish society and its systems of governance went into disarray, malcontentment and chaos; the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) began. In this civil war, the elected government of the Popular Front² fought against the Spanish insurgents who objected to the electoral results, the Nationalists.³ Spaniard fighting Spaniard, this civil war would last until 1939, ending with a Nationalist victory. Even though this was called a "civil war", and despite policies such

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² Also known and seen in other terms: Loyalists, Republicans and Popular Front.

³ Also known and seen in other terms: Rebels, Nationalists, Franquists.

as the Non-Intervention Agreement (NIA), various European countries collaborated either openly or covertly with the side they preferred.

With the Spanish Civil War happening next door, Portugal, under the right-wing authoritarian regime of Salazar, could not ignore it. Salazar was very afraid that this conflict would threaten Portugal's existence, believing that if the Republicans won, it would ultimately result in a Communist Spain. Since the Republicans were receiving aid from the Soviet Union, there was a fear that either the Portuguese left would be swayed by a Communist Spain to rebel against him or that the future Communist Spanish Republic would absorb Portugal into a Spanish-Soviet Republic.⁴ However, Salazar still had some hesitations about siding with the Nationalists despite them preaching Catholicism and right-wing ideals. Salazar worried that with a Nationalist victory, Spain's past imperial ambitions may be revived as there were accounts of Nationalist plans to return to the "glory days" of King Philip II of Spain⁵.

After careful consideration, Salazar decided that siding and collaborating with the Nationalists would mean advocating for two strong, independent, Iberian Catholic Nations, allowing the Portuguese Nation to thrive. Salazar also believed that finding an ally in Spain under the right-wing, Catholic regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco (if victorious) would restore Law and order back to Spain. However, Portugal's hand was forced by its longstanding ally Great Britain to participate in the Non-Intervention Agreement (NIA) (signed August 13th 1936),

⁴ Anita Stelmach, "‘We Can’t Have Reds in Portugal’: The Portuguese Response to the Spanish Civil War." *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. 30, (2014). 120

⁵ Anita Stelmach, "‘We Can’t Have Reds in Portugal’," 120. ; King Philip II annexed Portugal in 1580.

technically preventing Portugal from directly intervening in the Spanish conflict. Despite the regulations noted within the NIA, Portugal still managed to intervene in the Spanish Civil War to aid and support the Nationalists through the non-traditionalist means of the radio.

In fact, according to Spanish Scholars Alberto Pena-Rodriguez and Clara Sanz-Hernando, in addition to Portuguese Scholar Nelson Ribiero, the Spanish Civil War was the first war in history where the radio changed from a musical loudspeaker to a weapon of war capable of influencing, convincing and broadcasting propaganda on a wider scale within a country to sway public opinion, all in real time.⁶ Furthermore, radio could also reach an illiterate audience, unlike the press, thus making it a more universal medium of mass communication and information reception. The two main radio stations, *Radio Clube Portuguese* (RCP) and *Emissora Nacional* (EN), were the major factors that allowed Salazar to covertly aid and support Franco's Nationalists.

This paper is meant to showcase a more complete view on the roles, actions and powers that the RCP and EN had during the Spanish Civil War. Despite Portuguese participation in the NIA, Salazar covertly collaborated closely with the Nationalists and helped further their cause by enacting tighter broadcasting control over the two main Portuguese radio stations, *Radio Clube Portuguese* and *Emissora Nacional*, conveying pro-Nationalist messages to the

⁶ Alberto Pena-Rodríguez, and Clara Sanz-Hernando. "The 'conscience of Duty': The National Broadcasting Service of Portugal and the Spanish Civil War." *Radio Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2022): 155. https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao_00062_1 ; Nelson Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," *Comunicación y pluralismo*, No.5, (2008), 36. <https://dialnet-unirioja-es.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/servlet/articulo?codigo=2720656>

general Portuguese public and using the radio stations as vehicles for other means of Nationalist aid.

This paper will begin with some brief context regarding Salazar's regime, his personal positions, and his role regarding Portuguese media, along with a brief overview of the Portuguese media current during the era of the Spanish Second Republic—including how it shifted during the Spanish Civil War. Afterwards, it will cover the RCP and ENs' organization, actions, broadcasts, and "propagandist" strategies while comparing the impacts that these major radio stations have had on Franco's Nationalists.

Contribution to Historiography

Despite the proximity of Portugal to Spain, there is scant research on Portugal and the role it played in the Spanish Civil War, even less so regarding the Portuguese State's collaboration with the Nationalists. In fact, the Spanish Civil War is a topic undergoing a "boom" of historical research due to years of suppression of discussion regarding the conflict and a lack of access to archival documents.

Outside of the hispano-lusophone arena, there is next to no scholarship in an accessible research language, such as English, which also limits the depth and scope of research at the international level. Thus, this project will combine Spanish sources from notable Spanish researchers with Spanish sources authored by a Portuguese scholar. This paper will shed light on the covert collaboration between Portugal and Nationalist Spain during the time of the Spanish Civil War while putting their recent scholarship efforts on display in the English language.

Just like all research, the shortcomings of this paper must be acknowledged. Despite countless research in the three languages that I know (English, French and Spanish), there were next to no primary sources available to me —most of them, I assume, are located in either Portugal or Spain. I did try to remedy this lacuna by citing scholars whose bibliographies contained not just secondary sources in Spanish or Portuguese but also a large number of Portuguese or Spanish primary sources. Something else of note is the potential biases of the Spanish and Portuguese scholars that I will be citing. This is important because Salazar was, and often still is, praised within Portuguese borders.⁷

As a Canadian researcher, although I am removed from the Iberian Peninsula, making my writing more geographically objective, my lack of access to primary sources alongside the potential biases these scholars may have are worth noting.

Salazar's *Novo Media*

Even before the Spanish Civil War, the Iberian Peninsula was deeply divided. In 1926, the First Portuguese Republic was ousted by a military coup. Prior to gaining the title of Prime Minister (de facto dictator), Salazar was appointed as the Minister of Finance where he excelled so much (according to the government circle) that in 1932, he was appointed as Prime Minister; a title which he kept until the end of his dictatorship in 1968. Soon after, in 1931, the Second Spanish Republic was born and the tense climate between the neighbouring countries was palpable, as both

⁷ Walker, Peter. "The 'great' dictator." The Guardian. 26 March 2007. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/blog/2007/mar/26/salazar>

regimes were on opposite ends of the political spectrum at the time. Spanish Scholar Alberto Pena-Rodriguez states that tensions were at an all time low, and the countries relationships were riddled with mistrust, which only grew more bitter by the day as each side publicized propaganda attempting to delegitimize the other.⁸ The smear campaigns targeted, more often than not, both countries' diverging political ideologies. Upon the Election of the Popular Front on February 16th 1936, Salazar began a vicious propaganda campaign alleging that the Popular Front represented more than the historic "Spanish Danger", but now also represented the "Red Scare" alongside a potential Soviet invasion of the Iberian peninsula.⁹ Tensions peaked when Salazar decided to allow General José Sanjurjo, a key figure behind the Nationalist uprising, to stay in exile in Portugal.¹⁰

In 1933, Salazar, used his dictatorial power to rewrite the Portuguese Constitution and designate Portugal as the *Estado Novo* ("New State"). Within this new constitution, Portugal was now "[...] a corporati[st] and authoritarian government [...] Individual powers were adjusted, political parties were outlawed, and the size and capacity of the parliament was greatly reduced... No strikes or independent unions were permitted [...] [and] the Portuguese population was also controlled using a system of suppression, which included the use of political police and censorship."¹¹ With the new Constitution, censorship became one of the regime's pillars, with the establishment of censorship laws from 1932-1936 revolving

⁸ Alberto Pena-Rodríguez, "El país más feliz de Europa". La recepción de la Guerra Civil española en Portugal", *Ayer*, Vol. 127, No. 3, (2022), 194, DOI: 10.55509/ayer/891

⁹ Pena-Rodríguez, "El país más feliz de Europa," 195

¹⁰ Pena-Rodríguez, "El país más feliz de Europa," 196

¹¹ Anita Stelmach, "We Can't Have Reds in Portugal," 117 - 118

around printed news media mediums. In April 1936, the censorship of radio broadcasting became law in the *Estado Novo*, because prior to then, radio stations were predominantly amateur, had a limited budget and had a limited reach. But Salazar, leaving no stone unturned, turned his head to now censor radio, after censoring the press.¹² All State radio was controlled and censored (alongside the main news sources used by the State radio) and all international news had to be authorized by the station's chairman as the Portuguese government quickly realized the power that radio could disseminate.¹³ During the early days of the Spanish Civil War, the *Secreatariato da Propaganda Nacional*, or SPN ("National Propaganda Secretariat")¹⁴ decided to kickstart a mass propaganda campaign against the Popular Front; A campaign which would be undertaken by Portugal's two main radio stations.

Radio Clube Portuguese: Recruitment, Cooperation and anti-communist Propaganda

As soon as the Spanish Civil War began, the RCP's director, head of the Portuguese Military Section of Assistance to Portuguese Legionnaires in Spain and close friend to Salazar, Captain Jorge Botelho Moniz, began a campaign of radio propaganda in favour of the Rebel army.¹⁵ This particular privately owned radio station would cover the Spanish conflict live while giving pro-Falangist

¹² Nelson Ribeiro, "A new medium at war: The importance of foreign radio reports in Portugal during World War II". *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, Vol.5 no.2 , (2012), 212. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2010.517818>

¹³ Ribeiro, "A new medium at war," 212.

¹⁴ Also known as "National Propaganda Secretariat" in English.

¹⁵ Pena-Rodriguez and Sanz-Hernando. "The 'conscience of Duty'," 156.

statements within both Portugal's borders and the territory of its colonies.¹⁶

According to Alberto Pena-Rodriguez and Clara Sanz-Hernando, "[...] [t]he [RCP] was the most effective means of propaganda available to the rebels during the first six months of the conflict while they still lacked relevant means of communication"¹⁷. In addition, according to Nelson Ribeiro, the RCP collaborated with the Spanish Radio Station *Radio Sevilla* to be a means of propaganda in favour of the Falange.¹⁸ The RCP, for the most part, reported on the Rebel Army and the military aspects of the conflict.

By reporting on the military aspects of the conflict, the RCP generated the first radio report where Botelho Moniz sent staff, as volunteers, to the front lines of combat to report on the conflict's military developments. Simultaneously, the staff gathered and kept an exact, detailed record of the movements and positions of both the Rebels and the Loyalists.¹⁹ According to Pena-Rodriguez, Sanz-Hernando and Ribeiro, the RCP had the means to conduct radio surveillance and intercept encoded telegraphic messages.²⁰ They even established listening points where the radio could capture other Spanish broadcasts.²¹ This information from other stations complimented the information the RCP received from their volunteers on the front lines and formed a more cohesive news report that would be subject to review and subsequent censorship by the Portuguese government. The RCP even managed, through

¹⁶ Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 41.

¹⁷ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, "The 'conscience of Duty'," 157.

¹⁸ Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 39.

¹⁹ Nelson Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 42.

²⁰ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando. "The 'conscience of Duty'," 157.

²¹ Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 43.

some of its broadcasts, to recruit a "Portuguese Legion" and sent volunteers to fight among Franco's Rebels.²²

The propaganda narrative used by the RCP was geared towards legitimizing and creating a positive image of Franco's Rebel Army. This was done by promoting Franco and his rebel army alongside anti-communist and pro-Catholic rhetoric, two major components of Salazar's *Estado Novo*. Salazar was not just a staunch anti-communist. He was also absolutely petrified at the thought of Portugal vanishing from the map, either by way of an outside communist invasion or of an internal communist revolt. So, by aligning the RCP's propaganda narrative with Salazar's political convictions, the station garnered support in delegitimizing the "Red Danger" of the Popular Front alongside any other broadcasts that were not open to Francoist ideals.²³ Ribeiro notes that the RCP's broadcasts were able to penetrate and garner an audience outside the lusosphere within the Spanish territories of Andalucia, Extremadura and the two Castillas (Castilla León and Castilla La Mancha).²⁴ The Pro-Franco, Pro-Falange and Pro-Rebel Army narrative never faltered during the entirety of the Civil War.

The Black Embassy and the RCP – Rebel Collaboration with Portugal

When researching and comparing the findings of the Spanish scholars in contrast to the findings of the Portuguese scholar regarding the RCP, there is one distinct element which Pena-Rodriguez and Sanz-Hernando mention in their research

²² Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 44.

²³ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, "The 'conscience of Duty'," 158 ; Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 43.

²⁴ Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 42.

which Ribiero does not. That element is the existence of “The Black Embassy”. Although Portugal had the SPN, behind closed doors, several “[...] members of the Spanish autocracy exiled in Portugal, such as the Marquis of Miraflores, the Marquis of Vega de Anzo, the Marquis of Contadero, as well as the President of CEDA: José Maria Gil Robles and Nicolas Franco, the Generalissimo’s brother”, banded together and created a covert Embassy which supported the Spanish Falange and Franco’s Nationalists.²⁵

According to Pena-Rodriguez, the “Black Embassy” represented more than just the Rebels and the Falange. It managed the purchase of military equipment, fundraising through public collections, distributed propaganda to the Americas and managed recruitment of new combatants in Lisbon for Franco’s cause, even exerting control over the five Spanish consulates in Portugal.²⁶ The “Black Embassy” collaborated with Botelho Moniz’s RCP because the Embassy wanted a radio broadcasting studio but never had the funding to complete it. Therefore, its members decided to approach Botelho Moniz, to “[...] consider retransmit[ting] from inside the headquarters of the diplomatic mission [...]”, which Botelho Moniz, agreed to.²⁷

With the RCP essentially becoming an instrument of the “Black Embassy”, it becomes clear why this radio station’s primary focus was news regarding the Civil War, specifically, its military aspects. It gave the Embassy and by extension Franco and his Army

²⁵ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, “The ‘conscience of Duty’,” 157.

²⁶ Pena-Rodríguez, Alberto. “Fighting from Portugal for a New Spain: The ‘Black Embassy’ in Lisbon During the Spanish Civil War: Information, Press and Propaganda”, *Media History* Vol. 27, No. 3, (2021): 300, DOI: 10.1080/13688804.2020.1833709

²⁷ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, “The ‘conscience of Duty’,” 157.

details on how his battalions were doing on various fronts, and what the terrain and weather were like on particular days. It also gave Franco insights on the whereabouts and state of the enemy's battalions. Such information, especially given in real-time, was extremely valuable and could have meant the difference between either losing or winning a battle. By becoming an instrument for the "Black Embassy", this also explains how the RCP had the personal and financial resources to set up listening posts throughout the battlegrounds in Spain and recruit for the Portuguese Legion.

This collaboration and choice of broadcasting was no coincidence. As a strategic choice, this *private* radio company organized fundraisers for the Rebels, recruitment campaigns for the Portuguese Legion, public cultural events and aid to the Nationalists without being disbanded by the NIA due to its status as a legally private enterprise- all of this despite the fact that its owner was known for his ties to Salazar and that this supposedly covert "Black Embassy" was reported on twice in the New York Times.²⁸

***Emissora Nacional* – The "Neutral" Face**

Whereas the RCP took a more assertive viewpoint regarding its radio broadcasts, openly supporting and discussing the military aspects of the conflict and taking on a pro-Falangist tune, the *Emissora Nacional* took on a more modest and low-key approach to radio broadcasting. According to Sanz-Hernando, Pena-Rodriguez

²⁸ Kluckhohn, Frank L. "Rebels use Lisbon as Supply Funnel and Buying Centre." *New York Times*, Sep 21, 1936; N/A, "Hands Behind the Rebels." *The Globe* (1844-1936), Sep 22, 1936.

and Ribiero, the EN adopted an attitude in accordance with Portuguese Foreign policy, which at the time revolved around the NIA, therefore necessitating the station to take a neutral stance regarding the Spanish Civil War.²⁹ The RCP, a private enterprise, had the freedom to be more outspoken and take a side within the conflict. The EN, however, could not as it was the official broadcaster of Portugal, who had signed a Europe-wide agreement to not intervene nor aid any side of the Spanish Civil War. Therefore, the message on the airwaves needed to match the Portuguese political agenda or else its (barely disguised) alliance and favouritism towards the Rebels may impact their standing on the international stage (such as in the League of Nations).³⁰

To ensure that the EN's reports would not arise suspicion at the NIA's London Committee, Salazar, who knew very well the power that radio could hold, decided at the start of the conflict that the EN "[...] should form an administrative section of the Presidency Government in order to maintain strict supervision over its radio broadcasts."³¹ Therefore, the reports broadcasted by the EN were regularly supervised, reviewed and approved by the Portuguese dictator himself to ensure that the broadcasts were in line with government measures.

The EN's propaganda strategy was to adopt a more moderate and sober language, promote Portuguese policies and keep Portugal at a distance from diplomatic tensions. Although the EN was mostly financed by the SPN, it did need to collaborate at times with the "Black Embassy" to set up a "united front for radio

²⁹ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando. "The 'conscience of Duty'," 158 ; Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 42.

³⁰ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, "The 'conscience of Duty'," 158

³¹ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, "The 'conscience of Duty'," 159

propaganda against the Madrid government.”³² Therefore, it also had access to the same military information that was available to the RCP.

But the EN had something the RCP did not: federal funding from the SPN. Although the SPN would help weave the intricate web of Portuguese propaganda, it never funded the RCP as the State could not fund a private radio station. But the EN, a state-run radio station did receive funding- not the funding of the “Black Embassy”, but instead the funding of the SPN. This allowed the EN to expand its reach much further than the hispano-lusophone sphere and into other European countries as well. This meant that the EN had a well-funded international radio program which reported on the war in various languages other than Portuguese and Spanish³³.

Unlike the RCP, the EN never tried to delegitimize the information reported on by broadcasters who were loyal to the Popular Front. Instead, the EN focused on consolidating ideological indoctrination relating the Spanish Civil War to threats against Portugal. According to scholar Anita Stelmach, when retelling the 800-year history of Portugal, Portuguese sovereignty was always under threat of invasion, whether that be from other European Empires or foreign tribes.³⁴ Salazar used Portugal’s tumultuous history (alongside his own paranoia) to justify a “unity of action” or an “Iberian Alliance” based on solidarity against the communist enemy in Spain represented by the Popular Front.³⁵ The indoctrination tactics, based on “*Salazarismo*”, were deeply anti-

³² Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, “The ‘conscience of Duty’,” 159

³³ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, “The ‘conscience of Duty’,” 160

³⁴ Stelmach, “We Can’t Have Reds in Portugal’,” 113.

³⁵ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando. “The ‘conscience of Duty’,” 160

communist, just as the RCP was. But rather than having the rhetoric aimed at the armies of either side of the conflict, Salazar made sure that the Spanish Civil War was depicted as an international struggle where the communist revolutionaries plotted against the Portuguese government, and reinforced this within the radio broadcasts that he would approve.³⁶

Salazar instilled through his radio broadcasts the constant and imminent fear of a revolutionary takeover of Portugal, using persuasive techniques that influence the listener's emotions, going so far as to say that if the Popular Front won the war, it would be the beginning of the end for Portugal. If the "Spanish Red Danger" was victorious then it would waste no time invading Portugal, and since the "Spanish Red Danger" served the interest of the Comintern, Portugal would soon be absorbed by the "Red Soviet Danger" and the Portuguese culture would disappear. In these narratives "[...] the Francoist cause represented western civilization against the Asiatic barbarians; or, likewise, that the Rebel side in Spain fought to protect traditional values and the Iberian Peninsula against an imaginary genocidal invasion remotely controlled by Moscow."³⁷ According to EN Director Captain Henrique Galvao, the audience of the EN was horrified and legitimately believed that "'communism' had been the cause of 120, 000 deaths [...]" including widows and children- "thousands of cubic meters of blood, fire torture – all of that speaks for itself."³⁸

EN – Ecclesiastical News for the *Estado Novo*

³⁶ Stelmach, "'We Can't Have Reds in Portugal'," 131.

³⁷ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, "The 'conscience of Duty'," 160.

³⁸ Pena-Rodríguez and Sanz-Hernando, "The 'conscience of Duty'" 160

Although the Spanish Scholars are correct in stating that the EN was under the close eye of Salazar, used more modest language to promote neutrality and broadcasted a heavy anti-Communist rhetoric (as it was a major pillar for Salazarismo), they do not mention another aspect of the EN's broadcasts which Ribiero touches on: the religious aspect. As mentioned prior, Salazarismo, as an ideology, includes a staunch opposition to the political left, especially communism. Maintaining law and order, as well as traditional values, which are closely linked to the very omnipresent Catholic church in Portugal, was a key part of the EN's program.

Therefore, another role of the EN was to defend Salazarismo through the Christian values that the regime held in high regard and defended while simultaneously denouncing the dangers that the communist ideology represented for Portugal.³⁹ Oftentimes, particularly on political broadcasts, the EN would juxtapose "communism" (depicting the Popular Front as communist), alongside biblical events or imagery.⁴⁰ Communism would even be the subject of church sermons, such as the radio broadcasted Christmas sermon of the Cardinal of Lisbon in 1937. In it he compares the Spanish Civil War and to the Reconquista: the Nationalists, representing the heroic Christ, and the Popular Front, personifying them as the enemies of Christ. "[...] For our heroic sister nation – that gave us the world and the Christian Civilization, new worlds – fights all in blood, like in the era of the reconquest against the enemies of Christ and the Church".⁴¹

³⁹ Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 49-50.

⁴⁰ Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 54.

⁴¹ Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 54.

Summary of Scholarly Comparisons

With the contributions from both Spanish and Portuguese Scholars, a more cohesive and complete picture of both the RCP and the EN during the Spanish Civil War can be ascertained. While Pena-Rodriguez and Sanz-Hernando conducted thorough research, there are certain aspects that they omitted, including the religious aspect of the Portuguese propaganda, which their Portuguese counterpart, Ribiero, mentions in his work. Pena-Rodriguez's work on the "Black Embassy" is very thorough. However, he states that the "Black Embassy" "[...] began to carry out its activity in collaboration with the Portuguese institutions [on October 23rd, 1936]"— even though the "Black Embassy" was reported on twice, a month prior, in the New York Times and in another article for The Globe.⁴² Both these articles discuss the goings-on surrounding the "Black Embassy", such as the various purchases and diplomatic meetings with German Italian ministers. The New York Times article titled "Rebels use Lisbon as a Supply Funnel and Buying Center" (published on September 21, 1936) mentions Gil Robles' name as one of the members of the dubbed "Insurgent Embassy"—This is consistent with Pena-Rodriguez's findings.⁴³ This raises questions about Pena-Rodriguez's dates, however, which state that the "Black Embassy" and its collaborative activities within Portugal began in late October 1936. Based on both articles, however, it shows that the "Black Embassy" existed and began its activities, at the very least, one month prior to the time that Pena-Rodriguez noted.

⁴² Frank L. Kluckhohn, "Rebels use Lisbon as Supply Funnel and Buying Centre." New York Times, Sep 21, 1936; N/A, "Hands Behind the Rebels." The Globe, Sep 22, 1936.

⁴³ Kluckhohn, "Rebels use Lisbon as Supply Funnel and Buying Centre."

Another notable observation was what was omitted from Ribiero's works: The complete omission of the "Black Embassy" and the lack of mention as to how intertwined Salazar was to the RCP and the EN. He mentions very briefly that the EN director, Henrique Galvao, was one of Salazar's closest confidants-⁴⁴ But, Ribiero fails to mention that the RCP director Botelho Moniz was also in very close quarters with the dictator. In addition, Ribiero fails to mention Salazar's minute oversight of the EN's broadcasts, yet the Spanish scholars mention this fact consistently.

Concluding Reflections

Despite Portugal's participation in the NIA, Salazar did collaborate closely with the Nationalists and used the RCP and the EN to aid the Rebels in furthering their cause in more ways than simply conveying a pro-Nationalist message to the general Portuguese public. Salazar strategically aided the Nationalists by using the radio as more than an instrument to create a war of the airwaves; he used it as a true strategic weapon of war regardless of neutralist compromises.

Alongside the strict censorship and the want for the published propaganda "united front", these two major radio stations, although they had similar plans and often reported similar stories, executed their propaganda campaigns in drastically different ways. Because the RCP was a privately owned enterprise, it was untouchable by the scrutiny of the NIA for its pro-Falangist and pro-Rebel Army opinion. This allowed the RCP to be more explicitly biased and opinionated in its commentary and reports

⁴⁴ Ribeiro, "La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil española," 54.

using distinct verbiage to describe both sides. The Republicans would be called “[...] barbarians that destroyed all which opposed them. [Whereas] the Nationalists were normally characterized as possessing a strong humane side which carried them to fight for the pacification of Spain. [They were] considered as patriots and saviours”.⁴⁵ The RCP even took things a step further and with the collaboration and cooperation of the “Black Embassy”, the RCP was able to receive and report on the military aspects of the conflict in great detail, which not only informed the Portuguese public but also the Rebels on their various fronts. It even went so far as to create the volunteer Portuguese Legion sending an estimated 20 000 Portuguese volunteers to Franco’s Army. The private radio station even dealt with funding, supplying and funneling aid to the Nationalists.

Even though the EN took on a more low-key role, its façade of neutrality through its convincing words were able to appease the ever-watchful eye of the NIA and the London Committee and escape international scrutiny. While on its national territory, the EN took on a more aggressive role in moulding the beliefs of Portuguese citizens by promoting an anti-communist rhetoric alongside Catholic ideals and reminding its citizens of the painful history of a constant Portuguese threat.

This paper further showcases the importance of a diverse pool of sources so that the history of the Spanish Civil War and its particular niches can be told frankly, openly and in a more complete fashion. When studying this particular conflict, there is always more that needs to be learned and more that needs to be researched to gain a deeper understanding. Similarly, in Canada, the

⁴⁵ Ribeiro, “La radio portuguesa en la Guerra Civil Española,” 47.

Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion and its estimated 800 members that partook in the Spanish Civil War are only recently being further researched and their stories told, much like Portugal. More can be researched about the estimated 20, 000 volunteers, more can be researched about the “Black Embassy” and more can be uncovered about the EN. If left untouched, the past will simply fade and what would remain are the preexisting narratives that were told when both Salazar and Franco were still alive.

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Rising Sun, Falling Plague: How Imperial Japan Weaponized *Yersinia Pestis*

Kiran Dutton¹

During the Second World War, a secret branch of the Imperial Japanese forces known as Unit 731 directed a highly experimental campaign on the testing of biological and chemical warfare, and the production of related weaponry. This unit experimented with numerous phenomena and weapons systems, including the use of Bubonic Plague as a means of waging war. With the deployment of multiple variants of plague-vectors and transmission methods, Unit 731 carried out several plague-attacks in multiple locations in China, and did so presumably to aid in its annexation and domination of the region. In this investigation, the rise of Imperial Japan will be contextualized along with the Japanese zeitgeist and social understandings, as will the relevant events of contemporary Asia. This investigation will then attempt to address whether the systematic campaign of plague-attacks were able to achieve any discernible benefit for the Empire, and will then examine the legacy of these events in both the post-war world and the world thereafter.

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Imperial Japan Prior to the Second World War

The beginning of the 20th century saw a rapid rise in the position of Imperial Japan, with the small island nation greatly expanding its territorial holdings over the course of a series of wars and smaller conflicts. This ascension is particularly apparent when examining the events of the First World War (in which Japan defied *all* expectations of the Great Powers), where Japan had secured a tremendous degree of regional influence (territorially) by the culmination of the war with no significant losses. Much of this change in dynamics vis-a-vis the other Great Powers can be attributed to the outcome of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), which set the stage for major Japanese involvement in East Asia in both the First and Second World Wars (as well as the interwar years).² It is in this period where our investigation finds its focal-point.

To quickly summarize the significant events of the Russo-Japanese War, let us examine how this conflict started and what would follow in its aftermath. Imperial Japan had recently developed a grudge against both Tsarist-Russia and Imperial Germany, as the two nations had led an international effort to pressure Japan into returning part of its gains from the First Sino-Japanese War. There had already been growing tension between Russia and Japan in the region around Manchuria, which boiled over on the 9th of February, 1904, when the Japanese fleet ambushed and decimated the mighty Far East Fleet of the Tsar off the coast of

² Jean Chesneaux, Marianne Bastid, and Marie-Claire Begère, *China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution*, trans. Anne Destenay (New York, NY: Random House Inc., 1976), 285-299, 365-371.

Inchon *without* any formal declaration of war.³ This marked the first time that a non-European military force was able to defeat a European force in modernity, which understandably shook the world. Japan had once again defied all of the Great Powers' expectations (notably due to racialized thinking) and had even been able to successfully mobilize 1.088 *million* troops for this conflict, which lasted little longer than one year.⁴ The outcome of this Japanese victory would be the Russian agreement to leave Manchuria as well as to transfer its 25-year lease on Port Arthur to the Japanese. These developments would leave the door to Korea open for Imperial Japan. Protectorate-Korea, an open-Manchuria, and a weakened China are the conditions in which the East-Asian theater would enter the First World War.

It is hardly surprising that the First World War would find its way into China and East Asia, as each of the main European belligerents possessed concessions in the region, and the political environment in China (as discussed) was such that any hopes for a strong domestic presence were unrealistic to say the least. Not only were the European combatants all to be found in China, but Imperial Japan *also* possessed numerous interests and holdings in the country, all the while desiring revenge against Germany for its role in manifesting the Japanese return of certain gains from the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895.⁵ In an alliance with Britain and the Entente, Japan saw a prime opportunity for securing its revenge against Germany, which it managed to complete by 1915 in less

³ Naoko Shimazu, *Japanese Society at War: Death, Memory and the Russo-Japanese War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 21.

⁴ Shimazu, *Japanese Society at War*, 56.

⁵ P. H. B. Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East: A Perspective of Events, Cultural Influences and Policies* (London: E. Arnold and Company, 1937), 73.

than a full year of war.⁶ Moreover, following the defeat of German colonial forces, the British recalled their forces to Europe, leaving Japan in complete control of the territories lost by Germany. Japan further secured rights from the newly formed government of republican China, some of which included the extending of administrative rights in Manchuria, and the exclusion of polities other than Japan in investments and development roles in the province of Fukien (Fujian), the province which lay directly across from the Japanese controlled island of Formosa (Taiwan).⁷ Generally speaking, the First World War was far less damaging and costly to the Japanese than for any of the other Great Powers, with Japan being virtually the only nation to *better* its global position as a result of the conflict.

Following the Treaty of Versailles, another meeting of the Great Powers took place at the Conference of Washington, November 1921. The purpose of this conference was to diminish points of potential conflict in Asia (which had begun to look as though conflict were imminent) and to preserve the post-war status quo of the nations found therein. A notable concern for many of the involved parties was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which they viewed as problematic for a future world peace.⁸ All of these nations had underestimated Japan prior to the outbreak of war, and they had all become concerned with the might of the Japanese Empire. In many ways, these concerns would prove to be valid, as it is now generally considered that the Second World War did in-fact begin in East Asia and was caused by Japanese aggression.

⁶ Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East*, 73.

⁷ Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East*, 75.

⁸ Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East*, 86-87

The inter-war years saw the emergence of additional events which should prove relevant to our investigation, chief of which is the creation of the state of Manchukuo. The roots of said events can be tied to the fallout from both the Russo-Japanese War, as well as the First World War, and involve many of the same themes. The Japanese decision makers were concerned by the reality that Japanese industrial cities on the main islands were within range of Soviet airfields from the mainland, by Japan's reliance on importation for acquiring raw materials, and by the prospect of both Soviet encroachments and the diffusion of leftist-ideologies in the region. For these reasons amongst many others, leadership in the Imperial Armed Forces took the initiative of invading non-Japanese Manchuria on September 18, 1931, under the pretext of protecting the South Manchurian Railway.⁹ Virtually every soldier in both the Kwantung Territory (Japanese-Canton; acquired through the Russo-Japanese War) and Korea were deployed to this front in *less* than 24 hours, culminating with Japan gaining control of all Railroads in Manchuria by the end of November 1931.¹⁰

On January 28, 1932, Imperial Japan invaded the city of Shanghai following the supposed murder of four Japanese priests and was able to gain full control of the city in a matter of weeks.¹¹ Shanghai was well known amongst Chinese port cities and was one of the few locations in which each of the Great Powers possessed a land concession. Through this occupation, an already existent anti-Japanese movement on the part of the Chinese people grew significantly larger and more active; something which would come into play during the Second World War. By March 3 1932, the city

⁹ Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East*, 253.

¹⁰ Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East*, 257.

¹¹ Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East*, 258.

had been completely occupied, and Japanese forces were recalled.¹² Imperial Japan did not however, recall all of its troops: it retained an entire garrison within its district (citing security concerns), setting the scene for the previously open city's horrific ordeal during the lead-up and early years of the Second World War.

The invasion of Shanghai served as a consolidating tool for the Japanese gains in Manchuria, as the limited Chinese forces had to choose which of the two locations they wished to defend (they chose the former). In the same month as the partial Japanese withdrawal from Shanghai, the state of Manchukuo was established by the Japanese, and despite contestations from the other Great Powers, Manchukuo became a consolidated polity in the region.¹³ With its newly created puppet state, Imperial Japan had partially resolved two of its goals: it had created a buffer state between Japan and the U.S.S.R. (Soviet planes were no longer within range of the home islands), and through the exploitation of Manchukuo, Japan gained self-sufficiency in food production.¹⁴ In these conflicts, the motivations and interests of the Empire can clearly be seen, as well as other elements such as anti-Japanese sentiments amongst the Chinese populations, and the clear will of Japan to exploit the region for its own benefit.

Imperial Japan in the Second World War: Yersinia Pestis Weaponized

At the outset of the Second World War, Imperial Japan was, as it had been since the turn of the century, heavily involved in

¹² Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East*, 259.

¹³ Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East*, 260.

¹⁴ Kent, *The Twentieth Century in the Far East*, 272.

China with both administrative and militaristic operations. Having secured sizeable landholdings, including virtually the entire region known as Manchuria (both directly and indirectly, via the puppet government of Manchukuo in the second case), de facto control of Korea and smaller administrative zones spread across China, Japan had already been engaged in what is commonly referred to as the Second Sino-Japanese War since the early 1930s, and was thus actively moving towards the securing of regional interests. On top of this, Japan had fully embraced the advancement of the natural sciences as a means of national protection, and having finally caught up to the other Great Powers on many scientific fronts, it was finally in a position to contribute to the cutting-edge. It is in this context where the employment of plague as a tool of warfare is born.

Over the course of the Second World War, Imperial Japan carried out multiple large-scale plague-bioweapon attacks in China, with at least six confirmed instances of this being reported from non-Japanese sources, as well as a handful of suspected ones.¹⁵ These events spanned the years 1940 to 1943, with a possible seventh attack in 1942, and showed a degree of variation which can only be associated with experimentation. According to a Dr. P. Z. King, germ dissemination as a tool of warfare had indeed been carried out prior to this war (poisoning wells or smallpox blankets as a North American example), though such events were extremely limited geographically.¹⁶ Whether disease could be artificially introduced to a *large* area – producing a high degree of infection,

¹⁵ Hollington K. Tong et al., ed., *China Handbook: 1937-1943: A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments in China in Six Years of War*, (Taiwan: China News Service Inc., 1943), 679.

¹⁶ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 679.

illness, and death – had yet to be demonstrated in the history of human industrial science. Evidently, Imperial Japan had rapidly acquired the means by which to fund such an experiment, but was also keenly seeking out means by which to gain an advantage over its adversaries.¹⁷

The first of these confirmed attacks came on October 4, 1940 and targeted the city of Chuhsien, Chekiang. The attack was carried out by a single plane, which dropped a cargo of rice, wheat, and (presumably) plague-infected rat fleas over the city's western district. It should be noted that the fleas were said to have been improperly examined, and *Yersinia Pestis* had not been found in any of the tested fleas. An outbreak of plague appeared on

¹⁷ Jirō Numata, "The Acceptance of Western Culture in Japan. General Observations," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 19, no.3/4 (1964): 235-241, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2383170>; "The United States and the Opening to Japan, 1853." Department of State, Government of the United States, Office of the Historian, accessed 12 April 2023, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/opening-to-japan>; W. G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972), 14, 276-277, 290-291, 298. From the first Euro-Japanese contact in 1543 (via the Portuguese), the Japanese leadership saw a threat to their culture from the diffusion of European religion and non-traditional practices, eventually leading to the adoption of the National Isolationist Act (1633), and thus beginning the period known as 'Closed Japan' (only the Dutch and Chinese could trade with Japan). Over the next two hundred or so years, Japanese society was largely blind to the developments of the rest of the world. This ignorance came to a sudden end with the Commodore Perry Expedition, which saw the U. S. secure access-rights to Japan via a show of force (Treaty of Kanagawa, 1854 ; 'Harris Treaty', 1858). Aware of how underdeveloped they had become (also evidenced by the opening of China), the Japanese sent observational missions to the west starting in 1860, which ultimately led to the Meiji restoration. By June 29, 1869, Japan was fully united under the Meiji regime, a government which championed nationalism, technological development, and constitutional legalism. This new government's goal was to rapidly modernize Japan as a defence against European imperialism, while preserving as much of traditional Japanese culture as possible. The observational missions studied the ways of the Great Powers and sent relevant knowledge back to Japan, starting in 1860. The Meiji government would set in motion a strong tradition of promoting scientific and technological advancement.

November 12 (38 days after the material-drop), which lasted 24 days and resulted in 24 deaths (officially).¹⁸ It should be noted that the authorities at the time believed that plague had *never* occurred in the city prior to this event, and so it was thus assumed that this was the direct result of the activities performed by the Japanese airplane.¹⁹ As has recently become understood in plague pathology, Europe following the Black Death had not in fact become plague free, rather plague just became endemic to certain localities, where it continued to exist unnoticed by the populous.²⁰ This raises concerns over the validity of the previous statement, though an examination into this concern is tangent to this discussion.

The second attack was carried out on October 27, 1940 on the port city of Ningpo (Ningbo), in the province of Chekiang. This attack involved multiple planes dropping quantities of wheat, and was meant to destabilize the important economic hub. Shortly after this, an outbreak of plague appeared beginning on the 29th, lasting 34 days, claiming 99 lives (officially).²¹ It was found that the Ningpo region had no significant mortality amongst the rodent populations prior to this event and that there were no probable instances of exogenous cause. The material itself had not been examined for traces of *Yersinia Pestis*, likely due to a lack of understanding and appreciation of the intent of the event.²² Plague presence in humans had been verified by laboratory methods, though the lack of

¹⁸ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 680.

¹⁹ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 681.

²⁰ Lori Jones, "The Second Pandemic: Beyond Western Europe", (lecture presented to the class of HIS-4365 at the University of Ottawa, winter term, Ottawa, March 8, 2023).

²¹ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 679.

²² Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 679.

material examination demonstrates once again the cutting-edge nature of this weapons system.

The third attack took place on November 28, 1940 in the city of Jinhua, in the province of Zhejiang. On this date, plague outbreaks in the two previously mentioned locations were ongoing, which was likely an intended coinciding. In this attack, three planes dropped translucent granules (about the size of shrimp-eggs) over the target area, rather than grains as in the previous attacks.²³ The granules were examined in a laboratory setting, and were found to contain *Yersinia Pestis*, as possessing the physical attribute of dissolving in water (and leaving a film on the surface). In this case, no outbreak of plague materialized, which has been hypothesised as resulting from the failure of this form of plague material.²⁴ It is clear however, that the Japanese were experimenting with delivery vectors, once again showing the state of the science involved.

The fourth attack hit the city of Changteh (Changde), Hunan province, on November 4, 1941. In this instance, only one plane was used and employed a mixture of rice, paper, cotton-wads, fleas, and some unidentified particles. The materials were shown to have been infected with *Yersinia Pestis* through laboratory experimentation, and a limited outbreak manifested (beginning November 11). In total, nine suspected cases were reported, though only one of these was confirmed by scientific means.²⁵ It was once again maintained that the city had never been known to have suffered from plague, and through addressing what was known about the ways in which plague propagated, it was specified that the city did not import grain (it only exported it). Additionally, through multiple rounds of

²³ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 680.

²⁴ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 680.

²⁵ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 680-681.

sample-group testing for *Yersinia Pestis* in the local rat population, plague was only identified in February 1942 – *after* the human-outbreak.

On August 30, 1942, a fifth ‘plague bombing’ took place in the city of Nanyang, Honan. Using three planes, Japanese forces dropped a mixture of corn and kaoliang (a variety of sorghum) over the target area, and the mixture was later found to contain *Yersinia Pestis*.²⁶ Official death toll is unknown. Lastly, in the spring of 1943 a sixth Japanese plague attack took place in the province of Kiangsi. Official death-toll is unknown. As with the previous attacks, the Japanese dropped plague-infected rice from a plane, and this information was reported by a Canadian Red Cross doctor who was working in China at the time.²⁷

The final asserted instance of Japanese plague-attacks on a large scale occurred in the central region of China where the provinces of Ningsia, Suiyuan, and Shensi can be found in close proximity. In January of 1942, multiple Chinese military officials reported that Japanese forces had released large quantities of plague-infected rats and mice into the open environment.²⁸ What has been verified with reasonable certainty is that an outbreak of plague did occur in the region that winter, and that 600 cases of plague had been reported across the jurisdictions between the end of January and April 9, 1942.²⁹ It was also ascertained that plague

²⁶ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 679.

²⁷ Edward Drea et al., *Researching Japanese War Crimes Records: Introductory Essay* (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration for the Nazi War Crimes and Japanese Imperial Government Records Interagency Working Group, 2006), 68.

²⁸ Japan’s Wartime Medical atrocities 86.

²⁹ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 681.

was enzootic amongst the rodent population of the Ordos region in Suiyuan *prior* to the supposed attack, thus casting potential doubt on the validity of the assertion of Japanese involvement.³⁰ There is little that can be said with certainty regarding the larger effects which were caused by these events, and any attempt to detail resultant changes to the tides of war would be highly speculative by nature. Dealing first with what is known, the historical record of Japanese activity in eastern China is solid. The empire had already participated in military engagements in the areas of China which touch the Yellow Sea as early as the 1870s, and many of the treaty ports and concession-lands awarded to European powers were found in this area as well (making any potential conflict involving two or more great powers likely to involve the region). What's more, Japan had already been active in nearby Shanghai in 1932, as well as in 1937. The invasion of Shanghai in 1937 was joined by the so-called Rape of Nanjing in the same year (amongst other operations), constituting the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War and, ultimately, the Second World War.

Imperial Japan was already known to have turned its eyes on mainland Asia for the securing of vital natural resources and possessed the means by which to secure them owing to its radical acceptance of technological innovation. The question then becomes: did plague-weapons increase the empire's ability to achieve its goals? While there is no way to say with certainty, it is unlikely that approximately two-thousand – confirmed – deaths of primarily non-combatants had any noticeable effect on Japanese administration in the region, nor did these weapons prevent Sino-

³⁰ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 681.

Japanese combat from taking place.³¹ Had this plague-bombing campaign proven tangibly effective, the world would have seen the empire unleash this new weapons-system on every one of its fronts, even possibly targeting mustering points behind enemy lines (and combatants more generally). Taking a tremendous degree of liberty, the answer to the question 'did plague-bombing save imperial Japan lives, resources, and extend its control over the Asian content?' is: no, it did not.

Our knowledge of these events comes from multiple sources, ranging from eye-witness accounts to administrative records from the medical, legal, marshal, and scientific fields. The period in which these events took place had notably weakened Chinese organizational capacities, and so what records did survive likely under-represent the true scope of events. By nature of the political condition in China, there were both multiple nationalist factions as well as a newly established republican administrative system.³² On top of this domestic political landscape, there was also

³¹ Jonathan Watts, "Japan guilty of germ warfare against thousands of Chinese: Tokyo Judges Rule That Second World War Atrocities Did Take Place but Reject Claims for compensation," *The Guardian*, August 28, 2002, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/aug/28/artsandhumanities.japan>.; Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 678-682.

³² Chesneaux, Bastid, and Begère, *China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution*, 76, 79, 116, 192-195, 285-299, 365-371. From the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, there existed immense political turmoil in China (like other East-Asian polities) as a direct result of technology-fueled imperialism. At the closing of this period, each of the Great Powers controlled territorial possessions in the region, and Imperial Japan had proven itself a member of said powers through its participation in the partition of East Asia. Through the Peking Conventions (1860), the British and French propped-up the weakened Imperial regime in China, allowing for the country's devouring by the Great Powers. The Russian Empire moved in from Central Asia, Korea and Vietnam (tributary kingdoms of China) were both opened and partially or completely annexed (by Japan and France respectively), and all the other Great Powers secured possessions and treaty rights

the reality of a foreign invasion to contend with. As such, the usual infrastructure that would handle and document such events was undersupplied and underfunded. On the Japanese side, the unit which was responsible for orchestrating and carrying out the operations, Unit 731, was a branch of the Imperial forces which was *explicitly* a secret organization, thus causing much of their data to not be disseminated to public knowledge (along with understanding of the unethical nature of the organization). In any event, both the Japanese and non-Japanese sources of information shall briefly be examined.

In the first half of the 20th century in China, the government of the newly formed Republic of China published an annual encyclopedia encompassing major developments in the country for the benefit of its citizens. This new government was heavily influenced by the Wuchang movement which fueled the 1911 revolution, and was thus heavily concerned with modernization and the promotion of empiricism. These encyclopedias contained general census and statistical data (such as the number and nature of legal ongoing legal proceedings, contagion tracking, etc.), as well as information pertaining to things like geography. The later People's Republic of China even continued with the publication of this encyclopedia following its ascension to power (there were no publications during the years of the Chinese Civil War), though it would change the name from *The China Handbook* to *The China*

of one kind or another. Notable events from this period include the First (1839-'42) and Second (1856-'60) Opium Wars, the French-Sino War (1884-'85), the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-'95), numerous Imperial concessions and loans to the Great Powers (1895-'98; includes the U.S. Open Door policy), several rebellions, and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-'05). Finally, a revolutionary coup took place in 1911 which saw the Chinese Republic replacing the weakened Imperial Regime.

Yearbook in 1957.³³ It is from one of the publications of *The China Handbook* in which the bulk of the information regarding the Japanese plague attacks prior to 1943 is presented.

The years of the Second World War and their events were such that *The China Handbook* was not able to be published yearly as had been intended, though the information of those years was nonetheless recorded, and two publications of the book would cover the years of 1937-1943 and 1943-1945 respectively. In *The China Handbook: 1937-1943* (printed in 1943), there is an article titled “Bacterial Warfare” in the 17th chapter (“Public Health and Medicine”), which is made up almost entirely by the April 9, 1942 report of one Dr. P. Z. King (Pao-shan Chin), excluding a short introduction and conclusion.³⁴ Dr. King’s report goes to great lengths to both provide scientific data, as well as to provide evidence and investigations into the claims of Japanese plague attacks.³⁵

Interestingly, the school from which King received his M.D., Mukden Medical College (city of Mukden) was located in Manchuria, which was officially Japanese in 1918, and it is thus quite possible he studied alongside some of those involved in the

³³ “China Yearbook 1937/43-1978: Item Details.” OCUL-OMNI, University of Ottawa. Accessed April 14, 2023.

³⁴ Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, 671-682.

³⁵ Dugald Christie, “C.M.G. F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S.Ed,” *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 3962 (1936): 1238-39; Tong et al., *China Handbook: 1937-1943*, xvii. King was himself a subject-matter expert on epidemiology and microbiology, having received his “M.D. [from the] China Medical College, Japan, 1918; [his] C.P.H. from John Hopkins, 1927; [was a] former professor, [at the] college of medicine, National Peiping Univ., [had been the] commissioner of health, [in] Hangchow; [had been the] director [of the] National Epidemic Prevention Bureau [of China]; [and was the current serving] [...] director-general, [of the] National Health Administration [of China],” to list just a few of his credentials.

plague attacks bombing campaigns.³⁶ What's more, there had been a major outbreak of plague in Manchuria not but 30 years prior, and it was through this outbreak (known as "The Great Manchurian Pneumonic Plague") that the invention of the gauze surgical mask materialized. This plague outbreak was also amongst the first to see the application of microbiology and bacteriology as tools for combating plague outbreaks.³⁷ As such, the scientific study of, and interaction with, plague in the region was commonplace by the early 20th century, and coincided with the emergence of microbiology as a cutting edge field of modern technology.

From the Japanese side, much of the information regarding the events discussed would have been created and archived by the secret Japanese military unit, Unit 731, though owing to the classified nature of its operation and creation, few such documents have been disseminated to the public. Unit 731's purpose was to research biological warfare and develop bio-weapons, and was created from the early *Army Epidemic Prevention Research Laboratory*.³⁸ This unit vivisected, starved, burned, shot, blew up, froze, and infected (with a plethora of disease) *thousands* of human subjects with the goal of collecting information on the human body. The test subjects spanned numerous classification groups, from children to the elderly, Russian and Allied POWs, as well as Chinese nationals of multiple social distinctions. The unit was given its own military compound and provided special funding from the highest levels of Japanese administration. Such a unit was not

³⁶ Dugald Christie, "C.M.G. F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S.Ed.," *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 3962 (1936): 1238–39.

³⁷ Lori Jones, "The Third Plague Pandemic", (lecture presented to the class of HIS-4365 at the University of Ottawa, winter term, Ottawa, March 15, 2023).

³⁸ Doug Hickey et al., "Unit 731 and Moral Repair," *Journal of Medical Ethics* 43, no. 4 (2017): 270.

drastically removed from other such organizations in the rest of the world however, as the early 20th century saw nations like the United States and Nazi Germany sanctioning their own experimental research on human subjects.³⁹

Japanese Accountability for Weaponized Plague

As the official hostilities of the Second World War came to a close, the victorious Allied and Soviet forces held a number of war crimes tribunals for both theaters of war. The infamous International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg) was established to investigate and prosecute the perpetrators of Nazi war crimes in the European conflict, chief of which being the Holocaust, and the equally infamous International Military Tribunal for the Far East (Tokyo) was likewise established to investigate the war crimes committed by Imperial Japan. Both of these tribunals also included investigations into crimes against humanity in addition to traditional war crimes, and both saw numerous trials held in multiple locations over multiple years. In total, 2,200 trials took place investigating Japanese actions between the years 1945 and 1956, covering various types of crimes and all classes of trial.⁴⁰ The B and C class trials, which encompass the trials held *outside* of Nuremberg and Tokyo, were the result of the Control Council Law No. 10 (international law), which granted an occupying force the right to conduct war crime trials for traditional war crimes committed by the occupied polity. For these classes, in Asia and the Pacific, 5700 persons were charged, 4300 of which were convicted,

³⁹ Hickey et al., "Unit 731 and Moral Repair," 271.

⁴⁰ Jing-Bao Nie et al., ed., *Japan's Wartime Medical Atrocities*, Comparative Inquiries in Science, History, and Ethics (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 32.

with 475 of those being sentenced to life imprisonment and 984 to death.⁴¹ In all of the trials following the Second World War, *regardless* of the class, politics played a major role in the manner in which the trials unfolded.

For the IMTFE proper, there were 11 prosecutors, and 25 defendants. These trials were deemed class A, though despite the serious sounding title, they were heavily dictated by politics, and thus many instances of leniency or perversion of justice can be found. The Cold War dynamics were quickly taking flight, and it is through the lens of these tensions that the most sense can be made of the proceedings of the IMTFE. General D. MacArthur was the leading authority in Japan representing the occupying polity, and as such, he had a tremendous amount of influence. The U.S. was at this time highly concerned with the rising tide of communism and wanted desperately to contain it. In Japan, it saw a counter balance to the spread of communism in the east, should a successful rebuilding of the nation transpire.⁴² It is still unclear to this day just how large of a role the Emperor actually played in the governing of wartime Japan, though it is well known, for example, that he faced virtually no scrutiny at the time of the trials, as the U.S. government had pushed a narrative that he had only possessed symbolic power during the war to further its own post-war objectives.

As the IMTFE relates to the topic of biological warfare, the actual trials touched very little on war crimes related to biological warfare. The United States had in fact been very concerned with acquiring the data produced by the Japanese units 731 and 100, as they were fearful of Soviet military technologies and developments (who themselves were investigating this very same program), and

⁴¹ Nie et al., *Japan's Wartime Medical Atrocities*, 32.

⁴² Nie et al., *Japan's Wartime Medical Atrocities*, 33.

wanted to be ahead of them in every possible regard.⁴³ With virtually no power to oppose the American dictation of trial focuses and variables, the other nations sat helplessly as the topic of Japan's biological warfare program was all but excluded. The U.S. government would grant total immunity to anyone connected to the program, and payed 250,000 Yen to each of the scientists in exchange for their data.⁴⁴ This data contained the results of various types of experiments (as have already been discussed), and also included the results of experiments in chemical warfare. Despite the vast number of victims who were killed and mutilated in the creation of said data (some of whom were even U.S. POWs), the United States gladly took the information, and swept the topic under the rug.

The conclusion of the various post-war war crimes tribunals would not mark the end of legal proceedings, however, as there have been a number of suits and class actions which have taken place in the years after 1956. Most notable amongst these is the class-action lawsuit filed by 180 Chinese plaintiffs against the government of Japan in August 1997, all of whom were either direct survivors of Unit 731's research program, or were the immediate family of victims who died either during the research campaign, or in the years following (it should be noted that at the high-end, some

⁴³ Drea et al., *Researching Japanese War Crimes Records*, 97; Nie et al., *Japan's Wartime Medical Atrocities*, 33.

⁴⁴ Jeanne, Guillemin, *Hidden Atrocities: Japanese Germ Warfare and American Obstruction of Justice at the Tokyo Trial*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), book description.

250,000 people are estimated to have been victims of Unit 731).⁴⁵ Those survivors who were part of the 180 plaintiffs suffered from a wide range of afflictions (owing to the wide range of experiments carried out), including some who had contracted plague or lost family to plague. The group filed the suit seeking both financial compensation and an official apology.

Seventy-two of the plaintiffs from the 1997 suit filed a second suit on December 9, 1999, seeking the same things (although the compensatory amount requested was larger), even though the first suit was ongoing. One of these plaintiffs, “ Zhang Lizhong, 67, said his two younger brothers and grandfather died after Japanese military aircraft dropped grain containing germ-infected fleas in Changde, Zhejiang Province, in 1941,” though these were only three of a suspected thousands of victims related to this attack.⁴⁶ Owing to the limitations which were discussed earlier regarding the institutional state of China during the period in which these events took place, it was difficult (bordering on impossible) to test and scientifically confirm all those who were suspected of having been infected and so the true number of plague-related suffering is still unknown to this day.

On August 27, 2002, the Tokyo district court in which the 1997 suit was filed delivered a verdict. The court had found that there was irrefutable evidence of Imperial Japan’s testing of biological and chemical weapons on unwilling participants in the

⁴⁵ “Japan Rejects Appeal for War Compensation,” *The New York Times*, April 20, 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/20/world/asia/japan-rejects-appeal-for-war-compensation.html>.

⁴⁶ “Chinese Sue Over Unit 731 Germ Warfare,” *The Japan Times*, December 9, 1999, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/1999/12/09/national/chinese-sue-over-unit-731-germ-warfare/>.

lead up to, as well as during the Second World War.⁴⁷ This marked a change in the official discourse, as the Japanese government had continually downplayed or outright denied these events, citing lack of evidence. In this ruling, the claim of not knowing was no longer possible. The district court did not, however, approve the monetary compensation that was sought by the plaintiffs, claiming that the matter of reparations and settlement had already been settled in the post war tribunals, at the level of government.⁴⁸ This ruling was appealed by ten of the plaintiffs, though the High Court of Japan rejected the appeal on April 19, 2005, upholding the ruling of the aforementioned district court, which stated the international law prohibits foreign citizens from seeking monetary compensation from a national government.⁴⁹ This ruling has infuriated many, with Chinese opinion generally exhibiting the most extreme instances of this outrage.

What is rather interesting about the responses to these rulings is that they seem to primarily direct anger towards the government of Japan and make little mention of the role which the United States played in this turmoil. As was discussed, the U.S. and its politics had tremendous sway over the proceedings of many post-war war crimes trials, and effectively removed any discussion of these events from the docket. Not only did it avoid the conversation, it actively protected the perpetrators and paid them for their data. The U.S. then promptly classified these documents

⁴⁷ Doug Struck, "Tokyo Court Confirms Japan Used Germ Warfare in China," *The Washington Post*, August 28, 2002, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2002/08/28/tokyo-court-confirms-japan-used-germ-warfare-in-china/48af199b-7943-44b4-b5c0-4f8e6721bba9/>.

⁴⁸ Watts, "Japan guilty of germ warfare."

⁴⁹ "Japan Rejects Appeal for War Compensation."

(as well as the initiatives to acquire them), essentially whitewashing the Imperial regime in regards to the events.⁵⁰ Not only did the U.S. steer the judicial processes away from being able to compensate victims (these settlements form part of the basis for Japanese court-rulings), but its classification of the data most likely forced the post-war government of Japan to necessarily deny the existence of the events, owing to their now-classified nature (as dictated by the nation which was rebuilding theirs). In any event, these court rulings have presented official recognition on the part of modern Japan's institutions, and in the same year its High Court was commenting on the matter (2005), the C.I.A. itself declassified and released its documents pertaining to the matter, though the U.S. government itself has yet to comment on the matter.⁵¹

The case of Imperial Japan is one of the great curiosities of modern history, as its rapid ascension into the ranks of the Great Powers has virtually never been repeated. Through a substantial body of scholarship, it is now understood how the polity achieved this societal evolution and how this rapid growth left its social fabric brittle and radicalized as the 20th century came about. Japan, formerly the bullied, became a bully by embracing technological development and the power that came with it, though was only able to achieve respect from the Great Powers by unleashing its might on other downtrodden polities. From feeling insulted and disrespected even *after* having achieved industrialization, Imperial Japan was set on undoing the injustices of treaties and events from the end of the 19th century.

⁵⁰ Struck, "Tokyo Court Confirms Japan Used Germ Warfare in China."

⁵¹ Drea et al., *Researching Japanese War Crimes Records*, 197.

As the Second World War erupted, Japan was already heavily invested in mainland Asia and had come to view its inhabitants with little regard. It was in this context that it unleashed a research campaign on the viability of chemical and biological weapons systems, as the empire was obsessed with technological innovation and cared little for the people of its neighboring polities. This campaign saw attempts on the part of Imperial Japan to produce weaponized Bubonic Plague and its field testing of this weapon on Chinese cities. In retrospective analysis, it does not appear as though these plague weapons achieved any meaningful benefits for the Japanese war-effort, though it nonetheless caused not-insignificant amounts of pain and suffering for the inhabitants of the target cities. These events were rapidly covered up by both the Japanese and U.S. governments in the days immediately following the end of the war, to the point that they hardly featured in the war crimes tribunals held after the war. It is only in more recent times that either of these governments has begun to open up to this discussion, despite the fact that suffering, memory, and anger are all very much alive in the world today.

Appendix



Figure 3. Dutton, Kiran. “Locations of Japanese Plague Attacks.” Google Earth, April 14, 2023.

<https://earth.google.com/web/@35.74219071,118.02852065,357.77969131a,4407592.30030417d,34.9983483y,0h,0t,0r>

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Étude de la combativité des Juifs d'Europe : Le cas de l'Armée juive et de la Résistance juive en France

Julien Bergeron¹

Quand nous avons appris en Palestine l'existence en France occupée d'une résistance juive spécifique, nous nous sommes dit qu'il y a désormais quelque chose de changé dans le monde juif².

- David Ben Gourion

(Président de l'exécutif de l'Agence Juive)

L'histoire de la résistance durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale est un sujet d'étude tout aussi complexe qu'il en est riche. En son sein, l'histoire de la Résistance juive (RJ) se révèle être un volet niche, mal connue et souvent sous-estimée. Selon l'historien et politologue spécialiste de l'étude de l'Holocauste, Raul Hilberg, « *there was almost no Jewish resistance during the Holocaust* »³. Hannah Arendt, suivant le procès de Eichmann, a également posé la question de « pourquoi ses coreligionnaires d'Europe occupée n'avaient-ils pas opposé de résistance violente et constante à l'extermination nazie ? »⁴ Si ces

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² Jacques Lazarus, « De la résistance juive », *Le Monde Juif* 152, no. 3 (1994): 43.

³ David M. Crowe, *The Holocaust: Roots, History, and Aftermath*, 2^e ed. (New York: Routledge, 2021), 242.

⁴ Claude Lévy, « La résistance juive en France. De l'enjeu de mémoire à l'histoire critique », *Vingtième siècle, revue d'histoire*, no. 22 (1989): 125.

deux questions paraissent de prime abord légitimes, c'est qu'elles sont la preuve que la réalité de la résistance juive est mal connue.

Or, minimiser la résistance des Juifs d'Europe face au nazisme revient à réduire ce peuple à l'état d'un troupeau d'animaux sans défense, sans combativité, sans agentivité⁵. C'est pourquoi ce travail vise à remédier à l'ignorance en explorant le cas de l'organisation de l'Armée juive (AJ) en France. Si nombreux sont, en France, les réseaux et groupes de la Résistance juive, l'Armée juive présente cependant un attrait tout particulier du fait de ses nombreuses et constantes relations avec ses homologues de la RJ. Ainsi, ce travail démontre qu'il y a eu une résistance juive en Europe, de par le fait indéniable du cas de l'Armée juive. Dans un premier temps, cela est vrai de par la distinction entre la résistance nationale et la résistance juive qui, si elles sont fraternelles, ont des particularités propres à chacune. Puis, il convient d'étudier la fondation et les motivations du groupe paramilitaire, qui offre un explication quant à la mentalité et l'identité de ses membres. Enfin, il faut se pencher sur des cas bien clairs d'actions entreprises par l'AJ afin de prouver la véracité de l'existence de la RJ.

Discerner la Résistance juive de la Résistance nationale

Plusieurs autrices et auteurs font part de la difficulté de définir la Résistance juive. Ce qu'elle inclut comme actions et ce qui la motive sont des caractéristiques qui varient des uns aux autres. Il est néanmoins convenu qu'il est essentiel de la différencier de la Résistance nationale (RN). Étant donné que les motivations fluctuent d'un organisme de la RJ à l'autre, on peut tout du moins

⁵ Lévy, « La résistance juive en France », 118.

définir la Résistance juive, sous sa forme la plus pure, comme étant : toute action délibérée visant au secours des Juifs, ainsi que toute lutte menée parce que Juif et en tant que Juif contre l'occupant et ses collaborateurs, pour la libération de la France et la survie du peuple juif⁶. Là où la RN qui vise la libération du territoire français et une éventuelle défaite allemande, sans pour autant faire de détournement pour la protection particulière du peuple juif⁷.

Il existe donc deux distinctions fondamentales entre la RJ et la RN. Dans un premier temps, le fondement de la Résistance juive est que survive la population juive d'Europe, sans laquelle il n'y aura pas d'intérêt à célébrer une victoire sur l'Allemagne⁸. Dans un second temps, la RJ permet de différencier les Juifs faisant partie de la Résistance nationale de ceux membres de la Résistance juive. S'ils partagent le désir de voir la France libérée, les partisans de la RJ luttent en leur qualité de Juifs parce que c'est à ce titre qu'ils sont menacés par les nazis. Ils se sentent consubstantiellement investis de la survie du peuple israélite⁹. Les Juifs de la Résistance nationale, eux, combattent plutôt à titre personnel, ne revendiquant autre

⁶ Combinaison de Lévy, « La résistance juive en France », 119. ; et Catherine Richet, *Organisation juive de combat : Résistance/sauvetage. France 1940-1945* (Paris: Autrement, 2006) : 15, 19.

⁷ Georges Loinger et Sabine Zeitoun, *Les résistances juives pendant l'Occupation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2010) : 21.

⁸ Loinger et Zeitoun, *Les résistances juives pendant l'Occupation*, 23. La RJ ne se limite donc pas à l'identité religieuse des individus, mais à leurs actions. Le réseau clandestin *Dutch-Paris*, de patronat protestant, a aidé 1000 fugitifs dans leur exfiltration en Espagne, dont 800 étaient Juifs. Et Yad Vashem lui a accordé le statut de « Juste parmi les Nations ». Voir André-Louis Sanguin, « La fuite des Juifs à travers les Pyrénées pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, une géographie de la peur et de la survie », *Annales du Midi* 126, no. 287 (2014) : 307.

⁹ Richet, *Organisation juive de combat*, 14-15.

chose que leur place en tant que Français, à la manière d'un non-juif¹⁰. Ils vinrent à former près de 30 % de la RN¹¹.

La naissance d'une Résistance juive, pourquoi en France plus qu'ailleurs ?

Pour bien comprendre comment l'Armée juive en est venue à occuper la place qu'elle a dans l'histoire de la Résistance juive en France, il faut comprendre le contexte ayant favorisé la naissance de la RJ en premier lieu. Ainsi, aux remarques de Hilberg et d'Arendt, plusieurs historiens ont répliqué que le temps dont avaient disposé les non-juifs pour mettre sur pied leur résistance « classique » s'était écoulé considérablement plus lentement que celui dont furent dérobés les Juifs de l'Est¹². Autrement dit, alors que le Troisième Reich marchait sur l'Europe de l'Est, pétrifiant les populations, les Juifs ne disposèrent pratiquement pas de période de grâce afin de comprendre ce qu'il leur arrivait. Ils ne le comprirent que trop tard. Contrairement aux Juifs, les non-juifs profitèrent du début de l'occupation pour organiser des réseaux clandestins.

À cet argument du temps, Loinger ajoute les trois conditions cruciales à l'établissement d'une Résistance juive, soit : la réactivité des structures préexistantes — face aux mesures hostiles, la nécessité que les organismes sociaux, religieux et politiques

¹⁰ Lazarus, « De la résistance juive », 43.

¹¹ Jacques Lazarus, « Aspects de la résistance juive en France », *Le Monde Juif*, no. 118 (1985): 74.

¹² Lévy, « La résistance juive en France », 126.

structurent la vie juive — ; la prise de conscience de la volonté d'extermination ; enfin, la collaboration des non-juifs¹³.

En France, la restructuration de la vie juive se fit rapidement après la victoire de l'Axe (voir la page suivante). Puis, suite à la rafle du Vélodrome d'Hiver (16-17 juillet 1942) et celle du 26 août 1942, les Français juifs prirent cruellement conscience du danger qui les guettait. Quant au soutien de la population française, il naquit face à l'aggravation des mesures antisémites et fut entre autres marqué par la manifestation publique de l'appui des autorités catholiques et protestantes envers les Juifs et l'appel à leurs disciples à venir en aide à ces derniers¹⁴. Cela explique donc pourquoi l'on vit la naissance, en France, d'une résistance juive.

L'Armée juive, sa création et ses principes fondateurs

Comme la RJ, l'Armée juive prend racine dans un contexte favorable. Lieu du Comité Central Directeur (CCD) de l'AJ, Toulouse est réputée comme une ville universitaire et pour sa communauté importante d'étudiants internationaux, dont notamment des jeunes Juifs du *Yichouv* et d'Europe de l'Est. Il est donc fréquent de voir s'y installer la *Jugend Ostjuden* nouvellement diplômée¹⁵. Or, avec les conquêtes allemandes de l'Europe de l'Est, du Benelux et de la France, le Sud français connaît un afflux important de Juifs exilés. Dans ce contexte, la ville rose se présente alors comme une terre d'accueil idéale, où les esprits sont ouverts et

¹³ Loinger et Zeitoun, *Les résistances juives pendant l'Occupation*, 24.

¹⁴ Loinger et Zeitoun, *Les résistances juives pendant l'Occupation*, 24-25.

¹⁵ Aron Lublin, « L'organisation juive de combat (OJC) », *Le Monde Juif*, no. 152 (1994): 69-70.

accueillants, dans une France alors désorientée, collaborationniste et tachée d'un antisémitisme menaçant.

Toulouse reste cependant une ville dont les infrastructures sont limitées et inadaptées pour faire face à une immigration massive, d'où l'importance du travail des organismes locaux préexistants. Le Consistoire et la fédération des Sociétés Juives sont les plus notoires, n'hésitant pas à restructurer le cadre politico-religieux de cette nouvelle communauté juive. Il ne faut toutefois pas minimiser l'importance des premiers réfugiés juifs venus d'Alsace. Ayant dû fuir leur demeure au début des hostilités, ces derniers reconstituèrent les bases socio-communautaires dans leurs lieux d'accueil, dont Toulouse, facilitant l'intégration des nouveaux déplacés après juin 1940¹⁶.

C'est donc dans ce contexte de restructuration communautaire et de rapprochement inédit de collectivités israélites qu'est fondé le cercle Étude et action par David Knout¹⁷. Poète toulousain, éditeur et militant sioniste, Knout appelle à l'union et la solidarité entre Juifs et appuie la création d'un État israélien¹⁸. Le but du cercle était alors de réveiller chez les jeunes Juifs leur identité religieuse, puis leur donner une voie à suivre, face à la réalité de la menace armée.

Face aux dangers grandissants, Knout se regroupe avec Abraham Polonski pour fonder la Main Forte, en août 1940. Cette dernière représente le début de la phase dite « active » dans l'histoire de l'AJ, alors que ses membres viennent en aide aux

¹⁶ Lublin, « L'organisation juive de combat (OJC) », 68.

¹⁷ Johanna Lehr, *De l'école au maquis : la Résistance juive en France* (Paris: Vendémiaire, 2014) : 60-61.

¹⁸ Richet, *Organisation juive de combat*, 82.

détenus de camps de détention de la région toulousaine en leur donnant des vivres ou même en en faisant évader quelques-uns. À ce moment, le groupe est animé par les idées d'une résistance armée et des motivations sionistes. Si bien que dès novembre 1941 est fondé le premier corps franc du groupe à Toulouse. L'Armée juive est officiellement fondée le 10 janvier 1942 par Aron 'Lucien' Lublin aux côtés de Knout et Polonski¹⁹.

Il est important de noter une particularité dans les principes fondateurs de l'AJ qui la distingue des autres organisations de la Résistance juive. Il s'agit de sa conviction dans la création d'un État israélien. Cela est d'ailleurs reflété dans le serment que doivent prêter les membres : « Je jure fidélité à l'AJ et obéissance à ses chefs, que revive mon peuple, que renaisse *Eretz Israël* »²⁰. Ainsi, l'Armée juive avait trois objectifs fondamentaux :

1. La priorité était la contribution au sauvetage des Juifs sous toutes ses formes, dont le support armé apporté à d'autres organisations de la Résistance juive ;
2. Parallèlement devait se réaliser la création de groupes paramilitaires (maquis et corps francs) pour combattre l'occupant ;
3. Enfin, l'Armée juive s'engageait à contribuer à la création d'un État juif en Palestine.

Ces principes justifient alors l'ampleur que prendra le réseau de contacts et les responsabilités dont l'Armée juive sera investie

¹⁹ Maurice Lugassy, « La Main Forte : Contexte historique », *Musée de la Résistance 1940-1945*, s.d., pr. 2.

²⁰ Lazarus, « Aspects de la résistance juive en France », 78.

conjointement avec des organisations tels le Mouvement de la jeunesse sioniste (MJS) et les Éclaireurs israélites de France (EIF).

Les actions de l'Armée juive

L'ensemble des opérations menées ainsi que l'envergure des réseaux élaborés (réseaux clandestins, d'informations et documents falsifiés) par l'Armée juive sont en réalité très difficiles à commenter, dû au manque de sources premières, puis en raison de l'enchevêtrement d'actions entre plusieurs groupes de résistance²¹. Il est impossible de décomposer l'étendue réelle du réseau de l'AJ dans le cadre de ce travail. En revanche, il est possible de mettre en valeur les éléments les plus marquants afin de donner un aperçu de l'étendue de l'organisation.

Il convient avant tout d'établir une brève chronologie du développement de l'AJ. À Toulouse est créé, le 10 janvier 1942, le Comité Central de Direction, avec deux chefs principaux : Polonski et Lublin. Puis, en deux ans, sont créées à Lyon, Marseille, Nice, Grenoble, Limoges, et plusieurs autres villes, des antennes. Visant initialement le développement du réseau de faux papiers et de renseignements de l'AJ, ces dernières se développeront en corps francs avec l'invasion allemande de la zone sud en novembre 1942. Ces satellites contribuent aussi à établir des contacts avec d'autres groupes de résistance, tant bien juive que nationale — comme l'Armée secrète (AS) ou les forces du Mouvement de Libération Nationale (MLN), — en plus de supporter les réseaux

²¹ L'AJ n'a conservé que peu de documents. Les rapports allemand et vichyste d'événements ne font pas toujours un juste récit des faits. Puis, Richet comptabilise la majorité des témoignages des survivants de l'AJ.

d'informations et de transport de réfugiés. Au début 1943, la Section parisienne de l'AJ est créée et représente le point d'action le plus fort de l'AJ en zone nord, mais surtout à proximité du camp de Drancy, d'où partent les Juifs vers les camps d'extermination.

Les fondations matérielles de l'AJ : Faux papiers, financement et partenariats

La production de faux papiers est la base de toutes organisations clandestines. C'est pourquoi tous les mouvements de résistance se dotent d'un service spécialisé. Ces services de faussaires, qu'ils soient affiliés ou indépendants, sont cachés tant des forces d'occupation que des résistants pour la sécurité des opérations, à l'exception de quelques coursiers chargés des livraisons et d'entretenir le contact entre différents centres de falsifications. Cette coopération entre faussaires contribue d'une part à répondre à la demande de documents falsifiés, mais également d'améliorer constamment les techniques et les connaissances dans leurs domaines²².

En ce qui concerne l'AJ, dès 1942 à Toulouse, l'organisation entre en contact avec Rodolphe Furth, alors membre de l'Organisation-Reconstruction-Travail (ORT). Furth accepte de collaborer avec l'AJ et produit l'un des premiers tampons permettant de créer de fausses cartes d'identité — celles sur lesquelles le régime de Vichy apposait le 'J' rouge. Or c'est à Nice et Grenoble que se développent les deux ateliers les plus importants de la RJ. En mai 1943, Maurice Loebenberg et Pierre Mouchenik, membres de l'AJ, créent le service des faux papiers de Nice. À Grenoble, ce sont les frères Giniewski du MJS qui dirigent l'Institut

²² Loinger et Zeitoun, *Les résistances juives pendant l'Occupation*, 124.

d'électrochimie, filière de l'Université de Grenoble, où est entreposée une grande partie du matériel clandestin. Il faut aussi préciser que la section niçoise de l'AJ est composée de plusieurs membres du MJS et des EIF. Nice et Grenoble ne sont que deux laboratoires, mais ils incarnent parfaitement la superposition et collaboration entre organisations²³. Soulignons que l'importance du réseau de faux papiers grandit considérablement avec la formation du service de faux papiers du MLN, dirigé par Loebenberg en 1944 et qui répond tant aux demandes des groupes de la RN que de la RJ²⁴.

Or, assurer l'approvisionnement en faux papiers nécessite du financement. Pour l'AJ, cet aspect se développe en deux temps. À sa création, le groupe est subventionné par le Mouvement sioniste socialiste avec lequel Lublin entretient des connexions. Puis, en 1943, un accord est signé avec l'*American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (Joint)* qui soutient plusieurs actions clandestines juives depuis la Suisse. Cet afflux considérable de capitaux américains entraîne également la signature d'accords avec le MJS, les EIF et l'ORT, leur attribuant un siège au Comité Central de l'AJ. Un dernier siège est assigné à un représentant du *Joint*. L'aide américaine permettra entre autres à l'AJ de mieux structurer et équiper les opérations d'exfiltration de Juifs pour la Palestine.

Il ne fait alors aucun doute que l'Armée juive, du fait de ses besoins essentiels (faux papiers et financement), est un acteur de premier plan dans le réseau de collaborations de la RJ. Sans cette entraide, aucun des groupes résistants n'aurait fait le poids contre l'occupant.

²³ Loinger et Zeitoun, *Les résistances juives pendant l'Occupation*, 126.

²⁴ Fabrice Bourrée, « Maurice Loebenberg dit Maurice Cachoud : Contexte historique », *Musée de la Résistance 1940-1945*, s.d., pr. 4.

Efforts paramilitaires : Le corps franc de Nice, le maquis de l'Espinassier²⁵

Entre janvier et octobre 1942, les capacités paramilitaires des corps francs de l'AJ sont très limitées. L'organisation n'en est encore qu'à l'étape de construction de ses effectifs. Cependant, les rafles du vélodrome d'Hiver et du 26 août, puis le début de l'occupation de la zone sud par les Allemands à partir du 11 novembre forcent l'urgent besoin et le déclenchement de structures armées. Recrutement, collecte de renseignements et élaboration de stratégies donnent finalement lieu à la création des multiples corps francs de l'AJ, dont celui de Nice fondé le 23 septembre 1943. Outre l'accompagnement de convois et le soutien donné à d'autres groupes de résistants, par exemple le Service d'évacuation de regroupement des enfants (SERE), les corps francs se chargeaient d'éliminer les collaborateurs, surtout les dénonciateurs²⁶.

Dans le cas du corps franc niçois, on ne peut pas passer sous silence les conséquences de la disparition du « dernier havre de paix » que représentait la zone d'occupation italienne²⁷. L'annonce de l'armistice entre l'Italie et les alliés le 3 septembre 1943 marque le début de l'occupation nazie des Alpes. Nice passe alors, pour les Juifs, d'une atmosphère de tolérance à une de terreur. Le corps franc de l'AJ participe à l'effort de guérillas déclenché par des résistants nationaux et parvient à démanteler un réseau d'agents russes blancs, subalterne de la Gestapo. Plus tard, lors des rafles de 1944, la section niçoise mènera des actions punitives contre des

²⁵ « L'Espinassier » semble être une orthographe propre à l'histoire de l'Armée juive. Cela dit, les communes de L'Espinasse et de Lespinassière, dans le Tarn, sont à une heure l'une de l'autre et à deux heures de Toulouse.

²⁶ Loinger et Zeitoun, *Les résistances juives pendant l'Occupation*, 68.

²⁷ Lazarus, « Aspects de la résistance juive en France », 79.

collaborateurs identifiés, avant de se fusionner en juin avec les Forces françaises de l'intérieur (FFI) locales pour former le corps franc Éclair²⁸. Une opération notoire de l'Éclair sera le plastiquage de la boîte de nuit L'Écrin et d'une boutique d'antiquités, toutes deux sièges d'activités antijuives²⁹.

Un second volet composant l'aspect paramilitaire de l'Armée juive est celui de la mise en place de maquis. Cantonnements clandestins, les maquis sont généralement des camps rustiques camouflés dans les forêts montagneuses et regroupent entre 20 et 50 effectifs. Le maquis le mieux connu de l'AJ est celui de l'Espinassier. Initialement créé le 15 novembre 1943 — en réaction à l'invasion du 11 novembre — à Biques dans le Tarn, avec la collaboration de l'Armée secrète, il sert principalement à former de jeunes israélites. Les troupes judéo-françaises sont ensuite libres de choisir leur assignation : renforcer les rangs des Forces françaises libres (FFL) et britanniques en Afrique du Nord ; lutter contre l'occupant nazi pour la libération de la France ; ou rejoindre la Palestine et contribuer à former *Eretz Israël*³⁰. Pauvrement armés, les maquisards de l'AJ reçoivent néanmoins des rudiments militaires inculqués par l'AS. En avril 1944, le maquis est déménagé à Jasse de Martinou, près de Lacauene, en raison de la menace nazie accrue³¹.

Désormais situé sur les flancs des massifs de la Montagne Noire, le maquis du Biques se rallie aux nombreux autres maquis

²⁸ Le groupe niçois de l'AJ fusionne avec les FFI puisqu'il était déjà réduit en effectifs qui avaient été envoyés en zone nord pour renforcer la section parisienne pratiquement décimée.

²⁹ Richet, *Organisation juive de combat*, 38.

³⁰ Richet, *Organisation juive de combat*, 34.

³¹ Lazarus, « Aspects de la résistance juive en France », 79.

de l'AS se trouvant dans le secteur. Perdant son autonomie d'opération alors que le maquis s'intègre au rang du corps franc de la Montagne Noire (CFMN), les maquisards israélites adoptent cependant le lever rituel du drapeau bleu et blanc orné de l'étoile de David et adoptent également des épaulettes à cette effigie. Le CFMN disposait d'un opérateur radio anglais, le major Richardson parachuté par les Alliés, qui permettait une ligne directe au réseau de communication Buckmaster. Le CFMN recevait donc des informations directement de Londres et du général Koenig³². Aux communications alliées s'ajoutait du ravitaillement, précieux quoique frugal, par parachutage dont se réjouissaient ces maquisards³³.

Le 20 juillet 1944, la menace allemande frappe à nouveau. La Wehrmacht attaque les maquis de la Montagne Noire avec plus de 1500 fantassins. C'est au bout de 12 heures de combat que l'ensemble du CFMN reçoit l'ordre de battre en retraite. Les maquisards de l'AJ se regroupent alors à l'Espinassier et adoptent cette appellation. Les Allemands déplorent de nombreuses pertes, dont des avions et des automitrailleuses, contre une dizaine pour les rebelles. Le CFMN a démontré le niveau de combativité et la réelle menace que représentent les maquis.

Le 6 juin 1944, le maquis de l'Espinassier fut officiellement intégré aux forces de l'Armée secrète sous l'appellation du peloton Trumpeldor et prit part à de nouveaux assauts coordonnés avec le débarquement de Normandie contre les forces d'occupation. Le 1^{er} août, le peloton reçoit l'ordre de réduire ses effectifs à

³² Richet, *Organisation juive de combat*, 41.

³³ Marie Granet, « DESSIN GÉNÉRAL DES MAQUIS », *Revue d'histoire de La Deuxième Guerre Mondiale* 1, no. 1 (1950): 61.

20 hommes et s'engage dans une campagne d'agressions répétées contre les troupes allemandes en retraite face à l'avancée alliée³⁴.

S'ils ont été abordés brièvement, les cas du corps franc de Nice et du maquis de l'Espinassier témoignent néanmoins des fortes motivations armées qui animent l'Armée juive. L'ensemble des cellules paramilitaires de l'AJ prouve également la nécessité de leur existence dans le support aux autres activités clandestines et la lutte contre l'occupant.

Les futurs Israéliens : Exfiltration des Juifs par l'Espagne

Il convient ici de rappeler la priorité des motivations idéologiques de l'AJ, soit la survie des Juifs et la création de l'État d'Israël. Ainsi, il n'est pas exagéré de dire que l'exfiltration via l'Espagne de coreligionnaires et l'envoi de volontaires pour la Palestine était un objectif qui tenait à cœur au CCD. Bien qu'elle ait appuyé régulièrement les réseaux d'exfiltration partenaires vers la Suisse et l'Espagne, l'AJ a toutefois concentré des efforts considérables sur la traversée des Pyrénées. Cette entreprise périlleuse était généralement utilisée pour le passage des adultes, les enfants étant plutôt dirigés vers la Suisse. Or, la chute de la zone italienne oblige à étendre les activités de l'Organisation du secours des enfants (OSE) vers l'Espagne avec la participation de l'AJ³⁵.

Les missions de traversées clandestines des frontières suisse et espagnole méritent une étude à part entière. Toutefois, dans le cadre de ce travail, il convient plutôt de se concentrer sur le Service d'évacuation et de regroupement (SER) de l'AJ dans les Pyrénées. Créé en novembre 1942 par Lublin et Jacques Roitman, le SER vise à

³⁴ Richet, *Organisation juive de combat*, 35, 41.

³⁵ Loinger et Zeitoun, *Les résistances juives pendant l'Occupation*, 68, 82-83.

structurer le passage de volontaires en Espagne³⁶. L'objectif est alors de faire parvenir en Palestine de jeunes sionistes qui y seront pris en charge par la Haganah et qui participeront au combat pour la création d'un État juif. D'autres volontaires choisiront plutôt de rejoindre les forces alliées en Afrique du Nord³⁷.

Le passage de la frontière espagnole représente cependant un défi important. Les décrets du 20 juillet et 5 août 1942 du régime vichyste révoquent tous les visas de sortie attribués aux Juifs, français et étrangers. Les Juifs cherchant l'asile se retrouvent alors coincés entre la présence allemande croissante en Zone sud et l'Espagne refusant d'accueillir tout individu ne disposant pas d'un visa, afin d'éviter de devenir un refuge pour israélites³⁸. Cette situation force le développement de passages clandestins de la frontière. Suite à l'Opération *Torch*, des ententes entre Washington, Londres et Madrid mènent Franco à assouplir ses politiques d'immigration et à accepter la présence d'une aide humanitaire étrangère. En revanche, la frontière franco-espagnole se durcit avec la multiplication des patrouilles allemandes et de collaborateurs montagnards³⁹.

C'est pourquoi les tentatives sporadiques de traversée de la frontière ne suffisent plus, il faut créer un réseau ordonné. Ainsi, les volontaires sont généralement formés dans les maquis puis transférés à Toulouse d'où partent les convois. L'AJ se charge du

³⁶ Richet, *Organisation juive de combat*, 40.

³⁷ Loinger et Zeitoun, *Les résistances juives pendant l'Occupation*, 68.

³⁸ André-Louis Sanguin, « La fuite des Juifs à travers les Pyrénées pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, une géographie de la peur et de la survie », *Annales du Midi* 126, no. 287 (2014): 298.

³⁹ Danielle Rozenberg, « L'Espagne face à la Shoah », *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* 203, no. 2 (2015) : 173-174.

recrutement, de la formation, du financement et de la liaison avec les contacts en Espagne et en Palestine, mais ce sont des passeurs locaux, engagés à prix d'or, qui assurent le passage et la survie des fugitifs⁴⁰.

Le nombre de déportés supporté par l'AJ ne fait pas l'unanimité, il est d'ailleurs difficile de savoir ce que ces derniers sont devenus une fois la frontière passée. Ainsi, Renée Poznanski, historienne spécialiste de la Résistance juive en France, estime que les Juifs rescapés sont au nombre de 600, incluant une centaine d'enfants, et dont moins de 300 adultes seraient parvenus en Palestine en temps de guerre⁴¹. Richet présente un nombre beaucoup plus conservateur : 313 Juifs, grands et petits seraient parvenus de l'autre côté des Pyrénées. Elle ne précise toutefois pas combien d'entre eux ont atteint la Palestine⁴².

Somme toute, si le nombre de rescapés est difficilement quantifiable, et s'il peut sembler modeste au premier coup d'œil, la réalité est qu'on ne peut minimiser l'importance de l'accomplissement réalisé par les membres l'AJ et ses contractants. Chaque personne sauvée en était une de moins qui pouvait tomber dans les mains nazies et chaque effort de sauvetage fut pratiqué avec minutie, conviction et fraternité.

Lors du choix de ce sujet, je ne mesurais pas l'étendue réelle de la Résistance juive en France, et encore moins que l'Armée juive y ait joué un rôle de cette ampleur. Pourtant, l'histoire de l'AJ fait

⁴⁰ Renée Poznanski, « LA RÉSISTANCE JUIVE EN FRANCE », *Revue d'histoire de La Deuxième Guerre Mondiale et Des Conflits Contemporains* 35, no. 137 (1985) : 23.

⁴¹ Poznanski, « LA RÉSISTANCE JUIVE EN FRANCE », 24.

⁴² Richet, *Organisation juive de combat*, 30.

rapidement prendre conscience de ces deux réalités. Qu'il ait s'agit d'apporter une aide aux compatriotes résistants, ou de paver la voie et de trouver des partenariats politiques et économiques, l'AJ a été de ces groupes qui ont réellement changé le cours des événements.

Ce travail a finalement démontré qu'à l'instar des opinions de certains experts, il y a bel et bien eu l'organisation d'une Résistance juive face à la menace existentielle du Nazisme. Que ce qui a démarqué le cas français, et en partie favorisé son impact, des cas des résistances des communauté juives dans l'Europe de l'Est est le respect des conditions de Loinger, soit : la réactivité des structures préexistantes, la prise de conscience des Juifs et la collaboration des non-juifs.

Si les actions de l'Armée juive sont mentionnées dans plusieurs ouvrages, peu se consacrent à son impact réel sur la résistance en France. Il s'agit là d'un sujet qui gagnerait à être approfondi puisque l'AJ était aussi composée de simples patriotes français et ses groupes armés ont contribué à la libération en combattant aux côtés des forces alliées dans la libération de Paris, Lyon, du camp de Drancy et bien d'autres. L'AJ fut également représentée à l'échelle nationale lorsque ses membres composèrent l'escorte de Charles de Gaulle à la libération de Paris.

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Partie IV. Immortaliser le passé, le présent et le futur : la perception qu'ont les humains de leur histoire

**Part IV. Immortalizing Past, Present, and Future:
Human Perceptions of Their Own History**

The Hereford World Map: Asia as a Geographical Backdrop for Eschatological Fears

Anika Audet¹

The Hereford *Mappa Mundi* (see fig. 1), the largest remaining medieval map, is believed to have been created around 1300 and currently resides at the Hereford Cathedral. It was originally brightly painted (much of the colour has now faded) on a single sheet of vellum. The design follows the pattern of T-O maps established by Saint Isidore, with Asia at the top of the map, Europe on the left and Africa on the right. The occupied world is bounded by ocean which is in turn bounded by a scene of the Last Judgement. Much is still debated in the literature regarding precisely who, when and for which audience the map was created. The following analysis does not aim to conclusively answer these questions. Instead, I will adopt the theory I believe to be most convincing, posited by Dan Terkla, in order to analyze a specific function of the map. According to the arguments he presents in his article “The Original Placement of the Hereford Mappa Mundi,” the map was originally displayed around 1300 next to the shrine of Saint Thomas Cantilupe, the bishop of Hereford from 1275 to 1282, in the Hereford Cathedral’s north transept. As a result, the Hereford World Map was not an altarpiece as many have previously proposed, but was instead an element of a greater collection

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assembled to attract pilgrims.² If the map was indeed created to be displayed to pilgrims, then the map served primarily as a devotional and pedagogical tool. Christian motifs, including beliefs about the end times, are therefore central to the map and must be examined closely.

The entire Mappa Mundi presents a Christian geography and temporality: among its 500 illustrations, the viewer can pick out a plethora of Bible stories such as Noah's Ark and the city of Babylon. However, upon further examination, Asia specifically serves as the principal vehicle for the presentation of Christian eschatology on the map. The present work argues that the anchoring of Christian eschatology in Asia is achieved in two major ways: first, by the inclusion of the nations of Gog and Magog by the Caspian Sea and second, by the selection of other topographical information included in Asia (and, in addition, what is omitted from Europe and Africa).

Before proceeding further, a few precisions are in order. Specifically, the term 'eschatology' refers to the aspect of religious doctrine and belief concerned with the end times and the final destiny of humanity. This term is not to be confused with 'apocalypse,' which is a genre of literature commonly employed in the Old Testament and is concerned with revelations that God

² Dan Terkla, "The Original Placement of the Hereford Mappa Mundi," *Imago Mundi* 56, no. 2 (2004): 131. Terkla proposes the following story concerning the creation of the Hereford World Map: it was originally undertaken by Richard of Haldingham and Lafford, whose name features in an inscription on the map itself. One of his relatives, Richard de Bello continued to work on the map following Haldingham's death in 1278. De Bello was also responsible for adding the inscription and for transporting the map from Lincoln to Hereford where Richard Swinefield, bishop of Hereford as of 1282, subsequently integrated it in the shrine he had made for his patron, Thomas Cantilupe. See page 145.

A. Audet, The Hereford World Map

transmits to certain individuals. The Book of Revelation, the final book of the New Testament, was the primary text on which medieval exegeses of the end of the world and of Christian eschatology were based. The text presents an apocalyptic eschatology. The content of the visions described by John of Patmos consist of how precisely the end of time will occur, including the Last Judgement and man's ultimate fate. For medieval Christians, history was therefore linear, apocalyptic and constantly tending towards a pre-established end point. It began with God's creation of the Universe, it was crucially marked by a central event—the Incarnation of Christ—and was to conclude with the end of time as described in the Book of Revelation.³ On the Hereford World Map, this Christian eschatology, briefly summarized here, is mainly presented on the continent of Asia.

To begin, the depiction of Gog and Magog in Asia by the Caspian Sea serves as a crucial eschatological centre on the Hereford Mappa Mundi because of the ability of these biblical nations to represent various eschatological fears of the period (such as the perceived threat to Christendom posed by the enemies of the Crusaders). The nations of Gog and Magog were linked to Christian eschatology by their appearance in the Book of Revelation, which was, as I explained above, one of the key texts which established the Christian eschatological tradition. According to the text, the tribes of Gog and Magog were prophesied to persecute Christendom alongside Satan prior to the Day of Judgment.⁴ On the Hereford map, there is a depiction of a tribe trapped by mountains and a wall

³ Bernard McGinn, "Introduction: John's Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 13-14.

⁴ Rev. 20:7-8.

to the south. This illustration is not explicitly identified as the tribe of Gog and Magog; however, the accompanying inscription reveals that the tribe depicted consumed human flesh, were imprisoned by Alexander the Great, and were to be freed by the Antichrist at the end of time in order to pillage Christendom.⁵ The first link between this illustrated imprisoned tribe and Gog and Magog is the reference to their alliance with the Antichrist. The second element linking the two is less evident; the connection can be made through the inscription's reference to Alexander. The dominant conception of Gog and Magog at the time of the creation of the Hereford Mappa Mundi was derived from the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius, whose eighth century Latin translation was popularized across Western Europe. In this source, Alexander encountered an uncivilized people during his conquests in Asia. He asked God to trap them within the mountains so they may not contaminate the rest of the world, but they were foretold to escape at the end of time to bring destruction to all Christians.⁶ Therefore, as early as the eighth century, the legend of Alexander was clearly associated with Gog and Magog.

This depiction of Alexander as a persecutor of Eastern foes and his identification with the legend of Gog and Magog was further strengthened during the Crusades. Alexander was already linked to Western anxieties concerning the East prior to the Crusades, but at this moment he specifically started to be constructed as a porto-Crusader in vernacular literature and in clerical works. There was additionally a surge of chivalric literature

⁵ Alessandro Scafi, "Mapping the End: The Apocalypse in Medieval Cartography," *Literature & Theology* 26, no. 4 (2012): 409; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), 230-31.

⁶ Scafi, "Mapping the End," 409; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews*, 229.

depicting Alexander in the years leading up to the First Crusade. Alexander, through his link to Gog and Magog, began to be included in cartography, as proven by the depiction of Gog and Magog in a 1025-50 Anglo-Saxon Mappa Mundi.⁷ Alexander's legend lent itself well to the Crusades for several reasons: the geography of his conquests was similar to the lands the Crusaders hoped to obtain and he was an impressive military leader who had the capacity to defeat a large enemy with a much smaller force. In addition, his story was easily adapted to the Christian eschatological scheme: he spent his time battling and defeating monsters in the East and, as was mentioned previously, he managed to trap the tribes of Gog and Magog according to the contemporary interpretation of his legend.⁸

Furthermore, the link between Gog and Magog, Alexander and the Crusades holds significance in a narrower context. Lord Edward, who would later become the king of England, launched a crusade to the Holy Land in 1271, a few years prior to the creation of the Hereford World map. The Crusades put Western Europeans into contact with Eastern communities beyond the smaller scale military operations that had been taking place; this expansion of their world necessitated the contextualization of these new peoples and places into pre-established Christian frameworks. The Christian eschatological framework, here invoked by Gog and Magog, allowed for this recontextualization and permitted these pilgrims and other viewers of the map to situate their current

⁷ Mark Cruse, "Alexander the Great and the Crusades," in *A History of Alexander the Great in World Culture*, ed. Richard Stoneman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 168, 188.

⁸ Cruse, "Alexander the Great and the Crusades," 167-168.

preoccupations in the familiar.⁹ Both generally and in a local context, the choice to include Gog and Magog allowed contemporary Christians to situate their own struggles in a wider perspective—that is to say, in a Christian eschatology that encompassed all of history.

Jews were also associated with the legend of Alexander, and consequently, with that of Gog and Magog. This association came from the legend of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel,¹⁰ who were supposed to return at a future point and free the Jews from bondage. For example, according to *The Travels of Sir John de Mandeville*, a fourteenth century travel narrative, the Ten Tribes were trapped in the Caspian mountains by Alexander.¹¹ On the Hereford Mappa Mundi, the inscription on the inside of the Caspian Gates labels its inhabitants as the sons of Cain, which broadens the category of enemy that can be linked to the trapped population—the Jews, believed to be the sons of Cain along with the Monstrous Races and the Ethiopians, could reasonably be associated with this group.¹² During the period of the creation of the Hereford Map, Christians believed that all of their enemies, including the Jews, were conspiring to bring down Christendom. This persecution began with the Devil and his temptation of Adam and Eve; it was occurring in the present due to the deeds of the Jews and Mongols among others; and in the future, all their

⁹ Cruse, "Alexander the Great and the Crusades," 167.

¹⁰ The story of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel refers to the assimilation and the eventual disappearance of ten of the original Hebrew Tribes following the conquest of the Kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians in the seventh century BCE. Despite this disappearance, belief persisted that these tribes would eventually be reunited with the tribe of Judah (the remaining Jewish people).

¹¹ Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews*, 232.

¹² Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews*, 231-232.

enemies would unite with the Antichrist in a final strike aimed to destroy the Christian world.¹³ Thus, the depiction of Gog and Magog in Asia on the Hereford map allowed viewers to situate their anti-Jewish sentiment within a larger eschatological context; the threat did not only apply to the present, but to the entirety of Christian history.

The link between the Jews and the depiction of the Gog and Magog is also important because it relates to the local context of the creation of the map. In Hereford and in the English-speaking world, the late thirteenth century was characterized by an increasing anti-Jewish sentiment. In 1275, Edward I issued the Statute of the Jewry, which outlawed money lending and mandated Jews over the age of seven be visually identified. This period of Jewish persecution culminated in the English Exodus of 1290: all Jews were forced to leave under the threat of death.¹⁴ There are various references to Edward I on the Hereford Map. His castles in Conway and Caernarfon, only constructed in 1277 and 1283, are both represented and the location from which he led his campaign against northern Wales (1277-83) is also marked.¹⁵ Strickland also made a strong case in her article "Edward I, Exodus, and England on the Hereford World Map" for the important anti-jewish sentiment which went into the creation of the map. For example, she points out that the worshippers of the Golden Calf below the Persian Gulf are labelled as *Judei*, which was a derogatory term used to reference a Jew, as opposed to a term like *filiorum Israhel*

¹³ Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews*, 238.

¹⁴ Debra Higgs Strickland, "Edward I, Exodus, and England on the Hereford World Map," *Speculum* 93, no. 2 (2018): 450, 455.

¹⁵ Strickland, "Edward I, Exodus, and England on the Hereford World Map," 453-54; Terkla, "The Original Placement of the Hereford Mappa Mundi," 139.

(sons of Israel), which was used to refer to the ancient Israelites.¹⁶ It is therefore not implausible to argue that the map depicts elements of anti-Jewish sentiment which were concretely enacted with the Statute of Jewry. The local eschatological threat posed by the Jewish presence in Hereford and the surrounding area was then able to be projected onto the depiction of Gog and Magog, due to the link formed between the legend of Gog and Magog and the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. As a result, Asia's function on the Hereford map goes beyond a mere location for otherness. Jews were not only presented as 'other' by being placed in Asia; this choice of depicting Gog and Magog provides the map with an explicit and concrete geographical landmark where contemporary Christian eschatological fears could be situated.

Asia's role as a geographical anchor for Christian eschatology is further cemented by the choice of topographical information included on the continent. Most medieval histories followed some version of the Christian history posited by Eusebius and Augustine in the fourth and fifth centuries and subsequently picked up by Isidore. These authors divided the history of the world into six stages, demarcated by the most important Christian figures, such as Adam and Christ. The present age was often situated by contemporary historians as part of the sixth and final stage of history. This belief perpetuated a constant apocalyptic expectation. The most important locations in this historical scheme

¹⁶ Strickland, "Edward I, Exodus, and England on the Hereford World Map," 429. Strickland provides further evidence that anti-Jewish sentiment played a role in the creation of the Hereford World map based on a series of images uncommonly found on medieval world maps. She focuses on the depiction of events detailed in Exodus: Moses receiving the Twin Tablets of the Law, Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf below the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and their subsequent flight to Egypt. See pages 424-429.

are Paradise, Noah's Ark, Abraham in Ur, Moses, Babylon, and Jerusalem.¹⁷ These locations are all included in Asia on the Hereford World Map, thus also placing all the eschatological expectations generated by this particular conception of history in Asia. Some scholars have argued that the Hereford Map and other twelfth and thirteenth century maps such as the Sawley Map present a vision of the westward progression of history, as opposed to the narrative laid out by Eusebius and Augustine. This hypothesis was suggested due to the appearance in a relatively straight line of the same sequence of locations (Paradise, Babel, Jerusalem, Rome, Gades and the Gates of Hercules) on multiple maps.¹⁸ This conception of history did exist and was proposed by Hugh of Saint Victor, a twelfth century theologian, who posited that time flowed East to West.¹⁹ If this were indeed the conception of history being presented on the Hereford World Map, then Europe would hold key eschatological significance. The end of time would only be brought about when history had reached its westmost point; however, this conception of history was not widespread within the literature of the period and Hugh of Saint Victor did not even include his own theory in his more direct approaches to cartography. The map he worked on (likely an early version of the Munich Map) is devoid of any explicit mention of a westward progression of history. Additionally, the map does not depict Paradise in the far East,

¹⁷ Stephen McKenzie, "The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappaemundi: An Investigation of the Evidence," in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, ed. P. D. A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 336.

¹⁸ Scafi, "Mapping the End," 408; McKenzie, "The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappaemundi," 335.

¹⁹ Scafi, "Mapping the End," 408; McKenzie, "The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappaemundi," 340.

which is where it would have been located based on his theory. Scholars likely overemphasized the influence of his eschatological ideas on cartography.²⁰ Europe is thus devoid of any eschatological significance; all the markers of eschatological importance, as established by the Six Ages conception of history, are placed in Asia on the Hereford World Map.

This position is further supported by Westrem's analysis of the legends found on the Hereford Mappa Mundi. 95.8% of the legends linked to biblical and Christian history included on the map are located in Asia. The other 4.2% are located in Europe. In contrast, the distribution of legends relating to land areas, such as kingdoms and provinces, is much more balanced: 45.3% are found in Asia, 44.5% in Europe and 9.5% in Africa.²¹ On the Hereford World Map, Europe is depicted as a place in itself; it clearly maintains its geographical function, as proven by its lack of biblical stories and locations. On the other hand, Asia was meant to be perceived first as a vessel for the Christian apocalyptic narrative and second as a place which is geographically and locally concrete.

Therefore, on the Hereford Mappa Mundi, Asia is primarily presented as a location on which pilgrims and other viewers could place their eschatological anxieties when visiting the Hereford Cathedral. This view is supported by the depiction of Gog and Magog (which served as a robust link to the Christian eschatology presented in the Book of Revelation) in Asia. The nations of Gog and Magog were linked to two populations which Christians feared at the time of the production of the map: Jews and those to the East

²⁰ McKenzie, "The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappaemundi," 335, 340.

²¹ Scott D. Westrem, "Lessons from Legends on the Hereford Mappamundi," in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, ed. P. D. A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 202.

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of the Outremer, the enemies of the Crusaders. Asia as a place of eschatological significance on the map is reinforced by the choice of topographical information included in Asia itself, in addition to what is excluded from Europe and Africa. Additionally, due to the prominence of the function of Asia as a geographical backdrop to place Christian eschatology, the continent loses some of its geographical reality. As a result, the area appears comparatively less geographically grounded than Europe. Hence, Asia permitted viewers of the map to situate contemporary context-dependent fears and place them within a framework that encompassed all of Christian history. Enemies which were singular and isolated became comprehensible to a Christian audience and could be geographically located, right in front of them on the Hereford map.

Appendix



Figure 1. A scan of the Hereford Mappa Mundi, available to visit at the Hereford Cathedral in England. (Scan by Scott Ehardt, *Hereford Mappa Mundi*, in *Decorative Maps*, Roderick Barron, Bracken Books, 1989. Scan distributed under a CC BY-SA 4.0 license).

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Architecture to Unify a Nation: Italy 1922-1940

Nicholas Natale¹

Monumental structures arrayed with large statues and symbols can make the individual feel insignificant in comparison. The ancient Romans would often use public architecture with monumental features to glorify the state and impose their ethos throughout their empire. Twentieth century fascists in Italy that had an admiration for Ancient Rome and lived in the ruins of its architecture sought to rekindle the glory of Rome's imperial past-yet at the same time, they used this public investment to convey their novel ideas about the state. This came in the wake of the Great Depression in Italy, which caused mass unemployment and malaise among the working classes. To account for this crisis and insulate the nation from further economic downturn, Mussolini's regime commissioned various public works to employ Italians, while also serving as a medium to disseminate their grandiose concepts of the fascist state. How did public architecture in Mussolini's Italy manifest the concept that il Duce had managed to unify all Italians under the banner of the fascist state? Additionally, to what extent was such architecture not just symbolic, but also transformative, helping to erode older communal loyalties in favor of a new transcendent affiliation to the nation? Previous historical research

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into the subject has investigated the competition between rationalist architecture and that of monumentalism, including the conflict of modernity with traditionalist Italian styles, but additionally, architecture in Mussolini's Italy took on a uniquely propagandistic nature in both a domestic and colonial context, which will be elaborated on in this essay. Henry Millon argues that the field of history itself is responsible for the propaganda that justified expansionist policies in the 1930s, stating that "evidence of previous Italic domination was used by the regime to argue the inevitability of Fascist expansion, to achieve what destiny had indicated belonged to Italic people."²

From the 1922 March on Rome to Italy's entrance into the Second World War in 1940, the Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF - National Fascist Party) aimed to develop innovative designs for various architectural projects that would exhibit the party's values and fascist ideology. This effort is especially evident in government buildings and public spaces constructed during this period. The developments in Italy and its colonial territories exemplified these propagandistic themes, including (but not limited to) *Mussolini's Stairway to Nowhere* (fig.1) and the *Stadio dei Marmi* (fig.2). Architecture played a significant role in conditioning the Italian people to support the regime as a vehicle for progress, having modernized the economy, and binding disparate groups and classes into a single, cohesive national identity. Strangely, monuments and public works erected by the Fascist regime were as ideologically perplexing as Mussolini's rhetoric, often inspired by competing architectural styles and political ideas, and they projected an image

² Henry Millon, "The Role of History of Architecture in Fascist Italy," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24, no. 1 (March 1965): 53.

of unity through militarism that was largely uncharacteristic of Italian society.

The unification of Italy in 1848, known nationally as the Risorgimento, took various kingdoms and territories of Italian culture and brought them together for the first time since the ancient Romans dominated the peninsula. This contextualizes the regime's obsession with the nation's Roman heritage and why the PNF sought to culturally unify Italy as it had once been. During the interwar period, distinct local and regional identities were still present within the mind of Italians in addition to various dialects. With a divided culture and differing identities across the nation, it is difficult to discern whether the Risorgimento was successful in establishing a unified sense of citizenship. According to Stefano Cavazza, "for some, the fascist nation was the point to which the Risorgimento had been tending, and fascism could take it on from there. Others saw the advent of fascism as a break with the past."³ As each town and region had distinct architectural styles from the next, a core component of unifying the Italian culture was to impose an identifiable uniformity from Sicily to Piedmont. Ruth Ben-Ghiat notes that Mussolini came to power in a very divided nation, and one aspect of that division was the complex webs of local power networks and regional affiliations.⁴ To mitigate this, political control had to be reorganized from the local level to a top-down structure and local identities had to be refocused towards a

³ Stefano Cavazza, "National Identity in Fascist Italy," in *Les Nations Européennes Entre Histoire et Mémoire, XIXE-XXE Siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris Nanterre, 2017)

⁴ Ruth Ben-Ghiat, "Language and the Construction of National Identity in Fascist Italy," *The European Legacy* 2, no. 3 (May 1997): 438–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10848779708579754>.

national culture instead.⁵ This allowed Mussolini to impose the anti-dialect laws, standardizing Italian throughout the country. With the regime's focus on the Roman era, compelling the development of monumental architecture would stimulate a vision of progress and modernity, even in the rural regions of Italy.

The PNF sought chiefly to convey their ideology through propaganda by way of architecture. One such way to achieve this was by fusing propaganda to the architecture itself, such as imposing fascist imagery and symbolism onto structures. The most straightforward example of this is placing the fasces—a Roman era symbol of authority co-opted by the fascist regime—on buildings and monuments (fig.3). The symbol, depicting a bundle of aligned sticks tied together with an axe, represents the unity in strength that the fascists sought to foster, along with the militarism literally “holding the state together.” By displaying the fasces in as many public locations as possible, the regime would be associated with progress and development in the eyes of the people. This blatant symbolism was typically present in monumental developments, while the rationalists took a different approach in conveying the regime's ideology. Each design element of a structure would often hold a meaning or purpose with propagandistic themes. The *Casa del Fascio* (fig.4) designed by Giuseppe Terragni, a rationalist architect, is an example of these design choices. The eighteen mechanically operated glass doors at the front of the building would open simultaneously, allowing citizens, in similar fashion to military ranks, to enter.⁶ The entirety of the building was designed

⁵ Cavazza, “National Identity in Fascist Italy”.

⁶ David Rifkind, *The Battle for Modernism : “Quadrante” and the Politicization of Architectural Discourse in Fascist Italy* (Vicenza: Centro Internazionale Di Studi Di Architettura Andrea Palladio, 2012), 174.

around collective experience, and strived to politicize without typical iconography such as the fasces.⁷ The glass doors also held another practical purpose and political meaning. As the building was created to accommodate crowds in varying numbers, the glass doors removed the boundary separating the plaza and interior of the building while also representing Mussolini's metaphorical transparency of fascism.⁸ By establishing a unique fascist style of architecture through monumentalism, rationalism, and a combination of both, the PNF could attempt to unify the fragmented Italian culture

Monumentalism and monumentality as an architectural style is derived from the concept of a monument itself, hence the name. Cecil D. Elliot claims that "since the decision to establish a monument necessarily presupposes that its meaning will endure, the monument too must endure."⁹ When applying this idea to the architectural style, monumentalism can be identified by projecting meaning through grand design, as large-scale structures can give the perception of long-term endurance and strength. The *Stadio dei Marmi* within the former *Foro Mussolini* (fig.2) is an example of such design, with the large formation of structures overlooking the running track surrounded by various statues. The large facades facing the track and the pillars that make up this edifice build a perception of increased height and dominate the structures that surround it. The overbearing nature of the statues and large facade inflict a feeling of insignificance on the individual. The formerly named *Mussolini's Stairway to Nowhere* (fig.1) projects its meaning in

⁷ Rifkind, *The Battle for Modernism*, 175.

⁸ Rifkind, *The Battle for Modernism*, 180.

⁹ Cecil D. Elliott, "Monuments and Monumentality," *Journal of Architectural Education* (1947-1974) 18, no. 4 (March 1964): 52, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1424164>.

a practical sense, with one step added for each year of fascist rule over Italy. Furthermore, Elliot claims a defining aspect of monumental architecture is “the creation of an architectural object which will, through its permanence, its dignity and its form, evoke feelings that are in sympathy with its purpose.”¹⁰ This characterizes the use of monumentalism to build sympathy with fascist ideology and the overall narrative built by the Italian government in addition to a unification of collective thought.

Rationalism is seen by architectural historians as a competing style to monumentalism with some fascists embracing it as modern, while others attacked it on political, social, and economic grounds as an example of degeneracy.¹¹ Spearheaded by a collection of young architects which labelled themselves the Gruppo 7 (group of seven), rationalism was a catalyst for cultural modernity within Italy, and garnered strong national support within all classes of society.¹² Gruppo 7 published a manifesto in 1926 which Andrew Peckham claims is the first attempt to define Italian rationalism, with a strong influence of order, clarity, and logic.¹³ This contrasts monumentalism to an extent, where tall pillars and elaborate stylistic choices would contradict the rationalist idea of logical design. Rationalism would eventually see

¹⁰ Elliott, “Monuments and Monumentality,” 52.

¹¹ Henry Millon, “The Role of History of Architecture in Fascist Italy,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24, no. 1 (March 1965): 54, <https://doi.org/10.2307/988281>.

¹² Francesca Billiani and Laura Pennacchietti, *Architecture and the Novel under the Italian Fascist Regime* (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2019), 61–95, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-19428-4>.

¹³ Andrew Peckham, “The Dichotomies of Rationalism in 20th-Century Italian Architecture,” *Architectural Design* 77, no. 5 (2007): 13, <https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.509>.

a resurgence in the 1960s, known as the *Tendenza* (“tendency”) movement in Italy.

The conflict between monumentalism and rationalism embodied the identity crisis of fascism and Italian culture itself. In some instances, the fascists reminisced upon the time of ancient Rome and the prevalence of grand architecture with its ability to project strength. Conversely, there was a focus placed on rationalism as new architectural styles displayed progress and modernity. This parallels the regime’s political ambiguity as ancient Rome was frequently referred to as a model for effective governance while simultaneously claiming that fascism was a modern and entirely new form of government. Peckham points out that the Gruppo 7 tried to mitigate this contradiction by claiming that “our past and present are not incompatible” and that tradition is transient through time.¹⁴ The accuracy of the claim is evident as Italy would see a fusion of both rationalist and monumental architecture throughout the interwar period. The Novecento school of thought—an artistic movement that was popular among fascists—sought to combine traditional monumentalism with modern rationalism and was popular among Mussolini’s advisors and most notably, his mistress Margherita Sarfatti.¹⁵ The *Città Universitaria Roma* (University City of Rome) (fig.5) depicts this fusion of styles as the structures are colossal with the campus occupying a large parcel of land, however, the buildings are uniform and symmetrical with pathways and large terraces connecting them to each other. This example of logical design and orderly stylistic choices while maintaining the grandiose

¹⁴ Peckham, “Dichotomies of Rationalism,” 13.

¹⁵ Borden W. Painter, *Mussolini’s Rome: Rebuilding the Eternal City* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 59.

appearance demonstrates how monumentalism and rationalism could be combined to form a unique architectural style. The university was recognized by the regime as being a notable example of the fascist architectural style, claiming “the taste for the monumental character of edifices, without, however, excessive ornament and external decoration.”¹⁶ However, the development of the campus was eventually accused by conservative critics as a betrayal of the architectural legacy of Rome.¹⁷

Through various forms of architecture, the fascist regime was able to foster a sense of national identity among Italians. Traditionalist monumentalism—a recollection of Roman architecture— was employed to develop a national feeling of strength, unity, and endurance within the Italian elite and popular collective minds alike. Rationalism, in contrast, represented order, logic, and intellectual progress within the state and eventually saw a return in the 1960s’ *Tendenza* movement. Architectural factions such as the Gruppo 7 and Novecento artists found modern and unique designs to implement a uniformity of design throughout Italy, although supporters of monumentalism and rationalist architects were often in competition with one another. Using these architectural forms, the fascist regime could effectively convey propaganda through symbolism and practical designs, with many of these structures still in use and visited by tourists today. By instilling a uniform appearance throughout the country, local individuality was gently pulled into a national identity and the use of standard Italian for government and business remains in use today. Thus, architecture played a significant role in conditioning the Italian people to

¹⁶ Painter, *Mussolini’s Rome*, 66.

¹⁷ Aristotle Kallis, *The Third Rome, 1922-43 the Making of the Fascist Capital* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 173.

support the regime as a symbol of progress, modernize the nation, and ultimately assume a cohesive identity.

Annexe



Figure 1. Stairs of the Lion of Judah in Addis Ababa, formerly Mussolini's Stairway to Nowhere. Photo by: Ninaras, Wikimedia Commons



Figure 2. *Stadio dei Marmi* in Rome, Italy. Constructed during the Fascist era in the Foro Italico, formerly named Foro Mussolini (Mussolini's Forum). Photo by: Harry Pot, Nationaal Archief



Figure 3. *Città Universitaria Roma* (University City of Rome) campus in 1938.
Photographer Unknown, Wikimedia Commons

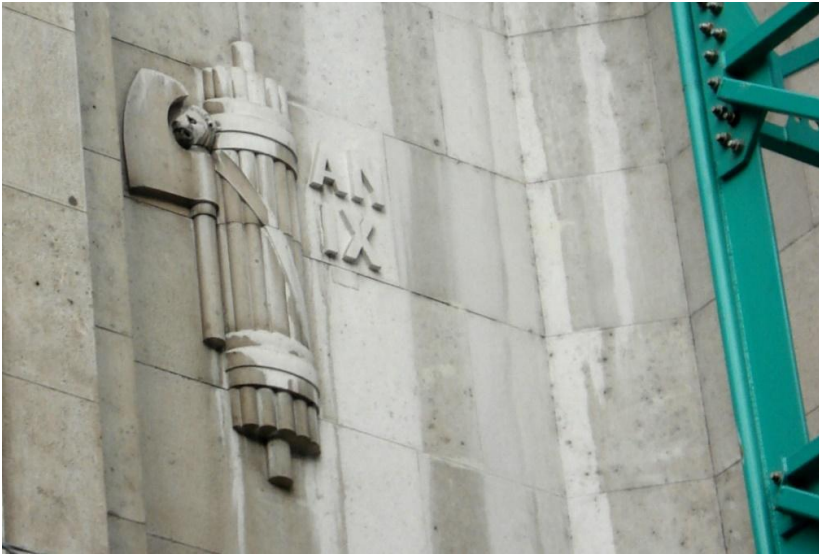


Figure 4. Fasces symbol embossed on the facade of the *Stazione Centrale di Milano* (Milan Central Train Station) with the inscription "AN IX" meaning ninth year of the fascist era (1931). Photo by: Giovanni Dall'Orto, Wikimedia Commons



Figure 5. *Casa del Fascio in Como, Italy.* Photo by: Cristina Polo, Wikimedia Commons

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Castro's Cultural Policy: Cuban Ballet as a Symbol of Resistance

Kristine Feria¹

During the Cold War, culture became a matter of international importance for the US, the Soviet Union, and their allies. The Cold War superpowers showcased their cultural achievements on the international stage and promoted their achievements as evidence of the superiority of their respective political systems. The Soviet Union had one notable advantage in the realm of high art: the centuries-old Russian ballet. The Soviet state inherited the prestigious artform from the imperial era and reshaped it into a vehicle for political propaganda. In 1959, the Soviet state sent the Bolshoi Ballet company to tour the West, where they were met with incredible fanfare.² In anticipation of the tour, the *New York Times* wrote:

The coming visit of the Bolshoi Ballet from Moscow (is there anybody alive who does not know it opened at the Met on Thursday?) has caused more strife and dissension in this country than anything since the War Between the States...Politics? Anti-communism? Send the Reds back where they came from? Nonsense; it is just that everybody wants tickets...People not only want to see

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² Anne Searcy, *Ballet in the Cold War: A Soviet-American Exchange* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

it, but they will commit arson, perjury, mayhem and murder to do so.³

In response, the US cultivated their own ballet companies and sent them to tour the USSR, where they were well-received. This marked the beginning of a series of ballet exchanges that continued throughout the Cold War, with the last Soviet ballet tour of the US taking place mere months before the official dissolution of the USSR in December 1991.⁴ This Cold War rivalry popularized ballet and pushed the artform into the international spotlight for the rest of the twentieth century. The ballet phenomenon reached as far as the small island of Cuba, where the artform became a tool of political propaganda after the 1959 Cuban Revolution. The communist revolutionary leader Fidel Castro was a strong supporter of the arts, especially ballet. He personally funded the company *Ballet Nacional de Cuba*, known as the Cuban National Ballet in the English-speaking world. The company was an outstanding product of Castro's mission to make high art accessible. He viewed ballet as a medium for political education that would help shape the new revolutionary society. The development of Cuban ballet took place within the wider context of Cold War tensions, global decolonization, and the nationalist movements that were ignited as a result of these phenomena. The growth of Cuban ballet after 1959 exemplifies a moment in history when political ideology had a direct impact on culture, turning Cuban ballet into a political

³ John Martin, "Dance: Please! Messrs. Hurok, Khrushchev, Bolshoi, What Are You Doing to Us?" *New York Times*, April 12, 1959, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/114755225/fulltextPDF/64875AE9E29C4313PQ/2?accountid=14701>.

⁴ Alan M. Kriegsman, "The Kirov Ballet, Building on Historic Change," *Washington Post*, October 13, 1991, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/style/1991/10/13/the-kirov-ballet-building-on-historic-change/1b93c8e7-ce19-468e-91c5-753763c45a47/>.

symbol of resistance against inequality and domination by foreign powers. The Cuban National Ballet provided a platform for Cubans to assert their own unique identity on the international stage, as well as a level of cultural prestige that could compete with the ballet companies of North America and Europe.

Pre-Revolutionary Cuba and Fulgencio Batista's Regime (1952-1959)

Throughout most of its modern history, Cuba has been dominated by foreign powers. By the 1950s, the dream of true Cuban independence had been suppressed over a period of hundreds of years. Cuba was a Spanish colony for centuries, liberated after the Cuban War of Independence (1895-1898) and the Spanish-American War (1898). Despite this liberation, Cuba continued to be dominated by US economic interests until the Cuban Revolution in 1959.⁵ Pre-revolutionary Cuba under President Fulgencio Batista was characterized by corruption, wealth inequality, and racial inequality. Socioeconomic issues such as a lack of medical care, a lack of educational opportunities, unemployment, and crime plagued a significant part of the population. Landlessness was rampant; 3% of landowners controlled 56% of Cuban land in the late 1950s.⁶ Wealth disparity followed a rural-urban divide, giving Havana its nickname as the "First World capital of a Third World Country."⁷ To this point, 70%

⁵ Luis Martínez-Fernández, *Revolutionary Cuba: A History*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014), 16.

⁶ Martínez-Fernández, *Revolutionary Cuba*, 44.

⁷ Martínez-Fernández, *Revolutionary Cuba*, 44.

of all hospital beds were in Havana and illiteracy was four times higher for the rural population in the late 1950s.⁸

Opposition against Batista's military dictatorship began almost immediately after he came to power, and the opposition included a wide range of Cubans including "students, intellectuals, workers, and segments of the urban middle class."⁹ For revolutionary Cubans, Batista was a figurehead of corruption and US imperialism, which perpetuated the island's subordination to foreign powers.¹⁰ Dissatisfaction with Batista's regime mounted through the 1950s as socioeconomic conditions worsened. It was out of these conditions of inequality that popular calls for a takedown of Batista's government emerged, and political dissenters rallied behind a lawyer-turned-revolutionary named Fidel Castro. Castro promised to address the socioeconomic issues that plagued the nation and build a new society where Cuba was truly independent from foreign powers. Castro's revolutionary promises resonated with the masses of Cubans who had been persecuted by the Batista regime.

Alicia Alonso and the Cuban National Ballet as a Political Entity

The renowned ballerina Alicia Alonso was among the masses of Cubans who opposed Batista. Alonso dreamt of creating a distinctly Cuban form of ballet and wanted to bring ballet to all corners of Cuban society. Alonso trained at the School of American

⁸ Martínez-Fernández, *Revolutionary Cuba*, 44.

⁹ Martínez-Fernández, *Revolutionary Cuba*, 20.

¹⁰ Martínez-Fernández, *Revolutionary Cuba*, 20.

Ballet and joined the American Ballet Theatre in 1940.¹¹ She was famous for her role in *Giselle*, a role that she debuted in 1943 after being bedridden for over a year.¹² She was diagnosed with detached retinas in both eyes and underwent a series of eye surgeries.¹³ Audiences did not notice her impaired vision and her performance as *Giselle* was widely acclaimed in the US and Europe.¹⁴

Giselle is a quintessential Romantic-era ballet first performed by the Paris Opera Ballet in 1841. The ballet is a tragedy that tells the story of Giselle, a peasant girl who falls in love with Albrecht, unaware that he is truly a prince dressed in peasant's clothing and is already betrothed. Upon discovering his true identity, Giselle spirals into madness and dies at the end of Act I. Act II is set in the forest of the Wilis, ghosts of scorned maidens who force men that enter the forest at night to dance to their deaths. A guilt-ridden and repentant Prince Albrecht visits Giselle's grave in the forest and her ghost rises from the grave. The other Wilis sentence Albrecht to death, but Giselle still loves him and protects him until sunrise, when the Wilis are forced to return to their graves. The role of Giselle is known as one of the most difficult roles to perform because it demands physical technical precision combined with

¹¹ Barbara Newman, *Never Far from Dancing: Ballet Artists in New Roles* (London: Routledge, 2014), 7.

¹² Newman, *Never Far from Dancing*, 7.

¹³ Tomé, "Swans in Sugarcane Fields," 20.

¹⁴ Newman, *Never Far from Dancing*, 7. See, for example, John Martin, "Alonso in Debut Here as Giselle: Young Ballerina Applauded in Difficult Role of the Classic Ballet at Metropolitan," *New York Times*, November 3, 1943. <https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/alonso-debut-here-as-giselle/docview/106673734/se-2>.

acting and pantomime skills. Alonso was renowned for her dramatic skill and musicality in her portrayal of Giselle.¹⁵

Alonso was featured in *Life* magazine in 1944 and appeared on US television on *This is Your Life*.¹⁶ She was an international ballet star and performed with the most prestigious companies, including the Paris Opera Ballet, the birthplace of ballet. In 1948, she and her husband Fernando established Cuba's first ballet company, Ballet Alicia Alonso.¹⁷ The company was a great success and often toured the island and abroad to bring ballet to Latin America.¹⁸ Renowned dancers from around the world visited Cuba to perform with the company, such as Melissa Hayden, Alexandra Danilova, Igor Youskevitch, and Nathalie Philippart.¹⁹ Alonso was the first dancer from the Americas to perform in the Soviet Union with the famed Bolshoi and Kirov companies in 1958, one year before the Cuban Revolution.²⁰ In the USSR, Alonso was "praised to the heavens" and the Soviets were anxious to know "how the Cuban training method produced such a polished style."²¹ Alonso divided her time between performing in the US and Europe and her company in Cuba. However, the establishment of Castro's revolutionary government in 1959 severed US-Cuba relations. Ultimately, Alonso was forced to

¹⁵ Tomé, "'Music in the Blood': Performance and Discourse of Musicality in Cuban Ballet Aesthetics," *Dance Chronicle* 36, no. 2 (2013): 221, doi: 10.1080/01472526.2013.792325.

¹⁶ "The Ballet," *Life*, March 20, 1944, 82-3, https://books.google.ca/books?id=0kwEAAAAMBAJ&source=gbs_all_issues_r&cad=1; Toba Singer, *Fernando Alonso: The Father of Cuban Ballet* (Miami: University Press of Florida, 2013), 74.

¹⁷ Newman, *Never Far from Dancing*, 7.

¹⁸ Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 50-1.

¹⁹ Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 77.

²⁰ Newman, *Never Far from Dancing*, 7.

²¹ Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 78-9.

choose between her performing career in the US and her company in Cuba. In 1960, Alonso was denied entry into the US but was offered a visa under the condition that she defect. She emphatically refused the offer and was not allowed to perform in the US until 1975.²²

Ballet Alicia Alonso took on a political character years before the revolution and in 1951, she declared her mission to “take ballet out of its frame of exclusivity” and “bring it to the people.”²³ Similarly, her husband Fernando declared ballet as an “art of the people for the people” in 1953.²⁴ In 1956, Batista’s government sought to establish an official cultural policy, and offered Alonso’s company funding and facilities if it collaborated with the regime.²⁵ However, the company unanimously rejected the offer and denounced the regime in an open letter denouncing Batista: “We have faith in the Cuban people and are certain that in defending their legitimate right to culture we can count on their commitment not to permit this artistic movement not to be disarmed.”²⁶ In response, Batista’s government cut off its subsidy to the company.²⁷ The company suspended performances in an act of protest against the regime and Alonso’s company did not perform again until after the revolution. This act of protest demonstrates Alonsos’ belief that

²² Lester Tomé, “The Cuban Ballet: Its Rationale, Aesthetics and Artistic Identity as Formulated by Alicia Alonso” (PhD diss., Temple University, 2011), <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/cuban-ballet-rationale-aesthetics-artistic/docview/853329841/se-2>, 101.

²³ Tomé, “Swans in Sugarcane Fields: Proletarian Ballet Dancers and the Cuban Revolution’s Industrious New Man,” *Dance Research Journal* 49, no. 2 (2017): 8, doi: 10.1017/S0149767717000171.

²⁴ Tomé, “Swans in Sugarcane Fields,” 8.

²⁵ Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 75.

²⁶ Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 75-6.

²⁷ Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 76.

ballet should not be limited to elite circles, even before the revolution.

Castro's Cultural Policy and the Origins of *Ballet Nacional de Cuba*

Castro's revolutionary movement overthrew Batista in 1959 after five years of guerilla warfare. His revolutionary government sought to improve the standard of living in Cuba for the lower classes and build a truly independent Cuba. Fundamental to Castro's policy was the provision of equal access to education to eradicate illiteracy.²⁸ Education was viewed as the key to addressing socioeconomic inequalities within Cuban society, bringing political consciousness to the lower classes who were previously excluded from the political realm. The revolutionary cultural policy was fashioned after the Soviet cultural policy and called for mass education through the arts.

In the Soviet Union, Russian ballet was initially endangered by the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 because it was an artform cultivated by the tsardom.²⁹ However, it was saved by its supporters who argued that art, especially ballet, could be used for the political education of the illiterate, who made up a significant part of the population in the early years of the Soviet Union. Ballet does not require its audience to be literate and can convey political messages without words. Furthermore, ballet had an established two-hundred-year long history in Russia, which gave the Soviets an

²⁸ Martínez-Fernández, *Revolutionary Cuba*, 64-5; Tomé, "Swans in Sugarcane Fields," 8.

²⁹ Christina Ezrahi, *Swans of the Kremlin: Ballet and Power in Soviet Russia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 18-20.

advantage on the international stage in terms of cultural prestige. Although Cuban ballet did not yet have an established history, it did have Alicia Alonso, who had already built a distinguished international career and was a symbol of national pride. Like the early Soviet Union, illiteracy plagued significant parts of the Cuban population, and therefore, ballet was a formidable tool for political propaganda. Castro aimed to make the arts accessible to all Cubans, and he funded the growth of the Cuban National Ballet. Ballet Alicia Alonso was revived by Castro and renamed *Ballet Nacional de Cuba*. The Alonsos personally received two-hundred-thousand pesos from Castro to expand their company (Figure 1).³⁰ Alonso's story aligned with the nationalist and anti-imperialist sentiments of the Cuban Revolution: she had succeeded in imperial spaces, Europe and the US, despite great difficulties with impaired vision and asserted her Cuban identity throughout her performing career. Through state support, Cuban ballet developed its own distinct style and acquired an international reputation. The Cuban style is known for displays of great athleticism, as well as Spanish and African dance influences.

Revolutionary Ballets

In 1960, Cuba's revolutionary government issued the "Statute to Guarantee National Ballet of Cuba Activities," which outlined the state's obligation to support ballet and to bring the artform to all corners of society:

Ballet is, undoubtedly, one of the loftiest and most beautiful artistic expressions counted as a long-standing tradition in our country... Since taking power, the revolutionary government has adhered to

³⁰ Tomé, "The Cuban Ballet," 102.

the standard that culture cannot be the property of the few, but, on the contrary, must be scrupulously planned and oriented so that all social classes of this nation, preferably the working class and all the other popular sectors, can claim it as theirs.³¹

Later that same year, Castro signed Law No. 812, which placed the Cuban National Ballet under the Ministry of Education. The law stipulated that ballet should be used for the political education of the masses and called on Cuban choreographers and musicians to create ballets portraying "the finest historical, national folkloric and musical traditions, both inside and outside the country" (Figure 2). The law guaranteed that the necessary facilities and funding would be available for the Cuban National Ballet and called for the popularization of ballet, which involved broadcasting performances on national television and subsidizing ticket prices so that all could afford to watch ballet.³² Castro's government also established the Cuban National Ballet School to train the most talented young Cubans to become professional dancers. Admission into the school was incredibly selective and those who were chosen were trained for free and provided with meals. Students were selected from all segments of Cuban society and the teachers would travel to rural areas and even orphanages to hold auditions.³³

The company's revolutionary character was established soon after the revolution. In September of 1959, the company performed *Giselle* and the performance program stated: "Each Cuban to his place of combat: the farmer to the plow, the worker to the workshop, the professional to his own activity; on our part, we [dancers] pledge to work toward our organization and professional

³¹ Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 218-19.

³² Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 219-21; Tomé, "Swans in Sugarcane Fields," 7.

³³ Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 86-7.

growth with more dedication than ever, to take the best of our art to our people [and] carry a message of love and beauty to the ‘poor of the land’.”³⁴ This statement blurs class distinctions by placing Cuban dancers alongside the working classes and suggests that the arts have the power to help build an equal and independent Cuba.

The Cuban National Ballet company travelled across the country to perform and often performed in factories, farms, and military bases.³⁵ The company members even worked in the fields and completed agricultural activities alongside farmers, which was part of the revolutionary government’s mass effort to increase agricultural productivity by framing agriculture as a “social duty”.³⁶ Alonso sought to dismantle the perception of ballet as an elite artform and transcended class distinctions by sending her dancers into the fields to participate in farming and manual labour. The British dance critic Arnold Haskell visited the company in Cuba and wrote that one of their agricultural expeditions involved filling “plastic bags with earth for the planting of coffee,” with Alonso acting as an overseer “demanding more and more barrow loads of earth.”³⁷ Haskell expressed astonishment at this and noted that it would be unthinkable for British ballerinas to do such a thing because of their elite status within British society.³⁸ In 1979, *The New York Times* published an article on the principal dancer Jorge Esquivel titled “A Cuban Ballet Star Who Cuts Sugar Cane.” In the article, he discusses the political character of ballet in Cuba:

There are a lot of people who won’t understand my point of view, but I can’t talk about ballet without talking about the Revolution:

³⁴ Tomé, “Swans in Sugarcane Fields,” 7.

³⁵ Tomé, “Swans in Sugarcane Fields,” 7-13.

³⁶ Tomé, “Swans in Sugarcane Fields,” 13.

³⁷ Tomé, “Swans in Sugarcane Fields,” 13.

³⁸ Tomé, “Swans in Sugarcane Fields,” 7.

the art is born from the politics. For example, we try to bring the ballet to everyone in Cuba...And we dancers don't feel as though we're part of an elite; we're the same as any other group of workers...People from outside of Cuba have asked me 'How can you cut cane? You're an artist! But I'm happy to do it; I'm no better than the next guy.'³⁹

The Cuban National Ballet's outreach efforts contributed to the popularization of Cuban ballet and eventually, the company began performing in sports venues for audiences numbering in the thousands. In 1962, they performed *Swan Lake* for an audience of 50,000 (Figure 3).⁴⁰

Soviet Influence and Cultural Diplomacy

The concept of the New Man/Woman and the creation of a new revolutionary society was fundamental to Castro's cultural policy. This concept was adopted from the Soviets, and it represented the ideal revolutionary: educated, hard-working, disciplined, selfless, and dedicated to the revolutionary cause. Most importantly, the New Man/Woman had a revolutionary consciousness and lived by moral incentives rather than material incentives.⁴¹ In *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, Ernesto "Che" Guevara argued for the importance of education in shaping revolutionary

³⁹ Michael Robertson, "A Cuban Ballet Star Who Cuts Sugar Cane: Jorge Esquivel" *New York Times*, Jul 15, 1979, <https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/cuban-ballet-star-who-cuts-sugar-cane/docview/120788591/se-2>.

⁴⁰ Tomé, "Swans in Sugarcane Fields," 7.

⁴¹ See, Che Guevara, "Socialism and Man," in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics* eds. Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, Alfredo Prieto, Pamela Maria Smorkaloff (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), 292-297.

consciousness and called for the “institutionalization of the revolution.”⁴² Castro’s government recognized the role of the arts in revolutionary education and ballet dancers were framed as ideal representatives of the New Man/Woman. The strict discipline required to train as a ballet dancer and the collective aspect of the artform made them ideal candidates to represent the New Man/Woman. Alonso’s success in ballet despite her near-blindness made her a perfect symbol of the revolutionary narrative, which was characterized by success against all odds.⁴³ The idea that a “Third World” country could excel at an artform that originated in imperial Europe was empowering for the anti-imperialist and nationalist revolutionary cause (Figure 4).

The Cuban revolutionary government followed the Soviet example of using ballet as a vehicle for cultural diplomacy. The Cuban National Ballet was sent on tours to the Soviet Union and Soviet ballet companies visited Cuba in return. These tours fostered goodwill and closer artistic relations between Cuba and the USSR. The biggest Soviet ballet stars, including the Bolshoi ballerina Maya Plisetskaya, often made guest appearances with the Cuban dancers.⁴⁴ In 1966, Plisetskaya requested for Alberto Alonso to choreograph at the Bolshoi Theatre after she attended a performance of the Cuban National Ballet in Moscow. Although foreign choreographers were traditionally forbidden in the Bolshoi,

⁴² Guevara, *Man and Socialism in Cuba: Notes on Man and Socialism in Cuba* (New York, NY: Students for a Democratic Society, 1967), https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cdocument%7C4645350.

⁴³ Tomé, “Swans in Sugarcane Fields,” 20.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Schwall, “A Spectacular Embrace: Dance Dialogues between Cuba and the Soviet Union, 1959-1973.” *Dance Chronicle* 41, no. 3 (2018): 287, doi:10.1080/01472526.2018.1518074.

her request was approved. She reflected on this exchange in her autobiography:

They did not invite foreign choreographers to the Imperial [Bolshoi] Theater. In fact, they wouldn't let them get within a hundred meters of the place. They might infect the virginal Bolshoi with various degenerate Western influences. Pervert it. Destroy it. But this was a Cuban, from a people's democracy, whose troupe successfully strengthened friendship among the peoples of the socialist camp.⁴⁵

For Plisetskaya, the Cuban-Soviet ballet exchange offered her the rare opportunity to experiment with foreign styles and innovative choreography. The collaboration produced *Carmen Suite*, a one-act ballet based on Georges Bizet's 1875 opera *Carmen*. The ballet takes place in a Spanish bullfighting ring and centres on Carmen, a free-spirited and seductive woman who becomes entangled between three suitors: a soldier, a bullfighter, and an overlord. Carmen symbolizes freedom, while the male characters symbolize forms of repression.⁴⁶ Alberto described the ballet as "Afro-Spanish" and his choreography included elements of Cuban rumba.⁴⁷ *Carmen Suite* premiered in 1967 and was not well-received within the Soviet ballet establishment due to its modernist style and sexual themes. However, Soviet audiences who were initially shocked by *Carmen Suite's* rejection of the classical style ultimately embraced the ballet and turned it into a box office hit. The Canadian impresario Nikolai Fedorovich Kudryavtsev asked for *Carmen Suite* to be part of the Bolshoi's performance at Expo 67 in Montréal.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the

⁴⁵ Maya Plisetskaya, *I, Maya Plisetskaya*, trans. Antonina W. Bouis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 270.

⁴⁶ Schwall, 293.

⁴⁷ Schwall, 293.

⁴⁸ Known as Nicolas Koudriavtzeff in Canada. Plisetskaya, 277.

Soviet Ministry of Culture decided that the ballet was far too controversial to embody Soviet cultural values and rejected Kudryavtsev's request. Plisetskaya was enraged by this slight and refused to dance with the company in Canada at all. Despite the Ministry of Culture's distaste for *Carmen Suite*, audiences continued attending and the ballet became an essential part of the Bolshoi repertoire. *Carmen Suite* is a shining achievement from the Cuban-Soviet ballet exchange and Plisetskaya performed it over one-hundred times on the Bolshoi stage (Figure 5).⁴⁹

Azari Plisetski, principal dancer of the Bolshoi Ballet and Plisetskaya's brother, joined the Cuban National Ballet in 1963, which imparted Soviet influence on the Cuban ballet style.⁵⁰ Plisetski choreographed several ballets for the company and often partnered with Alonso onstage. There were also educational exchanges and Cuban students were sent to study in prestigious Soviet ballet academies, including the Vaganova, and Soviet teachers taught at the Cuban National Ballet School.⁵¹ Cuban ballet's adoption of Soviet influences served to distance the artform from US domination. Although the Soviets strongly influenced Cuban ballet, Cuban dancers wanted to ensure that their style was distinguishable from the Soviets and that it maintained a distinct Cuban character. The American dancer Marian Horosko visited Havana in 1971 and recalled:

When I saw a few hips up and out in a *développé à la seconde* I remarked jokingly to Fernando, 'You see, there's a Bolshoi hip!' 'I see,' he answered. 'I didn't notice that today. We'll have to make a

⁴⁹ Plisetskaya, 281.

⁵⁰ Schwall, 292.

⁵¹ Schwall, 287.

correction.' After that 'Russian' hips were playfully slapped down into Cuban placement.⁵²

The Cuban repertoire combines classical European works, such as *Giselle* and *Swan Lake*, as well as original and revolutionary-themed works. For example, Enrique Martínez's *El despertar* (The Awakening) and Plisetski's *La avanzada* (The Outpost), were stories about revolutionaries fighting against repression. Other revolutionary-themed works included Alonso's *La carta* (The Alphabet Book), a tribute to Castro's literacy campaign, and Alberto Alonso's *Conjugación* (Conjugation), a tribute to Che Guevara.⁵³ The Cuban repertoire favours nineteenth century classical ballets, similar to the Soviet repertoire and in contrast with American ballet's emphasis on neoclassical and contemporary works.

Cuban National Identity and Race

Although Cuba never had official segregation like the US, Afro-Cubans were incredibly disadvantaged, and several institutions were "whites only." In fact, Batista himself was refused membership at a private club in the 1930s because he was mixed-race, even though he was the head of the Cuban armed forces at the time.⁵⁴ Castro's revolutionary government eliminated segregation and provided opportunities for disadvantaged Afro-Cubans, which extended to the arts. The Cuban National Ballet school and company were racially integrated and the popularization of ballet

⁵² Schwall, "A Spectacular Embrace," 286.

⁵³ Tomé, "Swans in Sugarcane Fields," 13.

⁵⁴ Martínez-Fernández, *Revolutionary Cuba*, 19.

under Castro introduced Afro-Cubans to ballet, who were excluded from the art form in segregated pre-revolutionary Cuba.⁵⁵

Ballet was a vehicle for Cubans to assert their national identity, while also proving that they could excel in a white-dominated artform. Alicia Alonso sought to create a uniquely Cuban form of ballet and wanted to redefine ballet in anti-imperialist and postcolonial terms. Furthermore, she fought against the racism and colourism that characterized pre-revolutionary Cuba and sought to create a diverse ballet company that contrasted with the white-dominated companies in Europe and North America. The Russification of names was a common practice for ballet dancers in the West in the early twentieth century, which allowed dancers to portray themselves as inheritors of the prestigious Russian ballet.⁵⁶ Alonso asserted her Cuban identity early on in her career after refusing to change her last name to “Algaroff.”⁵⁷

Through ballet, Cuba asserted its own national identity and promoted racial diversity. The Cuban ballet technique contains Spanish folk dance and African dance influences. The Cuban style is known for displays of great athleticism, such as high jumps and several turns in succession, characteristics they inherited from the Soviets. Alonso reflected on the Cuban style: “I believe it comes from our folklore. It’s the Spanish and African influences. I don’t know how to explain it, but it also seems to me that it has to do with our climate and the characteristics of our ambience. There is a certain sensuality that we capture in our way of dancing, in our

⁵⁵ Tomé, “Swans in Sugarcane Fields,” 11.

⁵⁶ Schwall, 281.

⁵⁷ Schwall, “A Spectacular Embrace,” 281.

movements.”⁵⁸ The 1967 ballet *Carmen*, choreographed by Alberto Alonso, Alicia's brother-in-law, is the most notable original Cuban ballet. The choreography of *Carmen* combines Cuban rumba and Spanish dance with classical ballet.⁵⁹ *Carmen* was choreographed specifically for the Soviet ballerina Maya Plisetskaya and the ballet was a box-office success in the Soviet Union.⁶⁰ *Carmen* came to symbolize Soviet-Cuban diplomacy and one Soviet dance critic called it “a living symbol of creative links between the two peoples. The innovative work proves the benefit of these contacts.”⁶¹

Throughout its centuries-long history, ballet has been dominated by white Europeans and the ideal “ballet body” mainly corresponds to Eurocentric traits. In 1978, Alonso spoke on discrimination within American ballet: “Racial features are taken into account in a very precise way. I know of extreme cases in which it is asked that all the ballerinas are the same height, and preferably blond, with fair eyes and a button nose.”⁶² The ideal “ballet body” as it is known today has its roots in the mid-twentieth century and was promoted by George Balanchine, co-founder of the New York City Ballet. The preference for white physical characteristics in ballet led some European and North American dance critics to question whether Cubans could perform 19th century classical works. ⁶³ Alonso reflected on performing classical works in the 1940s: “The audience could not believe that a Latina represented

⁵⁸ Tomé, “‘Music in the Blood’: Performance and Discourse of Musicality in Cuban Ballet Aesthetics,” *Dance Chronicle* 36, no. 2 (2013): 228, doi: 10.1080/01472526.2013.792325.

⁵⁹ Schwall, “A Spectacular Embrace,” 293.

⁶⁰ Schwall, 294.

⁶¹ Schwall, “A Spectacular Embrace,” 294.

⁶² Tomé, “The Cuban Ballet,” 154.

⁶³ Tomé, 153.

classicism. In England, a critic even asked me how I had the courage to dance *Giselle*.”⁶⁴ Furthermore, the uniformity required of the *corps de ballets* has been used as a justification for rejecting racial diversity. Many nineteenth century ballets, including *Swan Lake*, *Giselle*, and *La Bayadère*, contain an act set in an otherworldly realm where the *corps de ballets* play supernatural or ethereal figures. These works are categorized as “*ballet blanc*.” The racial diversity of the company raised questions about whether they would be able to maintain the beautiful uniformity of the pale Wilis in Act II and Alonso stated in 1986 that a white dance critic “who watched the company in class told us that he felt alarmed by the diversity of features and colors among the dancers. He wondered, ‘How would they be able to dance *Giselle*?’”⁶⁵ *Giselle* was a particular point of contention. It was Alonso’s signature ballet, and she made it an essential part of the Cuban National Ballet’s repertoire. Nonetheless, the company’s tour of Western Europe in 1966 was a great success and critics praised *Giselle*, while also expressing surprise that Cubans could dance the classics so well. A French critic stated: “Who could have believed that one of the most captivating *Giselles* that one could see would come from Cuba?”⁶⁶

The Legacy of Cuban Ballet

One of the most acclaimed dancers from the Cuban ballet system is Carlos Acosta, who was born in one of the poorest districts in Havana. Acosta’s father was a poor truck-driver, often

⁶⁴ Tomé, 119.

⁶⁵ Tomé, “The Cuban Ballet,” 155.

⁶⁶ Tomé, 120.

unable to feed his eleven children.⁶⁷ Students of the Cuban National Ballet were trained for free and provided with free meals, which prompted Acosta's father to send him there.⁶⁸ His father hoped that ballet would teach him discipline and keep him off the streets. Acosta garnered an international reputation after he won the Prix de Lausanne in 1990, one of the most prestigious ballet competitions in the world. He was invited to join the English National Ballet the following year, which allowed him to bring Cuban ballet to British stages.⁶⁹ He joined the Royal Ballet in London in 1998 and in 2003 he was promoted to principal dancer (Figure 6).⁷⁰ Acosta was the first black principal dancer in the Royal Ballet's history, which was a success for Alonso's original mission to introduce racial diversity to ballet. During his career, Acosta danced with the best companies around the world, including the Bolshoi Ballet, the American Ballet Theatre, and the Paris Opera Ballet.

Acosta maintains close ties with the Cuban government and often returns to teach and perform. He has stated that his artistic success is a "product of the Revolution" and that he would not have been able to pursue dance if he was raised elsewhere.⁷¹ In a 2008 interview, Acosta discussed Fernando Alonso:

⁶⁷ For Acosta's life story, see, Al Jazeera English, "The Frost Interview - Carlos Acosta: From pauper to prince," YouTube video, 47:23, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IWmmH_I9XsI.

⁶⁸ Al Jazeera English, "The Frost Interview - Carlos Acosta: From pauper to prince," YouTube video, 47:23, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IWmmH_I9XsI.

⁶⁹ "About Carlos," Carlos Acosta, accessed June 10, 2023, <https://www.carlosacosta.com/about-carlos/>.

⁷⁰ Nicola Stanbridge, "Carlos Acosta on why the classical ballet world needs new Romeos," BBC, September 29, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-37504769>

⁷¹ BBCHardtalk, "Carlos Acosta - BBC HARDtalk June 2011," YouTube video, 24:18, https://youtu.be/oNpEugoMYk?si=h062WBIV-0S662_-.

I saw a tape of him from during the Cuban Revolution, and he had a gun. He took off the gun and holster and asked someone to hold them while he lifted a dancer in a promenade. There he was back in those days, making the revolution and still teaching these kids how to dance!... I thought, 'What the hell? These people were really something!'...He is the father of dance in Cuba...He's the source of everything we have.⁷²

In 2012, Acosta undertook an effort to revitalize Castro's abandoned project of establishing the National Schools of Art, which began construction in the 1960s over land that once belonged to the exclusive Havana Country Club.⁷³ There were to be five schools, each with their own specialty: Ballet, Modern and Folk Dance, Music, Plastic Arts, and Drama.⁷⁴ However, the project fell through in the mid-1960s because it was considered too complex and "bourgeois." In 2003, Cuba considered nominating the schools for UNESCO's World Heritage List.⁷⁵ Although there have been no significant updates on completing construction of the schools, the Getty Foundation awarded a grant for their preservation in 2018.⁷⁶

⁷² Singer, *Fernando Alonso*, 130-1.

⁷³ These efforts have been complicated by disagreement between Acosta and Vittorio Garatti, the original architect. Garatti was concerned that Acosta merely seeks to "privatize" the schools. As of 2017, Acosta was still continuing his effort to rebuild the schools and they were featured as set pieces in his biopic *Yuli* (2018). Sarah Rainsford, "Carlos Acosta's Cuban ballet school dream," *BBC*, November 18, 2012, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20358598>; Nowness, "Full Circles," September 19, 2017, YouTube video, 3:25, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Csi0AjKJHxY&t=75s>.

⁷⁴ UNESCO, "National Schools of Art, Cubanacán," February 28, 2003, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1798/>.

⁷⁵ UNESCO, "National Schools of Art, Cubanacán," February 28, 2003, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1798/>.

⁷⁶ The Getty Foundation states that the grant will fund a preservation project under conservationists from Princeton University and Vittorio Garatti. However, Garatti died in 2023, and there is currently no information on the status of the preservation project. Antoine Wilmering, "Getty Foundation Awards 11 Modern Architectural Conservation Grants Across Nine Countries," Getty Foundation, October 11, 2018,

Today, the schools still remain abandoned and stand in ruins; only time will tell if Acosta's efforts will bring the schools back to life (Figure 7).

Other than Acosta, the Cuban National Ballet School has produced several international ballet stars including Lorena Feijoo (San Francisco Ballet), Yosvani Ramos (Australian Ballet), José Manuel Carreño (English National Ballet), and Xiomara Reyes (American Ballet Theatre).⁷⁷ Some Cuban dancers have defected and severed ties with their homeland, while others have joined foreign companies with the permission of the Ministry of Education, which allows them to work abroad without defecting.

In 1966, the Cuban National Ballet performed in Paris and ten dancers defected. The dancers told the *New York Times* that they were not opposed to the Cuban Revolution but believe that the government strayed from "the very principles of the revolution" and "hits whoever shows the slightest non-conformity."⁷⁸ After the Cold War ended, the Cuban National Ballet began regularly touring North America and Western Europe. Several dancers have defected while on tour in cities such as Miami and Toronto, citing Cuban ballet's lack of artistic innovation, as well as the repertoire's strict dedication to classical nineteenth-century ballets and aversion to

<https://blogs.getty.edu/iris/getty-foundation-awards-11-modern-architectural-conservation-grants-across-nine-countries/#:~:text=In%202018%2C%20Keeping%20It%20Modern,Vittorio%20Garatti%20and%20Roberto%20Gottardi>).

⁷⁷ Newman, *Never Far from Dancing*, 7.

⁷⁸ "10 from Cuba's National Ballet Defect and Ask Asylum in Paris," *New York Times*, November 6, 1966, <https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/10-cubas-national-ballet-defect-ask-asylum-paris/docview/117480402/se-2>.

modernist ballets. More significantly, the socioeconomic condition of Cuba has deteriorated since the end of the Cold War and ballet dancers cannot live as well as they did in the mid-twentieth century. Today, Cuban ballet dancers earn \$30 to \$50 a month.⁷⁹ Some Cuban dancers, like the 1966 defectors, see Castro as a tyrant that betrayed the Revolution's original goals, while others, like Acosta, see him as a champion of the arts. Castro's legacy on today's Cuba is incredibly complex and cannot possibly be fully explored within the confines of this essay.

Today, the Cuban National Ballet and its school continue to be state-funded and ballet is widely accessible. The school is open to international students and the company continues to perform around the world. Alonso stated on the accessibility of ballet: "Today you could talk about ballet in Cuba, and a taxi driver would say, 'Who is dancing today?' I would say, So and so, and he would say, 'Oh, that's a good performance. I will go today.' A taxi driver! It's marvelous. That's the way it should be."⁸⁰ Cuban ballet is successful in that it created space for cultural and racial diversity within ballet. Moreover, Cuban ballet has undoubtedly made an international impression. Cuban dancers are known for their strong ballet technique and virtuosity, and defectors have little trouble finding work outside of Cuba. The American Ballet Theatre and the Royal Ballet have toured Cuba and performed on the stages of the Grand Theatre and the Karl Marx Theatre.⁸¹ Alberto Alonso's

⁷⁹ Claudia Bauer, "What Do Changing U.S.-Cuba Relations Mean for Cuban Ballet?" *Pointe Magazine*, March 31, 2016, <https://pointemagazine.com/cuban-ballet-us-relations/>.

⁸⁰ Newman, *Never Far from Dancing*, 11.

⁸¹ Victoria Burnett, "A Cuban-American Cultural Exchange Comes Full-Circle," *New York Times*, November 8, 2010, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/08/arts/dance/08abt.html>; CBC Arts, " Britain's

Carmen Suite has been included in the repertoire of companies around the world and in 2016, a monument of Plisetskaya as Carmen was unveiled near the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow. In June 2024, Acosta's *Don Quixote* will make its North American debut with the National Ballet of Canada. The story of Cuban ballet is a rare one of a "Third World" country succeeding in asserting its national identity on the international stage and excelling in an artform that was largely considered exclusive to North American and European elites. Today, ballet remains a predominantly white artform but there has been significant progress in diversity and the international ballet stars produced by the Cuban ballet system are some examples of this progress.

Royal Ballet Set for Rare Cuban Shows," *CBC News*, July 13, 2009, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/entertainment/britain-s-royal-ballet-set-for-rare-cuban-shows-1.794252>.

Appendix

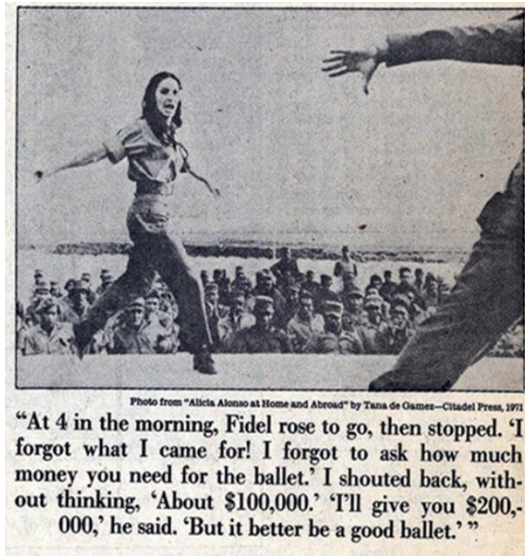


Figure 1. Clipping from the *Washington Post*, 1978.⁸²



Figure 2. Fidel Castro with the Cuban National Ballet, 1959.⁸³

⁸² Kriegsman, "The Legend of Alicia Alonso," *Washington Post*, May 28, 1978, Brooklyn College Archives and Special Collections, <https://bcarchives1.omeka.net/items/show/25>.

⁸³ Pedro de la Hoz, "The Best Policy, the Most Revolutionary in the Field of Culture," *Granma*, November 23, 2018, <https://en.granma.cu/cultura/2018-11-23/the-best-policy-the-most-revolutionary-in-the-field-of-culture>.



Figure 3. Packed stadium for Alicia Alonso, 1959.⁸⁴



Figure 4. Alonso performing *Giselle* at the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow, 1958.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Barbara Steinberg, "My Memories of Alicia Before Alonso," *Dance Magazine*, October 20, 2019, <https://www.dancemagazine.com/alicia-alonso/>.



Figure 5. Maya Plisetskaya as Carmen, 1967.⁸⁵



Figure 6. Acosta in Don Quixote at the Royal Opera House in London, 2013.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ "Cuban Ballerina in Moscow (1958)," British Pathé, accessed 25 February, 2024, <https://www.britishpathe.com/asset/74469/>.

⁸⁶ A. Nevezhin, *The ballet 'Carmen Suite' by G.Bizet – R. Shchedrin, 1967*, photograph, Google Arts and Culture, The Bolshoi Theatre, https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-ballet-%E2%80%9Ccarmen-suite%E2%80%9D-by-g-bizet-%E2%80%93-r-shchedrin-photo-by-a-nevezhin/FgHNaO_PCZnJrg.



Figure 7. The abandoned schools, 2014.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Johan Persson, *Carlos Acosta in Don Quixote*, October 2013, photograph, Flickr, <https://flic.kr/p/gTadao>.

⁸⁸ Joseph Romeo, *Abandoned School of Ballet, Havana, Cuba*, photographs, March 2014, *International Photography Awards*, <https://www.photoawards.com/winner/zoom.php?eid=8-76671-14>.

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Apocalypse Now: The Societal Impact of the Vietnam War as Expressed Through Cinema

Anys Jean Dagher¹

The Vietnam War was undoubtedly a turning point in both United States and global history. On a global level, it saw the US' European allies withdraw their hitherto unwavering support, fostered by the Cold War climate, and oppose the United States in its decision to go to war in Vietnam. It also meant the end of a significant US military presence in Southeast Asia. At home, the Vietnam War spawned numerous and diverse narratives and myths, narratives that are still propagated and endlessly debated today, and narratives that are often highly partisan. Some contended (and still do) that the United States army was stabbed in the back by politicians back home, while others criticized the US foray into Vietnam as an unwarranted exercise in imperialism. The socio-political and cultural impact of the war in the United States was enormous and would influence politics and policy for decades. This essay will focus on the impact on society, namely the crisis of American national consciousness. This crisis of national consciousness resulted from various American myths being shattered. These myths included the idea that the government was an inherently

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trustworthy institution, that the United States was a country of justice, and that it possessed an invincible military. Indeed, the very American Exceptionalism which was at the core of the United States' national identity was thrown into question. The public image of the American soldier, too, underwent a profound change. American war crimes and massacres, widespread drug use, and the significant degree of insubordination, which saw its most infamous and shocking manifestation in the phenomenon known as fragging, transformed the American soldier from a virtuous warrior that fought for justice into an unrestrained and base menace that engaged in unspeakable acts of brutality. The purpose of this paper is to explore how this crisis of national identity was expressed through Francis Ford Coppola's cinematic masterpiece *Apocalypse Now* (1979). The paper will have a two-part structure. Part One will delve into the relevant history and will have a strictly academic approach. Part Two, the analysis of the movie and its relevant motifs, will take a more literary approach while still making reference to other scholarly analyses written on the subject. Ultimately what this paper will show is that the entire movie, with its various themes, is an exposition of the rupture of the American soul.

Historical Context

The impact that the Vietnam War had on the American public was enormous, and the reasons for this impact are numerous. Unlike the First and Second World Wars, and unlike the Korean War, by the time the Vietnam War came to an end, American society had experienced a socio-political polarization not

seen since the Civil War.² A more or less homogenous society — especially when contrasted with American society from the 1960s onwards — the United States government and public were, more or less, united in their cause during World War I and World War II. Dissident voices during the United States' involvement in Korea were rather limited. The Vietnam War was different.

Various intellectual currents, often interacting with each other, had formed a powerful challenge to the establishment. The civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the 1960s counterculture, and the New Left in general had created a socio-political space for protest and activism. Sensitive to issues like colonialism, and sympathetic to Marxist rhetoric and world view — with its focus on class struggle and economic and social justice — the US military entanglement in Vietnam, a formerly colonized country, appeared to a significant number of people as nothing more than an imperial excursion. For many, the Domino Theory and the Communist Containment narrative had begun to lose credibility.³ The United States was now just another Western power subjugating people in the Global South.

Coverage of the war, including both the press reports and the official stance taken in D.C., was another factor that influenced its reception. President Lyndon B. Johnson had long maintained

² Robert J. McMahon. "SHAFR Presidential Address: Contested Memory: The Vietnam War and American Society, 1975-2001", *Diplomatic History* 26, no. 2 (2002): 160.

³ Communist Containment was a US foreign policy strategy that sought to prevent the spread of communism globally. The Domino Theory was a geopolitical theory promoted by US policy makers that stated that an increasing influence of communism in one country could lead to the spread of communism in neighboring countries. Containment was the strategy that was meant to prevent this domino effect from happening.

that the war effort had been largely successful, and that victory was on the horizon.⁴ No more than two years into his administration, journalists started talking about a credibility gap between White House rhetoric and the realities on the ground in Vietnam. The 1968 Tet Offensive, which took the Americans and the South Vietnamese by complete surprise, made it abundantly clear that the Johnson administration had been less than frank, and that the war was far from over; within weeks, Johnson announced that he would not run for reelection.⁵ The leak of the Pentagon Papers in 1971 officially confirmed that the American public had been lied to.⁶ Many that had watched as the US and South Vietnamese militaries became quagmired in Vietnam's jungles and rice paddies came to believe that the war brought nothing but death and destruction.

In addition to the credibility gap and the perceived futility of the war, reports of atrocities committed by US soldiers, the most infamous of which is the My Lai massacre, further fueled anti-war sentiments in the United States. On March 16, 1968, under the command of Captain Ernest Medina, Charlie Company massacred the people in the two hamlets of My Lay and My Khe, in the Quang Ngai province in South Vietnam. The soldiers were initially told that they were conducting an operation with the stated goal of neutralizing a Viet Cong stronghold, and that everybody found within the hamlets were to be shot.⁷ As it turned out, the hamlets were not VC strongholds, and the people there were largely

⁴ Don North, "TET: Surprised at Saigon", *MHQ: the Quarterly Journal of Military History* (2002), 91.

⁵ Andrew Priest, "Power to the People? American Public Opinion and the Vietnam War", *The US Public and American Foreign Policy*, eds. Andrew Johnstone and Helen Laville (Routledge, 2010), 48 ; Don North, "TET: Surprised at Saigon", 91.

⁶ Garrett M. Graff, *Watergate* (United States: Simon & Schuster, 2022), 16.

⁷ Jonathan Neale, *A People's History of the Vietnam War* (New York: New Press, 2003), 122.

women, children, and elderly men. Charlie Company went ahead with the killings anyway. Over 500 people were massacred. The officers, who had ordered the killings, would also try to cover up the whole ordeal.⁸ It was only a year and a half later, in November of 1969, that now-renowned investigative journalist Seymour Hersh published several articles exposing the atrocity. News of the massacre shocked the American public, as well as the international community.

The United States army itself was also severely demoralized. There was widespread insubordination throughout the ranks, and discipline often disintegrated; fragging, the act of killing a fellow soldier, usually a member of the officer class, became a common practice within the US military.⁹ Drug use among soldiers, especially heroin, was significant. And there were, of course, the various war crimes attributed to American soldiers.¹⁰

The Vietnam War was also the first war to be televised. The three major wars that the United States had previously been embroiled in were largely conveyed through literary sources, that is, newspaper reports, historic writings, books, and memoirs.¹¹ In stark contrast, images and video footage of Vietnam were beamed into the American household, and the public saw for themselves the horrific reality of the war; one of the most well-known pieces of

⁸ Neale, *A People's History of the Vietnam War*, 123-124.

⁹ Brendan McQuade, "'The Vietnam Syndrome' and the End of the Post-'Sixties' Era: Tropes and Hegemony in History and Policy", *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 2, no. 1 (2014): 36; "Fragging." *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*. Oxford University Press, 2000.

¹⁰ McQuade, "'The Vietnam Syndrome'," 36.

¹¹ Michael Anderegg, "Introduction", *Inventing Vietnam: The War in Film and Television*, ed. Michael Anderegg (Temple University Press, 1991), 1.

footage is the summary execution of a Viet Cong officer by a South Vietnamese general in 1968. However, even before this, footage of American GIs burning down Vietnamese huts with zippo lighters, and firefights outside of the US embassy in Saigon were normal occurrences on American television sets.¹²

The credibility gap, American war crimes, the perceived futility of the war itself, the photo and video footage from the battlefield, and the powerful, extended criticism and attacks mounted against the war effort by intellectuals, students, and various left-wing groups would end up disillusioning a major segment of the population, including Congress. And this shift in public opinion played a major role in the eventual demobilization and retreat of American troops out of Vietnam.

The socio-political consequences of Vietnam and its memory were varied. One of the most profound effects which Vietnam had on US society was the disintegration of the American national identity. The cause behind this crisis of national consciousness is the shattering of various national myths. One such myth, which informed how Americans saw themselves within the international community, was the idea that the US was a nation of justice. After all, America was the 'city upon a hill', a shining example and beacon of hope to other nations. My Lai and other atrocities, not to mention the fact that the US was engaged in a war for apparently no good reason, threw into question the idea that America was a bringer of justice. In other words, its moral standing had been compromised.¹³ The trust which Americans had had in their

¹² Andrew Priest, "Power to the People?", 48; Daniel C Hallin, *The Uncensored War* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1986), 132.

¹³ McMahon, "SHAFR Presidential Address: Contested Memory", 175.

governmental institutions prior to Vietnam was another casualty of the war. The credibility gap that became apparent under Johnson, and which was exacerbated with the leak of the Pentagon Papers, severely undermined the credibility of the United States government.¹⁴ Long gone were the days of the founding fathers and the optimism which had marked their understanding of the republican project. The government apparatus, which had apparently fallen into the hands of self-serving cynics, now had been divorced from the masses it was supposed to represent.

Another myth that was shattered was the idea that the United States, and its army, was invincible. Resounding successes in the First and Second World War, wherein which the United States, entering the wars late and in tip top military and economic shape, helped their allies to victory, had given Americans (and people of all nations, really) the impression that the US military, with its superior technology, could not be defeated. When the United States failed to defeat a couple thousand guerillas ‘wearing black pajamas’, in the words of esteemed historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr, the nation's confidence in its own strength had been deeply shaken.¹⁵

The myth of the virtuous American soldier, too, could no longer be maintained following the various massacres and war crimes. One day after the My Lai story ran in the newspapers, forty thousand protesters went on a “March of Death”, gathering at the

¹⁴ “Pentagon Papers.” A Dictionary of Contemporary World History. Oxford University Press, 2021.

The Pentagon Papers exposed how the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administration had acted secretly and deceptively towards the American public.

¹⁵ McMahon, “SHAFR Presidential Address: Contested Memory”, 175-176.

Arlington National Cemetery. Three days later, on November 15, 1969, between 250,000 and 800,000 protesters (depending on who is estimating) gathered at the National Mall in D.C. for what might well be America's largest anti-war demonstration in history. There were even some minor outbreaks of violence.¹⁶ Returning Vietnam War veterans would not be greeted as the heroes of days past, but often as villains. The post-Vietnam era in the United States would also be the time when mental health advocates tried to get, and eventually got, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) recognized as a clinical condition. The World War II soldier who came home, got married, bought a house, and built a family, transformed into a traumatized man that came home a shell of his former self, often an alcoholic or a drug addict. America had changed, and it had changed for good.

Apocalypse Now

The Vietnam War was the first television war. Film was the medium with which the American public had consumed the war. It also became the medium through which some of the most important socio-cultural criticisms and dialogues on Vietnam would happen. In many ways, cinema would end up superseding factual analysis as the venue by which the final judgment on Vietnam would be determined.¹⁷ After all, the American public was already familiar with the audio-visual complex that is film, and specifically with the visual peculiarities of the Vietnam War, such as

¹⁶ Geoffrey C. Ward and Ken Burns, *The Vietnam War: An Intimate History* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2017), 576-577.

¹⁷ Michael Anderegg, "Introduction" in *Inventing Vietnam: The War Film and Television* (Temple University Press, 1991), 1.

the green jungle, Huey helicopters, and the conical hats of Vietnamese rice farmers.¹⁸ Unlike World War II and Korean War movies, which were often produced as these wars were raging, and which mostly served as propaganda pieces to boost morale, the majority of Vietnam War movies were produced after the fact. There was a temporal distance between the war and the films; Vietnam War movies were meditations on the war. It was also around this time that cinema came to be viewed as an art form, and films were expected to convey a deeper meaning.¹⁹

Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now*, released in 1979 and often considered his *magnum opus*, exemplifies the Vietnam War movie as social criticism. The film follows the journey of US Army Captain Benjamin Willard, who is tasked with locating and eliminating Walter E. Kurtz, a colonel gone rogue, waging his own war from an outpost in Cambodia. The movie is aesthetically surreal, and more a commentary on the human condition in war times rather than a traditional war movie focused on combat. The following analysis will explore how Coppola communicated the disintegration of American national identity, discussed in some detail in the previous section.

The opening scene of the movie sets the tone perfectly. The shot starts with a line of palm trees at the edge of the jungle, Huey helicopters flying by in slow motion. Suddenly, the trees are caught up in a fiery inferno as napalm bombs are dropped down on them by American jets. The shot fades to an upside-down Willard lying on his bed, with a second layer of film showing helicopters that

¹⁸ Anderegg, "Introduction," 2.

¹⁹ Anderegg, "Introduction," 2-3.

then fade into a shot of a spinning ceiling fan in Willard's room. Accompanying all of this is The Doors' "The End".

Willard being portrayed upside down is meant to convey the idea that the whole world had been turned upside down by the war. The roaring helicopters that are laid over Willard symbolize his post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The fact that the sound of rotating helicopter blades is heard while the camera points to the ceiling fan confirms as much: Willard cannot escape the war, even when he is by himself in a quiet hotel room.²⁰ His shattering the mirror, in other words his self-perception, as he performs drunken martial arts, drives this idea home even further. This is not the heroic and virtuous warrior of World War II movies. This is a defeated man, a shell of his former self.

The music, too, is carefully chosen. Jim Morrison is heard singing "This is the end", "Of our elaborate plans, the end. Of everything that stands, the end", and "all the children are insane". They are a comment, not just on Willard's state of mind, but of the general mental and societal upheaval experienced by the United States and its soldiers. America as it existed before the war was gone, and many of its returning soldiers had left their sanity (and their dreams) on Vietnamese battlefields. Halfway through the song, Jim Morrison goes into a spoken-word section wherein he, assuming the character of a deranged man, informs his father of his desire to kill him and his mother of his desire to sleep with her. This is a clear reference to the Oedipus Complex, and in the context of the Vietnam War would symbolize the complete degeneration of

²⁰ Bianca Berman, "The Soldier as Victim and Aggressor: Subverting the Hero Soldier in *Apocalypse Now*, *Dien Bien Phu*, and *White Badge*", *Small Wars & Insurgencies* (2022): 8.

man as he gives in to his most base and vulgar carnal desires. The My Lai massacre, where women and girls were raped and sodomized, comes to mind.²¹ Despite not actually being heard in the movie, Coppola would certainly have known of the spoken-word section, and it is not a stretch to imagine that he could have expected his audience to be familiar with the song and its violent implications.

Later, in the mission assignment scene, Coppola seems to be hinting at distrust in authority. Willard's misgivings towards his superiors are evident. When he is informed that Kurtz is being charged with murder, it is clear that Willard is taken aback by such a charge. He later comments that charging a soldier with murder in the context of the Vietnam War is like "handing out speeding tickets in the Indy 500." In a later scene, after Lt. Colonel Bill Kilgore had pacified a Vietnamese beach with Napalm just so his men could surf — a scene which Willard himself witnessed — Willard asks himself what his superiors really had on Kurtz for them to single him out as an intolerable presence. Willard's continued questioning of his superiors' motives mirrors the real-life credibility gap that had become evident under Johnson. The fact that that Willard's superiors refer to Kurtz's homicidal *modus operandi* as 'unsound methods', and the fact that Kurtz's planned assassination is referred to as a 'termination' — both extremely euphemistic ways of referring to lethal violence — furthers the impression that the government (represented here by military officers) sugar coats whatever information it shares with the public; it is deliberately deceptive and cannot be trusted. After Willard returns from an information-gathering stint at the Du Long bridge battle, Chief

²¹ Ward and Burns, *The Vietnam War*, 573.

Petty Officer George Phillips asks him if he had found the local commanding officer. Willard answers "There is no fucking CO here". The American people, just like the American soldiers in the movie, had been abandoned by their leaders.

The transformation of the virtuous soldier into a primitive menace can be witnessed in several scenes. Here we can refer to the scene with the Playboy Playmates. The audience, a large group of American soldiers, become so excited at the suggestive dances of the women that they storm the stage, forcing the evacuation of the dancers via helicopter. There is also the scene on the river where Willard's crew stops a boat occupied by Vietnamese peasants. Tyrone "Mr. Clean" Miller, who panics at the Vietnamese woman's sudden movement, shoots up the entire boat, killing every Vietnamese person on it. The American soldier was now a far cry from his disciplined and morally upright World War II predecessor. He had turned into an animal and a coward.

The scene which most clearly encapsulates the transformation of the American soldier is the movie's most famous: the Ride of the Valkyries scene. In this scene, Willard is being escorted by Kilgore and his 9th Cavalry Regiment squadron. As they get close to a Vietnamese village, Kilgore orders one of his men to start playing a recording of Richard Wagner's *Ride of the Valkyries*. The scene then alternates between the silence of the Vietnamese village and the *Ride of the Valkyries* playing over rotating helicopter blades until the air assault unit arrives at the village and begin their massacre. Villagers, including children, are mercilessly mowed down and missiles blow up houses. According to Bianca Berman, by creating a sharp contrast between "the silence and the invading Wagner piece, the film highlights the Americans' aggressive

intrusion into a peaceful space inhabited by civilians and children.”²²

In Norse mythology, Valkyries are maidens who serve Odin and who guide slain warriors, who have proven their worth on the battlefield, to Valhalla. Like the Valkyries, Richard Wagner’s famous piece from his *Ring* cycle, dominated by powerful brass sections (a sound long associated with the military), exemplifies heroism; in his opera, the theme accompanies the Valkyries who had just returned victorious from battle.²³ Coppola ironically juxtaposes Wagner’s heroic music with what can only be described as homicidal mania. The result is morbid and satirical, and the message delivered is quite clear: these are no heroes; they are criminals. The American soldier had become a common murderer.

John Hellmann identifies the structure of the movie to be following the classic hardboiled detective formula.²⁴ However, several of the genre’s conventions are turned upside down. Willard and the hardboiled detective both retain a sense of autonomy even while in the employ of someone else, they both witness their own society’s depravity, and they both slip deeper into pessimism despite vanquishing their enemy.²⁵ However, instead of the solitary chess-playing of classic detective characters like Philip Marlowe, Willard engages in drunken martial arts that end in him smashing a

²² Berman, “The Soldier as Victim and Aggressor”, 7.

²³ Berman, “The Soldier as Victim and Aggressor”, 6.

²⁴ John Hellmann, “Vietnam and the Hollywood Genre Film: Inversions of American Mythology in *The Deer Hunter* and *Apocalypse Now*”, *Inventing Vietnam: The War in Film and Television*, edited by Michael Anderegg (Temple University Press, 1991), 57.

²⁵ Hellmann, “Vietnam and Hollywood Genre Film”, 69.

mirror.²⁶ Willard is an undisciplined, diminished version of the hardboiled detective. Additionally, as the movie progresses, Willard increasingly starts to not only understand Kurtz's demented worldview, but he also begins to identify with him. This identification of the hardboiled detective (Willard) and the murderer (Kurtz) is never allowed in the classic renditions of this genre.²⁷ This identification becomes even stronger during the scene where Willard's crew stops the Vietnamese boat to search it. Following Mr. Clean's shooting rampage, the Vietnamese woman remains alive. Reasoning that escorting her to a hospital would cost valuable time, Willard executes her with a single gunshot. Kurtz's ruthless pragmatism was starting to rub off on him, even though Willard had yet to meet him. Then, in the final scene, Willard not only vanquishes his foe, as the hardboiled detective usually does, but transforms into the villain that he had just slain.²⁸ By turning this familiar genre's conventions on its head, Coppola is clearly hinting at the compromised national consciousness of Americans following the war.

The movie, moreover, undermines both the American mythology of war and the myth of the warrior. The American mythology of war, of the West in general, can be considered as being based on the *Iliad* and the Old Testament. In this mythology, war is meaningful, it is against an evil enemy, and the extermination of this enemy has a regenerative effect.²⁹ By

²⁶ Hellmann, "Vietnam and the Hollywood Genre Film," 71.

²⁷ Hellmann, "Vietnam and the Hollywood Genre Film," 74.

²⁸ Berman, "The Soldier as Victim and Aggressor," 9.

²⁹ Karen Rasmussen and Sharon D. Downey, "Dialectical Disorientation in Vietnam War Films: Subversion of the Mythology of War", *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 77, no. 2 (1991): 177-178.

portraying the war as a meaningless struggle, like in the scene depicting the battle at the Do Lung bridge, where leaderless American soldiers are shooting into the darkness (literally and figuratively); and by depicting the Vietnamese as victims, as in the helicopter attack and boat scenes, this sacred American national myth is completely subverted.

The warrior myth is also undermined. This particular myth holds that the American soldier is both militaristic and yet moral. He is capable of channeling enough aggression to vanquish his foes in battle while still retaining enough self-restraint to remain a morally upright person.³⁰ This myth is undermined by depicting soldiers that, unlike the mythical warrior, are hyper-militaristic and unable to control their base urges. As they give free reign to their murderous impulses, they descend into a warrior psychosis. The Ride of the Valkyries scene, the scene where Kilgore clears a Vietnamese beach using Napalm just so his squadron could surf, and the boat stoppage scene all depict soldiers that are wantonly killing their victims without any self-restraint. Like the war mythology, the mythical warrior is subverted, and the ideological foundations of America's national consciousness are deeply shaken.

The Vietnam War had undoubtedly delivered a critical blow to the American national identity. Where Americans once could

""The Revolutionary War gave birth to the nation, the Civil War preserved it, the American Indian Wars were forays against an adversary who was "attempting to foil the [United States'] providential plan." Similarly, the two world wars were struggles to maintain "freedom," "western civilization," and the "life of ...[the] country.""

³⁰ Rasmussen and Downey, "Dialectical Disorientation in Vietnam War Films", 180.

depend on their leaders, they were now faced with the reality that secrecy and deception permeated the highest levels of government. Where they once thought of the United States as a nation of justice, they now had to contend with the reality that their country was engaged in a purposeless war in which millions of innocent civilians were needlessly gunned down. Where they once felt confident in the might of their military, they were now faced with the reality that the US military was not invincible. War crimes, fragging, insubordination, and widespread drug and alcohol use had transformed the American soldier, once virtuous and morally upright, into an undisciplined and degenerate menace. Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* perfectly captures this blow to the American national consciousness. By subverting America's mythology of war and warrior myth, and by flipping the hardboiled detective genre's conventions on its head, he effectively communicates how some of the most deeply held convictions regarding American national consciousness had become corrupted and could no longer feasibly be maintained. Vietnam had shattered America's national identity at its most fundamental level. The widespread and unified optimism Americans had felt towards their nation was gone and would not return.

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Biographies – Comité éditorial et de révision d'applications //
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Grace Zhang (she/her)

Grace is a second-year student working towards her Honours B.A. in History (French immersion) and a minor in Asian studies. Her favourite historical areas of interest include the philosophy and methodology of history, East Asian history, and the history of books and publishing. In her spare time, Grace enjoys reading and learning languages.