

A Journal by and for Undergraduate History Students at KPU

A photograph of a study desk. On the left is a book with a blank page. In the center is a tablet with a black screen. To the right is a yellow cup of coffee. A brass compass is on the book's page. The background is a wooden desk.

History at Kwantlen Polytechnic University

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The Emergent Historian is produced by the Kwantlen Polytechnic University Department of History. Its annual publication provides us with a chance to showcase the very best of our students' work from the previous academic year.

This year's collection features a broad range of papers, including two works of historical fiction, an aural history, animal histories, as well as links to digital history ESRI StoryMaps.

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Testing the Waters: The Exclusion of Indians in Canada by Legislation

Luke Arathoon

HIST 4414 Race & Ethnicity in Canadian History

Dr Eryk L. Martin

November 2019

Politicians, journalists, and revisionist historians have often described examples of exclusion by the Canadian state as simply, “dark chapters”¹ in Canadian history. The implication is that these dark chapters are small blemishes in a large, and otherwise irreproachable book. The truth is that Canada conducted continuous, episodic waves of exclusion against Indian immigrants in order to try and achieve, covertly, the construction of a “White Canada Forever”². Legislation was a critical means by which to achieve this goal, none more important than the Continuous Journey Regulation (CJR). This paper will first investigate the origins, duplicitous nature, and pernicious intent of the CJR for the purposes of creating a Canada that would privilege the interests of white settlers. Building from this, it will then detail some of the key moments of exclusion that led up to one of the most egregious uses of the regulation: to block and deport the passengers of the SS *Komagata Maru* in 1914, thereby showing that the effects of these racialized methods of marginalisation were not unique interruptions in an otherwise generous, impartial and inclusive history. This paper will then prove that, although the barring of the SS *Komagata Maru* was the most horrific example of the use of the CJR, it was just one part of long and sordid history of Indian exclusion from Canada, and displays that systemic racism is a defining feature of Canadian history.

The CJR was a subtle amendment to the Canadian Immigration Act in 1908. Immigration was not banned outright; however, immigrants were required to board a vessel only from their home country which could not port before arriving in Canada, a seemingly impossible task even today, let alone in 1908.³ This shrewd modification of the Act effectively prohibited all immigration from Asia without explicitly saying so. Exclusion was ensured because “passenger agents (travel

¹ Amy Husser, “Why Turning Away the Komagata Maru Is a ‘Dark Chapter’ in Canada’s History | CBC News.” CBCnews. CBC/Radio Canada, May 18, 2016. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/komagata-maru-background-apology-1.3584372>.

² Satwinder Kaur Bains, Renisa Mawani, Davina Bhandar, and Rita Dhamoon. *Unmooring the Komagata Maru: Charting Colonial Trajectories* (Vancouver BC, 2019), 7. Accessed April 26, 2020. <https://books-scholarsportal.info.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/uri/ebooks/ebooks5/upress5/2019-10-03/1/9780774860673>.

³ Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto, 1998), 147-148.

agents), under instructions from the government of ... Canada, ... [could] not sell ... [nonstop] tickets to Indians [on ships departing for Canada]."⁴ Therefore by ensuring that no immigrant could travel to Canada, except via a continuous journey from their country of origin, the government banned Asian immigration without overtly exposing their racist intent. The amendment covertly targeted exclusion and allowed the government to restrict immigration from countries such as India, particularly because Indians were viewed as a threat to the White Canadian population. The fear, rational or not was that Indians were stealing jobs meant for White Canadians and stemmed from the fact that in 1906 every Indian male of working age had a job in BC.⁵ Unfortunately Indians were victims of their own success and punished for it, which meant government intervention was required. However, completely "stopping immigration [from India] proved to be a technically difficult proposition, as Indians came from a British colony, and the federal government had no official recourse to stopping British subjects from traveling to a British dominion."⁶ Therefore the Canadian government had to create mechanisms under false pretenses to exclude Indians, which included protecting the health and safety of Canadians from the reviled and dirty "Hindoo" who would bring diseases.⁷ Though obstructing Asian immigration to Canada had been fairly easy with other groups, these restrictions could not be used against Indians.⁸ For example both the Japanese and Chinese were denied visas by rote; further in the case of the Chinese the infamous "head tax"⁹ was utilized to curb immigration. However, the Canadian government had to be conniving when plotting how to exclude Indians who were stuck in the liminal space of being born British, but of the wrong skin tone. The CJR was created to address this issue particularly. The Canadian government legally could not restrict all British subjects, as this would disrupt their white settler policies, so instead they created a legal remedy to achieve their goal of excluding all Asians. As Stanley notes "that racialized categories and the racist state systems ... do not come into sudden existence fully formed, nor do they follow a universal template arising out of natural differences; rather, they are shaped by unique histories of exclusion."¹⁰ This is an important distinction to note, to truly appreciate how duplicitous the CJR had to be to achieve the Canadian governments goals.

⁴ Hugh Johnston, "Komagata Maru", *The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historical Canada*. February 07, 2006; last edited September 10, 2018. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/komagata-maru>

⁵ Norman Buchignani, Doreen Marie, Indra and Ram Srivastiva, *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada* (Toronto, 1985), 22.

⁶ Buchignani *et al.*, *Continuous Journey*, 22-23.

⁷ Isabel Wallace, "Komagata Maru Revisited: 'Hindus', Hookworm, and the Guise of Public Health Protection." *BC Studies*, no. 178 (2013): 49.

⁸ Buchignani *et al.*, *Continuous Journey*, 22-23.

⁹ Timothy Stanley, "John A. Macdonald and the Invention of White Supremacy in Canada," *Canadian Issues* (2014): 8.

¹⁰ Stanley, "John A. Macdonald," 8

The debates on [Asian immigration] “and the imperative to curb Indian immigration did not exist in a vacuum”¹¹ either. Anti-Asian sentiment had reached a fever pitch in the fall of 1907, setting off a forty-eight hour riot in a predominantly Asian neighborhood in Vancouver, BC.¹² Following the riot, the Federal Deputy Minister of Labour, William Lyon Mackenzie King, was sent to report on the situation.¹³ It was this damning report by the future Prime Minister, that recommended restricting immigration from India, in keeping with the “White Canada Forever” policy that had fed anti-Asian racism.¹⁴ King argued for an immigration ban because as he saw it Indians were an unemployed, impoverished group of people who were incompatible with the White Canadian way of life and had been the catalyst for the rioting.¹⁵ The irony being that the riot was caused by Whites, in what was then known as Japantown and Indians were only involved as being victims of racism and assault, yet the CJR was deemed necessary.¹⁶ The report by King was a dog whistle to those baser sentiments of Canadians and made to initiate fear and panic. As mentioned earlier, of all male Indians within the Indian community, none were unemployed in BC. Further, the population which was predominantly Sikhs had long played an important and influential role in India for the British; as police, and government officials they were intensely loyal British subjects.¹⁷ This suggests that they were in fact extremely suitable for life in Canada, except they were not being the Britons, Canada wanted. These seemingly loyal, and well-suited immigrants lacked the one thing that was most important in being Canadian, the right skin tone. Although this was not explicitly said in the CJR, it was implicitly implied. Therefore, an indirect stipulation had to be created to stifle any chance of further immigration from the Indian subcontinent. Consequently, in 1908 in an amendment to the Immigration Act, the following statement was added that changed the course of Indian immigration to Canada. “The Governor in Council may prohibit the landing in Canada of any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens.”¹⁸ This new legislation would be put to its most infamous test by 376 passengers in May of 1914.

Before detailing the story of the Komagata Maru this paper will discuss “developments [that] set the stage for the Komagata Maru incident.”¹⁹ First there was a favourable decision by the B.C. Supreme Court which allowed thirty-nine Sikhs to stay in BC, which will be touched upon in

¹¹ Bains, *Unmooring the Komagata Maru*, 6.

¹² Bains, *Unmooring the Komagata Maru*, 7.

¹³ Bains, *Unmooring the Komagata Maru*, 7.

¹⁴ Bains, *Unmooring the Komagata Maru*, 7.

¹⁵ Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 147-148.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Buchignani *et al.*, *Continuous Journey*, 22-23.

¹⁸ Library and Archives Canada.

¹⁹ Hugh J.M. Johnston, *The Voyage of The Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar* (Vancouver BC, 2014), 38; Accessed April 26, 2020. <https://books-scholarsportal-info.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/uri/ebooks/ebooks3/upress/2014-06-27/1/9780774825498>.

more detail.²⁰ The next development was the burgeoning surveillance state to monitor Sikh “agitators.”²¹ Their only crime for which they were being surveilled was being Indian. Finally, the escalating anti-Asian immigration sentiment and lobbying within parliament, by MP such as Henry Herbert Stevens.²² These examples are part of numerous examples of marginalization and Indian exclusion by the racist Canadian state system. To contextualize the journey, blockade and eventual deportation of the 376 passengers aboard the *Komagata Maru*, we must detail a fateful meeting in another British Colony, Hong Kong.²³ In March of 1914, a group of Sikhs met with Guradit Singh²⁴ in a Gurdwara (Sikh Temple) in Hong Kong, originally from the small Punjabi village of Sarhali, Singh was part of the first wave of immigrants out of India and was the definition of a loyal, British subject. He was a businessman and government contractor who had travelled on behalf of the British government throughout Southeast Asia, cutting business deals. He was fluent in English, and several Malay dialects which assisted him in his business and contractual dealings.²⁵ Despite his imperial service, English fluency, and entrepreneurial spirit, his background as an Indian man created a significant barrier in his ability to be accepted in the white settler colonies of the Empire. After meeting with his fellow countrymen Singh was deeply impacted by the plight of his people, later writing, “I could not bear the grief and hardships of the emigrants who had been waiting nearly a year while staying here” [in Hong Kong].²⁶ He devised a plan that would send a ship carrying Indian immigrants from Hong Kong to Canada to test Canada’s commitment to the CJR and probe the government’s resolve to keeping British citizens out of a British dominion.²⁷ Though taking an immense personal and professional risk by doing so, Singh was spurred into action by the hardships he heard of.

As mentioned, this would not be the first attempt by Indian immigrants to challenge the CJR. In October 1913 the Japanese liner, the SS *Panama Maru*, would dock in Vancouver harbour and set a legal challenge against the CJR not on principle, but rather on its legal jargon.²⁸ During the case - *Rex vs. Thirty Nine Hindus* (ironically religiously, Sikh men) - the lawyer for the Sikhs, Edward Bird, had argued the differences in wording between the regulations in question and the legislation that authorized them from parliament.²⁹ During the trial he argued and pointed out “emphatically the covert nature of the regulations that the government was using to keep Indians

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Ali Kazimi, *Undesirables: White Canada and the Komagata Maru: An Illustrated History* (Vancouver BC, 2012), 93.

²⁴ Guradit Singh’s name has been changed numerous times in history, as such for consistency this paper uses the name used in his book, Guradit Singh.

²⁵ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 94.

²⁶ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 94.

²⁷ Guradit Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru, or, India’s Slavery Abroad* (Chandigarh, India, 2014), np.

²⁸ Johnston, *The Voyage of The Komagata Maru*, 49.

²⁹ Johnston, *The Voyage of The Komagata Maru*, 49.

out of the country [citing] in particular, the requirement for a through ticket from India, which the government knew that Indians could not get therefore Indians were banned by a subterfuge."³⁰ The BC Supreme Court agreed with Birds initial argument and ruled that the CJR was *ultra vires* or beyond the scope of the Immigration Act and the government to enforce as a result of the indirect wording, thus the passengers were allowed to stay in Canada.³¹ This is a very important point to note as the judge did not uphold or rule the law was unjust on principle, instead dismissing the ethics as "beyond the concerns of the court."³² Rather, limiting the ruling to legal jargon in the Act, that were beyond the scope, therefore taking Bird's objections to the wording of the regulations very seriously yet not giving weight to Bird's fundamental point, the malicious nature of the CJR.³³ This minor, yet important distinction gave the government an opportunity which it took it, by plugging up the holes in the legislation that had been pointed out. Nonetheless, emboldened by this decision, Guradit Singh announced his attention to sell one-way tickets to Vancouver, from Hong Kong, on the SS *Komagata Maru* which he had used his business connections for and chartered. Singh being the astute businessman he was, calculated that he needed close to five hundred passengers, and cargo of 1,500 tons of coal to make the trip both worthwhile and profitable.³⁴ Singh faced a number of uphill battles in planning for the voyage, including clear warnings from Ottawa when they learned of his intentions. In the face of state pressure, many passengers backed out of the trip. Singh did not. Not only was he morally, and ideologically committed to the passengers, he was contractually and financially committed as well. As such he came up with the remainder of the money for the additional passengers and wagered, he could pick up additional passengers along the way. And he did so by stopping along the way in China and Japan, gathering an additional 211 passengers all of South Asian origin.³⁵ The *Komagata Maru* departed Hong Kong on April 4, 1914 for Vancouver, British Columbia. Vancouver papers ahead of the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*, sensationalized the arrival of the ship as the "Hindu Invasion" stoking fear, and hysteria about the ships passengers.³⁶ The ship made its way into the Vancouver harbour on May 23, 1914, unaware of the anti-Indian sentiment bubbling over, a half mile in the captain was ordered to drop the ships anchor and halt by officials.³⁷ Twenty-four hours later passengers were informed they were not allowed ashore until immigration officials had been satisfied. The passengers needed to prove they had not broken the CJR while in transit from Hong Kong. If they could not, they would have to remain on board resulting in a tense standoff between passengers, their allies in Vancouver and the immigration

³⁰ Johnston, *The Voyage of The Komagata Maru*, 49.

³¹ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 91.

³² Johnston, *The Voyage of The Komagata Maru*, 49.

³³ Johnston, *The Voyage of The Komagata Maru*, 49.

³⁴ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 94.

³⁵ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 99.

³⁶ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 99.

³⁷ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 101.

officials.³⁸ The immigration officials would do what they could to maintain the power of racialized exclusions in the ensuing months.

More importantly, the Canadian government was concerned if they allowed these 376 on land, they might challenge the regulation and win. Therefore, the government was interning 376 people in the Vancouver harbour.³⁹ None the less, the case was litigated regardless of if the Indians were on land or not, and on July 6th judges of the Court of Appeal unanimously decided that the [*Komagata Maru*] had violated the CJR. However, the courts also made a further and more long-lasting decision they asserted that as a self-governing dominion of the British Empire, Canada had the right to determine who it admitted and who it did not, including barring British subjects. On July 23, two months after being captive in the Vancouver harbour, the *Komagata Maru* lifted its anchor and headed out to the Pacific⁴⁰ disappearing into the horizon and out of the mind of Canada. However, this is not where the story ends for the passengers of the *Komagata Maru*, they faced the worst possible return imaginable. Five days after the *Komagata Maru* left Vancouver, World War 1 was declared by the Great Powers, the outbreak of the war coupled with the fact “the government of Hong Kong did not want them back, ... meant that the ship could not return to Hong Kong.”⁴¹ The ship had to return to British India, before its arrival the British Raj had deemed the 376 passengers both subversive and seditious.⁴² The result when the ship arrived, British troops opened fire and killed twenty one people.⁴³ This ends the terrible journey of the *Komagata Maru* and her passengers, but not that of the exclusion of Indians by Canada.

In recent years there have been attempts by the Canadian government to recognize and apologize for the *Komagata Maru* incident and although altruistic and contrite, they make one critical mistake. They bookend the continuous nature of exclusion by Canada to one fateful incident which although terrible, is not the truth. It also further propagates the myth that Indian exclusion is tied to one singular occurrence, suggesting the outcome of which, saw great change and a country full of inclusion. This may be acceptable to politicians who wish to clear their generational guilty conscience, but it is a disservice to the many thousands of Indians that were excluded after the *Komagata Maru* incident. Therefore it cannot be remembered as an isolated racist incident as the CJR legislation that caused it remained in effect for another thirty years.⁴⁴ To appreciate the generational impact of the CJR on Indian immigration we have to look no further than the official Canadian census before and after the CJR was added to the immigration act. For

³⁸ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 117.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 130.

⁴¹ Johnston, *The Voyage of The Komagata Maru*, 144

⁴² Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 131.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Wallace, “Komagata Maru Revisited,” 49.

example, in 1907 before the CJR, there were 2,623 Indian immigrants to Canada, following the enactment of the regulation in 1911, only 5 Indians were admitted into Canada⁴⁵. This raises a final question, why? The answer is quite simple, the government pursued its idea of nation building by imposing measures, largely defined by imperial politics to create a population that was overwhelmingly of European descent, constructing its perfect Canada.⁴⁶ Indians, regardless of being loyal British subjects, educated, employed, wealthy, or checking any of the other proverbial boxes were not. This was made abundantly clear, when Liberal MP from Vancouver R.G. MacPherson was repeatedly asked by his Conservative colleague during Parliamentary debate whether the CJR amendment to the immigration act was targeting “Hindus”.⁴⁷ After a tirade of verbal gymnastics by MacPherson, he finally acquiesced that the CJR was created “, to exclude Hindus and Asiatics and other undesirables.”⁴⁸ To fully confirm this notion, and to leave no doubt of its racist intent, when the Superintendent of the Immigration W.D. Scott was asked to clarify the language of the CJR by Immigration Officials, who were perplexed whether to apply the CJR universally, he wrote: “Please bear in mind that the newly issued ... CJR is prohibitive ... intended to enforce it strictly against undesirable immigrants ... you will understand therefore that a great deal is left to your own discretion with regards to the application of the particular [rules].”⁴⁹ He was referring to cases of Europeans being detained, as they too had not arrived in Canada through continuous journey, if immigrant officials were to enforce the CJR upon these immigrants, thousands of “desirable” immigrants would be barred, therefore they were told to protect the national character and in the “whiteness” of Canada when making such decisions.⁵⁰ The CJR casts a longer shadow over immigration to Canada than just deterring Indians from emigrating immediately following its enactment. In fact, between 1918-1928 roughly 400 Indians were allowed to enter Canada a far cry from the 5000 allowed entry, less than a decade before.⁵¹ Further the CJR wasn’t repealed until 1948, ironically by the Government of Mackenzie King who had been the architect of the CJR in the first place. The decimating nature of the CJR still hung-over Indian immigration well into the 1960s when the population grew to just 4,532⁵² well below the number prior to the CJR, fifty years prior.

In conclusion, the exclusion that occurred in Canada in regard to Indian immigrants, showed racist intent by a government that wanted to create an ideal, and more importantly White, Canada. The CJR and its enforcement on the passengers of the *Komagata Maru*, and lack of

⁴⁵ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 75.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 73.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 69.

⁵⁰ Kazimi, *Undesirables*, 69.

⁵¹ Buchignani *et al.*, *Continuous Journey*, 73.

⁵² Buchignani *et al.*, *Continuous Journey*, 112.

enforcement on European immigrants show a deliberate intent and effort by the state to legislate away those it deemed undesirable. Further the *Komagata Maru* was not an isolated incident that was soon rectified, rather it was part of a long history of continued exclusion which proves that Canada engaged in forms of systemic racism.

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The Great Decay: The Transformation of Dog Hunting as a Necessity, to a Luxury

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HIST 2303 Bleat, Bark, Buzz: Animals in Global History
Dr Kyle Jackson
November 2019



c. Karalise Clark, November 2019

Note: This paper is written from the perspective of an unnamed, imaginary dog-historian. I understand that the idea of a dog writing a paper, let alone a dog being a historian, is comical. However, I believe it allows the reader a fresh perspective on ideas and situations we as humans take for granted.

The partnership of dog and man in hunting is a story that has gone on for millennia – from the first dogs joining forces with human hunter-gathers, to serving medieval nobles and field trial-goers today. Humanity has had plenty of time to share its opinions on this, and after listening to my human erroneously try to explain the dog perspective, I took pity on her and decided to try my paw at it. Humans believe that they have evolved for the better beyond their hunter-gather ancestors – this could not be further from the truth. As humans have “progressed,” they have abandoned the traditional ways of hunting and living, for a life that nurtures laziness and mediocrity. The relationship between dog and human, once based on shared values, is now a relationship built on the use of dog-kind as tools. We in the dog world call this “The Great Decay of Humanity”: the fall of our beloved hunting companions to technology and civilization.

In the beginning, dog-kind had begun noticing strange two-legged creatures that traveled in packs, could hunt collectively and were so numerous that they were nearly unstoppable. Recognizing the similarities between these creatures and themselves, the bravest of the dogs began to create a partnership with them. Humans recognized that dog-kind was valuable to them in these times, as an additional body in the hunt, as an early-alert system, and – in times of great need – an additional source of food.¹ Human-kind’s reliance on sight leaves their analysis of this partnership a little bland – not only was dog-kind an additional body in the hunt, they provided crucial information that human-kind would never have been able to attain due to their nose blindness. This partnership began in many different regions of the world. However, dog-kind in the Honshu region of Japan (along with the humans, named Jōmon peoples, during this era²), will be used to illustrate this.



Figure 1: Arrowhead found in Gifu, Japan.

At “the beginning of the Holocene...[Honshu] experienced a distinctive transition [in] environmental conditions... [to a] forest-estuary ecotone consisting of...coastal fish, and forest ungulates such as sika deer...and wild boar...”³. This change in environment caused a shift in the hunting strategies of the Jōmon in the region, as they could no longer easily locate boar and deer through the thick foliage. Dog-kind “[tracked] blood trails, [forced] game into vulnerable positions (e.g. in water) and [held] prey there”⁴ until their humans came to finish the job. The human technology of bows and arrows was helpful, as it allowed prey to be killed from a distance

¹ John G. Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (Edison, NJ, 2003).

² Angela R. Perri, “Hunting Dogs as Environmental Adaptations in Jōmon Japan,” *Antiquity* 90 (2016): 1171.

³ Perri, “Hunting Dogs,” 1167.

⁴ Perri, “Hunting Dogs,” 1171.

– instead of, what dog-kind had traditionally implemented, the use of teeth and claws. Humans have documented cases of Jōmon peoples leaving burial sites for members of dog-kind⁵; their place as hunters making them equal in importance. The frequency of these burial sites increased as time went on, and as the foliage in the area continued to grow denser – thus, the need for the keen senses of dog-kind becoming more and more of a necessity in hunting. This new relationship was beautiful, both for dog-kind and humans. Dog-kind spent every day running and hunting with their humans; we shared meals, celebrated and struggled together in the world. Dog-kind willingly worked together with human-kind to ensure the continued survival and prosperity of both species. Little did we know, the small things we found helpful and curious – like shelter, fire, and bow and arrows – would be the start of the decay.

The Jōmon period in Japan coincided with the Neolithic era in Europe, and where the human inventions and civilization exploded to new proportions in the years following – flowing after

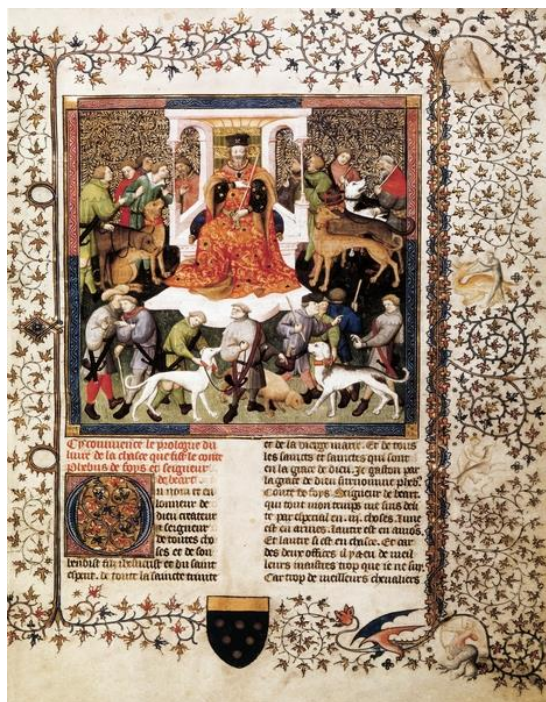


Figure 2: Gaston III of Foix-Bearn's illustration in the *livre de chasse* of himself and other hunters.

years into what humans call the Medieval era; these new technologies allowed for the establishment of long-lasting human dens, as well as the domestication of new animals. The most common of these new animals were: the tall four-legged beast on whose back humans sat⁶; the slightly shorter, but still tall, beast which humans used for meat and teat-water⁷; the large, round not-boars used for its meat⁸; the flying hunter⁹; and, finally, the fluffy, round beast used for its fur and meat¹⁰. It is here where we can see the decay of humanity begin to set in – the domestication of these animals decreased the need for traditional hunting practices, and so hunting with dogs slowly became an activity done by those few still traveling in small groups or by nobility¹¹. Worse yet, humans began to forget the bond created between human-kind and dog-kind. In some cases, they began to develop preferences towards different

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Horses

⁷ Cows

⁸ Pigs

⁹ Hawk

¹⁰ Sheep

¹¹ Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*.

beasts; horses¹² and hawks became companions on hunts – favoured in some cases over our company. Although preferred by some, we had one significant advantage over them – we had created a shared-language with human-kind! Humans are highly visual and cannot concisely identify scents and sounds. Their forms of identification and communication – apart from the strange litany of groans and barks they make – are primarily visual. As we are decidedly more scent-oriented¹³ than vision-oriented, dogs and humans began forming a hybrid language. However mediocre and primitive, the communication – it was enough for hunting.

Gaston Fébus between 1387 and 1389 wrote the *Livre de Chasse*, and although it covers a great variety of topics regarding medieval human-designed hunting, it also describes the communication we had established up to that point of our partnership. However helpful it was to have a document describing our forms of communication, Fébus added a section outlining what he believed to be the required care and nature of dog-kind. It seems as though, as their reliance on technology and civilization increases, so does the human sense of superiority over other animals – this is apparent not only in Fébus’ writings but also in the illustrations that grace the book. As shown in the illustration above, we can see that the dogs in the photo are attached to specific humans. Some wear expensive collars, ropes attach some, and one is muzzled – the



Figure 3: Mural painting of a hunting dog wearing a collar in a tomb in Thebes.

hierarchy of humans displayed in the photo is also reflected in the placement of the dogs. Humans of this time placed special significance of some dogs over others based on what they believed were superior physical qualities, their placement and treatment in the photo reflect this as well. Where before humans had been hunting companions of dog-kind, likeminded and companionable, the Medieval period solidified human-kind’s sense of superiority and the use of dog-kind as tools.

Another implement in the degradation of dogs from companions to tools was the collar. The creation of collars had taken place some centuries before, in Egypt¹⁴, where human-kind would place strips of leather, metal, or other materials around the neck of specific dogs as a mark of ownership.

¹² “The Horse,” *The New-York Literary Journal, and Belles-Lettres Repository*, Volume IV (New York: C.S. Van Winkle, 1820-1821): 123-4. [https://books.google.ca/books?id=raceAQAAMAAJ&dq=faithful dog&source=gbs_navlinks_s](https://books.google.ca/books?id=raceAQAAMAAJ&dq=faithful+dog&source=gbs_navlinks_s)

¹³ Alexandra Horowitz and Sean Vidal Edgerton, *Inside of a Dog: What Dogs See, Smell, and Know* (New York, 2017).

¹⁴ Egypt, Thebes, Luxor, Sheikh 'Abd al-Qurna, Mural painting showing hunting dog in tomb of granary supervisor at Amon's estate Ineni., in Bridgeman Images London, UK: Bridgeman, 2014. Retrieved from https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/bridgemandeag/egypt_thebes_luxor_sheikh_abd_al_qurna_mural_painting_showing_hunting_dog_in_tomb_of_granary_supervisor_at_amon_s_e_state_ineni/0?institutionId=9473

Although not directly related to the decay of humanity, collaring was one of the elements that concreted dogs as a tool rather than partners. Human technology increased competition between different tribes¹⁵ –and because of how valuable a resource dogs had become to human civilization – it was decided that collaring was the best way to identify ownership as well as maintain control of these resources.

However, just because a dog had been collared did not mean it had any value in and of itself. Take the story of the human Ulysses, for example: near his journey's end, and upon his long-awaited return home, he disguised himself as a beggar – so well that initially none in the city, save for his dog, recognized him. His dog, Argos, was celebrated for his incredible hunting talent and agility before Ulysses' departure. When Ulysses finally came home, he encountered Argos on the outskirts of the city; he was sickly and weak, yet when he saw his master, his ears perked, and his tail wagged – an example of this standard hybrid communication mentioned before – to communicate good-intention and greeting to humans. In fear of revealing his identity, Ulysses shed a tear for his old friend but did not approach and continued into the city. The dog, having fulfilled its purpose of being a faithful companion until the end, drew its final breath and dies. Argos did not lose his ability to hunt with Ulysses' departure for the Trojan War, but he did lose his value with it. Although his famed reputation remained among the humans, they cared not for his wellbeing if his human was not there – instead of being of value for the skills he possessed, his value – and the value of all dog-kind at this time – had somehow become tied to one or two humans “owners.” If these owners were not present, regardless of the dog's ability to continue to provide for the community, they were not cared for.



Figure 4: 17th century tapestry of Ulysses and Argos

As the years continued, humans continued to rely on technology and create even denser areas of civilization. In order to maintain their numbers in these urban areas, humans applied advances in technology to the farming and production of specific animals. This has, in the minds of humans, rendered hunting – with or without us – unnecessary. What was once a close partnership has degraded into an occasional weekend dalliance – where, when time affords, humans will take their dog-tools out into the field to capture unnecessary meat. These weekend outings most

¹⁵ “When Was the Dog Collar Invented? Facts & History of Dog Breeds and More!,” YouTube video, 2:00, “Hot Dog Collars”, February 14, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O2Ib3v2oUf0>

disturbingly do not always even include the capture of real prey, but of falsely scented plastic dummies. The infrequencies of our working relationship have, in the minds of some humans, reduced us to being who thoughtlessly follow the whims of our instincts. In *A Hunters Fireside Book: Tales of Dogs, Ducks, Birds, & Guns*¹⁶, a dog rides with his human in a fast metal box. The human, with his vision-oriented senses, describes noticing a coon scurry across the road. He immediately stops his large metal box, shoves his dog out, and leads him over to where the coon was seen. The human then becomes puzzled when the dog does not immediately go wild and begin tracking the scent. I can only imagine what must have been going through the mind of that dog – did his human assume that just because he could smell the coon, that he would automatically be drawn madly into the scent and be unable to do anything but chase it? The hunt exhilarates dog-kind like nothing else; however, the human left many other details out of his story. He describes returning to the location of the scent a half-hour later but does not describe what they were going down that road to do in the first place. Was there something more desirable at the end of the road? The dog had just been shoved out of the car after all; maybe he decided he did not want to chase the coon at that time. It is also understandable to be confused when your human suddenly stops a typical behaviour to pull you out onto the side of the road and looking at you while smelling excited – it could mean many things.

We have never seen the decay of humanity at such a serious point – to think that they have chosen the mass farming of animals over the thrill of the hunt is appalling and frightful. Not only does this preference for technology remove them from us, but it also removes them from the rest of the world. Dog-kind has lived alongside human-kind of the longest, yet we have maintained some connection to our instincts and so to the rest of the animal kingdom. This separation of humans from the rest of the world puts all of animal-kind at risk, as their technology and civilization have created irreversible damage on all ecosystems across the world. In addition to this, humans continue to selectively breed dogs for this faux hunting. Medieval traditional hunting, once used as a social ritual and a way to ready both dog and human-kind for war, has now been transformed into field trials – where dogs are forced to compete and are ranked against one another on the whims of their humans. Nevertheless, there is hope – recently, there have been movements across the globe where humans have been acknowledging the damage that their technology is causing, as well as the importance of traditional hunting methods and traditions. Dog-kind is slowly emerging and regaining their place alongside humanity as more than just tools, but companions and history-makers themselves.

¹⁶ Gene Hill and Milton C. Weiler, *A Hunters Fireside Book: Tales of Dogs, Ducks, Birds, & Guns*, read by Ray Childs (New York, 2015), Audible Audio ed., 5 hr., 6 min.

Image Sources:

Figure 1: "Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Arrow point from Gifu." In Bridgeman Images: DeAgostini Library, edited by Bridgeman Images. Bridgeman, 2014.

https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/bridgemandeag/italy_rome_museo_nazionale_d_arte_orientale_arrow_point_from_gifu/0?institutionId=9473

Figure 2: "Gaston III of Foix-Bearn and the hunters, miniature from Livre de Chasse (Book of the Hunt) by Gaston III of Foix-Bearn (Gaston De Phoebus), 14th Century." In Bridgeman Images: DeAgostini Library, edited by Bridgeman Images. Bridgeman, 2014.

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Figure 3: "Egypt, Thebes, Luxor, Sheikh 'Abd al-Qurna. Mural painting showing hunting dog in tomb of granary supervisor at Amon's estate Ineni." In *Bridgeman Images: DeAgostini Library*, edited by Bridgeman Images. Bridgeman, 2014.

https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/bridgemandeag/egypt_thebes_luxor_sheikh_abd_al_qurna_mural_painting_showing_hunting_dog_in_tomb_of_granary_supervisor_at_amon_s_estate_ineni/0?institutionId=9473

Figure 4: "Ulysses' return to Ithaca: his dog, Argos, recognizes him, 17th century tapestry based on cartoon by Simon Vouet, manufacture of Amiens, from the series Stories of Ulysses." In Bridgeman Images: DeAgostini Library, edited by Bridgeman Images. Bridgeman, 2014.

https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/bridgemandeag/ulysses_return_to_ithaca_his_dog_argos_recognizes_him_17th_century_tapestry_based_on_cartoon_by_simon_vouet_manufacture_of_amiens_from_the_series_stories_of_ulysses/0?institutionId=9473

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"The Horse," *The New-York Literary Journal, and Belles-Lettres Repository*, Volume IV (New York: C.S. Van Winkle, 1820-1821): 123-4. [https://books.google.ca/books?id=raceAQAAMAAJ&dq=faithful dog&source=gbs_navlinks_s](https://books.google.ca/books?id=raceAQAAMAAJ&dq=faithful+dog&source=gbs_navlinks_s))

**Historical Biography: The Story of the Motivated Actress
By Vincentia, Governor Faustus' Daughter**

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HIST 2101 Medieval Europe
Dr Tracey J. Kinney
March 2020

Note: This paper was written as a work of historical fiction; the annotated bibliography discusses the sources utilized in greater detail.

I met Cesarea on a dark and sullen day when visiting *Metanoia*¹ a few miles north of the city. Each time I left the palace without Father's approval, I made sure to wear a face veil made of linen² as to not attract any attention that would reach my father. Father always said a woman of my aptitude should never roam the streets alone without an attendant.³ The Mesê was full of life as it was every day, the shops⁴ bustling with men, the balconies above filled with boisterous men smoking and laughing.⁵ Keeping my head down, I headed towards the *Metanoia*.

I had always loved to write, especially about the affairs surrounding me. Father always said he deeply regretted teaching me as a method of entertainment as to not bother him during the most of dull days. First, I began writing about the home affairs, what the slaves did around the home, what fruits I consumed that day. Then, I advanced onto Father's grievances, he would always lament of Mother's passing and the burden I had placed upon him without her here. As I have

¹ David Potter, *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint*. (New York, 2015), 182. *Metanoia* was one of Theodora's half-way houses for retiring actresses. The name translates to repentance. The place was a former imperial palace that held a total of 500 people. The women were given pension that covered their basic needs in order to get their lives back in order.

² Tamara Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (New York, 1967), 162. When leaving their homes, women of high status were required to wear a face veil of some kind. Many wore veils made out of silk, linen, and some even made out of transparent material against the Church's wishes.

³ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 159. Women of high status were only allowed out to go to church, visit a close friend, or to go to the baths, but always accompanied by an attendant.

⁴ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 145. The Mesê is known to be the main street in all of Constantinople. It led from the Hagia Sophia, past the Hippodrome, all the way to the city gate at the south-western part of Constantinople. It was littered with statues and shops at street level.

⁵ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 143. Higher status citizens of Constantinople lived in two storey houses, Roman style, with windows and balconies on the second storey. Emperor Zeno, at the end of the 5th century, made explicit laws for the sizes the balconies could be constructed.

grown, Father became complacent about his grievances and began an array of protests and criticisms regarding the Emperor's decisions and his fellow governors. While I attempted to entertain myself with writing about Father's work, it dulled me promptly. I, soon after, proceeded to more pleasurable affairs, such as Hippodrome races. Thus began my fascination with the women of the Hippodrome races.

My fascination with actresses began since my visit to the Palace Church to watch one of the Hippodrome races without permission⁶. The actresses' performances fascinated me as a child, only later I had learned the reason of their swaying. When I asked Father about them, he angrily told me to only concern myself with the Virgin Mary and hastily sent me to Church to pray for my sins. As I have grown, I stopped inquiring to my father and decided to investigate for myself. My investigation began with Father's grievances at dinner time, and as always, he began moaning of Empress Theodora and her spending, stating she will ruin the greatest empire by building a *pornae* house⁷. That was the moment I knew I needed to visit the house.

The house was an old Imperial Palace, the perfect place in my opinion. It was quite large and contained enough space for all the women inside. I was surprised to have encountered no authorities while making my way inside the palace.⁸ As I entered, women were bustling around the palace, others chatting with one another, and quite a few sitting solemnly. Cesarea caught my eye as her earrings⁹ shined in the sun light, contrasting her simple tunic and dalmatic. Her tunic, shortened at the hip, was only embroidered at the round neckline and the skirt was cropped for a flared look. A belt cinched her waist and flat shoes accompanied her feet while a circlet laid gingerly upon her centre-parted hair. Her cheeks were as flushed as her lips were rosy.¹⁰ I vividly recall feeling out of place with my peaked fur-brimmed hat¹¹ and bejeweled dalmatic as I confidently walked myself up to Cesarea. She seemed quite bewildered with our encounter.

I introduced myself and she herself, although throughout she seemed hesitant to speak with me. After some inconsequential talk about the rainy weather and the architecture of the Palace, Cesarea's shoulders unhunched, a small smile came upon her face, and she leaned back in her seat. I complimented her earrings as they had caught my eye when I first entered the building.

⁶ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 149. Women were not permitted to watch the races. Only in the 11th century were they allowed to watch them from the Palace church, which is why Vincentia snuck into the church to watch the race.

⁷ Potter, *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint*, 39. *Pornae* referring to prostitutes.

⁸ Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization* (Columbus, OH, 1961). Daily life was quite strict with authorities all around the city.

⁹ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 130. See Appendix A for an illustration of Byzantine earrings.

¹⁰ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 165. The usual outfit of a dancing woman in the Byzantine empire. Cosmetics were quite the rage at the time, especially for high status women, but dancers also used them.

¹¹ Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*. As the centuries went by, clothing became more elaborate for both men and women as they moved away from the classic Roman toga.

She replied that they were a gift¹², and I did not try to discover their origin or the sender. We discussed the politics of Byzantium for a portion of the day, and Emperor Justinian's new law regarding actresses arose in conversation.¹³ We had become more acquainted with each other by then and she felt comfortable to divulge her opinions about the matter. I was surprised to say the least. Cesarea assured me with great distain that the law was not in place to help people like herself, but rather only Theodora's friends. She said in order to gain freedom from the stage and be entitled to the law, an actress must attain the likes of elite men.¹⁴ She cried of the unjustness of the world and informed me of her dream to move to Alexandria. I will be a new woman, she said. She assured me that once there, she would find a man in the administrative profession¹⁵ that would marry¹⁶ her. I will not live in squalor, she cried. She desperately desired to mature and live the end of her life in a monastic establishment.¹⁷ I could pray in peace, she cried to me.¹⁸ Her assured voice and conviction in her eyes told me that this was not just a dream, but a plan. For the rest of the day, myself and Cesarea managed to entertain ourselves solely by talking and I have come to find her a cherished friend.

My dear friend, Cesarea, told me of her secret, of her dream of relocating to Alexandria, hearing of its beautiful landscapes and knowledgeable men. She divulged of her loneliness and feeling of being trapped in her profession. She tells the story of her plan to leave Byzantium. She was at one of the races at the Hippodrome, awaiting the interval between the races when her miming performance was scheduled¹⁹. As she waits, she's thinking of a course of action for a boat passage to Alexandria and the cheers and yells of the Hippodrome wake her from her thoughts. The Blue

¹² Dorothea R. French, "Maintaining Boundaries: The Status of Actresses in Early Christian Society," *Vigiliae Christianae* 52, no. 3 (1998): 293-318. Men would buy actresses gifts even at the expense of their families. This threatened the Church leading to the conclusion that actresses were a threat to good, Christian families.

¹³ *Ibid.* The specific law is C.J.5.4.23 regarding the marriage of high-status men with actresses.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* One of French's arguments on the basis of the new marriage law is that it did not help the regular actresses as well as other women with 'infamous' pasts. It only really helped the women and their daughters who could leave the stage permanently to marry a high-status man. The regular actresses that did not have access to high-status men and were not economically able to leave the stage did not gain anything from the new law.

¹⁵ Peter Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2006). Alexandria, Egypt at that time period was the cultural and administrative capital of the Eastern Roman Empire.

¹⁶ Judith Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium*. Princeton NJ, 2013. Marriage was an important aspect of Byzantine life, not only because of the importance of familial ties but also due to its use as a political agreement. A marriage would not only allow the unification of two states but would also offer women wealth and a new reputation.

¹⁷ Bronwen Neil and Lynda Garland, *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society* (Surrey, UK, 2016). Family life in Byzantium was extremely important. Women would usually grow up around other females in their family to marry a man and live and raise their children, and at the end of their lives they would go to a monastic institution.

¹⁸ French, "Maintaining Boundaries". As seen through the history of actress through the Byzantine empire, the Church did not approve of actresses joining their community and praying alongside them.

¹⁹ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 149. There were 8 races per event at the Hippodrome, and in between each race, performances were scheduled to entertain the crowds. Performances such as mime dancing of the kind Theodora was known for in her youth.

faction has won once again, with the fastest racer at the obelisk of Theodosius I²⁰ exciting the crowd. Cesarea can see Emperor Justinian²¹ smile triumphally as his favourite faction²² is celebrated. Cesarea thinks to herself that the racer must be paid wholesomely for his display of prowess. That is when I decided to lure him, Cesarea told me. He is the fastest racer of the faction and is always triumphant, he must be willing to pay a large sum of gold, she said as she remembered her thoughts at the time. That day she danced with a vigour she never had in her profession and she managed to catch one man's attention, unfortunately it was not the man she hoped for. She caught the attention of one of the blue faction members, and he paid quite handsomely, but Cesarea was not satisfied. Every race at the Hippodrome she tried to lure the best racer, and every race she caught the attention of another man, until she had worked through all the blue faction members. They knew her by name at this time, and although she made quite the sum of gold from her endeavours, it was not enough to grant her the release she desperately wished for.

At this time, I have made the biggest error a person such as I could have made, she said solemnly. During her performances, she caught the eye of one member of the green faction and due to her desperation for her escape, she started working for the green faction as well.²³ The factions have long been at war with each other,²⁴ fights were plentiful throughout the city after every race and I worried of her well-being as this was certain to start a fight. After much deliberation of her plan, sufficient time passed that Father would take notice of my absence. I bid my new and dear friend goodbye and made for the Palace before Father recognized my deceit.

With regret, I write, that the first meet with Cesarea Attaliate²⁵ was also my last, as by the next time when Father were to meet with Emperor Justinian and his fellow governors, a riot began on

²⁰ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 146. The middle of the Hippodrome contained many monuments that distinguished between the upward and downward courses. The Egyptian obelisk of Theodosius the I is only one of them, presently in the exact same place as it was back then.

²¹ Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*. The Emperor must show his face at every Hippodrome event. Every event at the Hippodrome also requires his approval.

²² Potter, *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint*. The blue faction was the most closely linked faction to the Palace, hence the Emperor's happiness over their win.

²³ Potter, *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint*. Taking lovers for additional income is something Empress Theodora has been recorded of doing due to feeling trapped in the sex trade.

²⁴ Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes* Urbana, IL, 1984), 254. The two factions divided the city in two for a long time. There was no differentiation between family members if they were supporters of the opposing faction. The rivalry between the two started many brawls and riots in the city.

²⁵ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 157. Before the 6th century, it was customary for a child to have only its first name and his father's name following it, as was the Greek custom, in order to distinguish the child from another with the same name. Afterwards, surnames became commonplace very quickly, hence Cesarea having a last name.

the second day of race preparations²⁶ between the two factions. I was sternly commanded to not leave the Palace. While fights between the factions were a regular pastime, Father was adamant I stay put and he seemed rather fearful and upset, thus I obliged. Little did I know at the time that the reason for the fight was my dear friend, Cesarea. Her secret had come to light and both factions learned of her deceit. Turmoil among the factions was already high, and Cesarea's work endeavours had aggravated the fragile situation. By the order of the imperial herald,²⁷ my friend, Cesarea Attaliate, was besieged and executed at the Hippodrome²⁸ for her trickery. She died in the very place she sworn to leave behind.

When I first wondered about the life of other women in Byzantium, I swore to myself I would write and tell their stories of hardship for that one day, women such as herself may be able to live not in squander, but take joy in the gardens and baths²⁹ of Byzantium without judgement.

²⁶ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 147. Every Hippodrome race was preceded with 2 full days of preparation. The first was reserved for acquiring the approval of the Emperor and the second day was when the race was announced and the factions assembled at the Hippodrome gate to acclaim the emperor and wish each other luck.

²⁷ Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, 254. A herald is the mandator of the Emperor. He also handles disputes between the two factions.

²⁸ Rice, *Everyday Life*, 147. Prisoners were publicly tortured at the Hippodrome often, so it stands to reason that a person they would consider a traitor would be executed in the same place.

²⁹ Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*. Public gardens were popular in Byzantium as well as private ones for the more well-off citizens; Rice, *Everyday Life*, 155. While only the very rich had their own private bath, there was no scarcity of public ones. Many baths were also built in poorer areas as it was looked at as an essential part of life. Men usually had the majority of the day for their baths, and at night the public baths were reserved for women.

Appendix A:

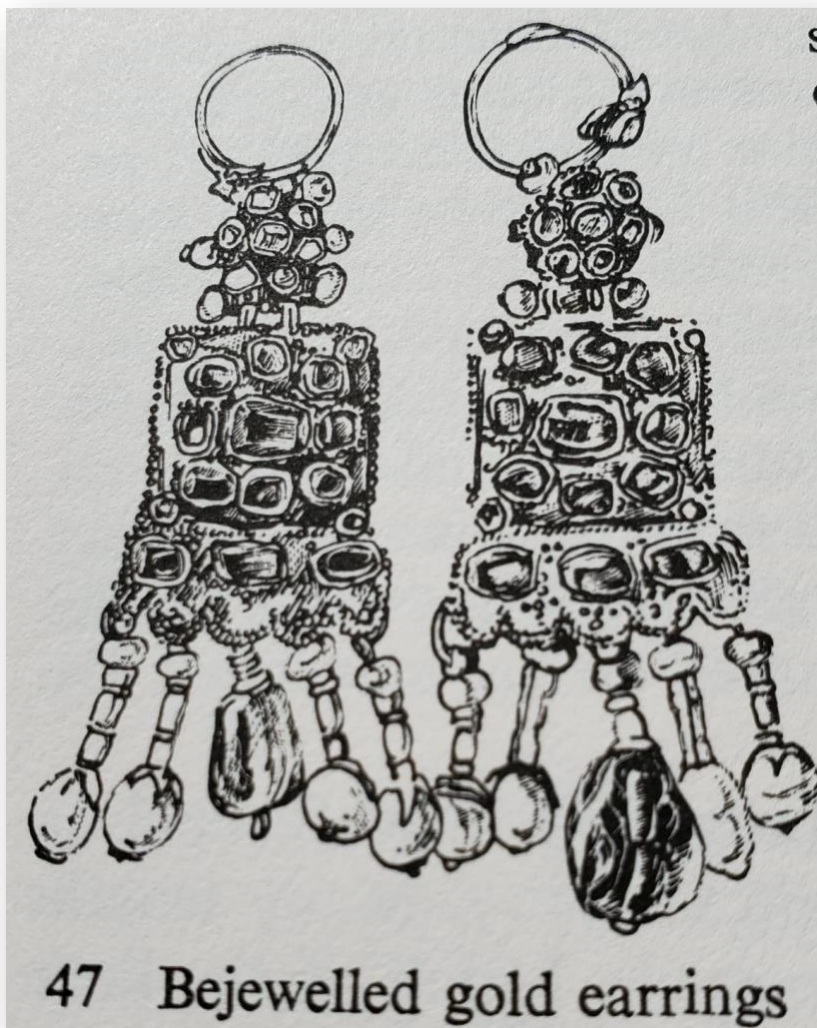


Illustration by Helen Nixon Fairfield from Tamara Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*

Bibliography:

French, Dorothea R. "Maintaining Boundaries: The Status of Actresses in Early Christian Society." *Vigiliae Christianae* 52, no. 3 (1998): 293-318. Accessed March 25, 2020. doi:10.2307/1584505.

This article, written by Dorothea French, analyses the history of lives of actresses and prostitutes in the Byzantine Empire. At first it distinguishes between the two and the way they were treated differently at different parts during the Byzantine empire. The article refers to laws created at the time either by the Church or by emperors that referred to actresses and their livelihoods. Most interestingly, the article expands into Theodora's law reforms that on the surface seemed to have helped actresses in the empire, but in reality, it only helped the few that gained enough notoriety to have access to high ranking officials. This particular point in French's article was of most use for the biography as it reveals that 'low-ranking' actresses, as it were, did not benefit as much from the new laws as we had been led to believe.

Geanakoplos, Deno John. *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Deno John Geanakoplos' book on Byzantine civilization is incredibly useful as it is the first book to contain translated descriptions of Byzantine culture. Some of the works used in the book are translated from Latin, Arabic, Slavic, Italian, Armenian, and French. A few of the works are written by Byzantine authors thus giving the readers a firsthand account on the proceedings of Byzantine society. The author discusses many Byzantine topics, such as the military, administration, and imperial life, but also explores more mundane facts of life such as, the Hippodrome, marketplaces, baths, and brothels. Geanakoplos inserted some of Anna Comnena's writings to discuss in terms of Byzantine civilization. Comnena's writings are extremely useful to the biography topic as it is a firsthand account of Byzantine life, but also gives insight into what an aristocrat woman would write about during those times and may be used as a prime source for the writing style of the biography.

Herrin, Judith. *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Judith Herrin writes of the very influential roles women had in the Eastern Roman Empire. Herrin writes about the importance of marriage, the coexistence of empresses in imperial court, such as Empress Theodora, as well as the relationships of mothers and daughters in the empires. The author describes how women influenced the Eastern Roman Empire through taking control of their inheritances, protested against corrupt officials, and followed the processions of holy icons. This source is incredibly useful as it clearly outlines women's unparalleled influence on Byzantine society and may describe women in a different light than writers from the time period.

Neil, Bronwen and Lynda Garland. *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*. New ed. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2016. doi:10.4324/9781315603339.

Bronwen Neil and Lynda Garland's book on gender in Byzantine society mostly deals with gender division of labour in the empire and eunuchs as a "third gender." The book entails the views on gender throughout the empire, from Byzantine, Italy, all the way to Syria and in many institutions throughout the empire as

well. In this time, social status indicators were in a state of continuous change and applied to different networks of wealth throughout the empire. This change also influenced genders and their roles in the empire. Although, gender in the Eastern Roman Empire is not the main topic of the biography, the book discusses some societal norms for females at the time that proved useful.

Potter, David. *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015.

David Potter writes about Empress Theodora's life from her humble beginnings to her eventual rise to power. Potter writes extensively about some of the biased writings about Theodora and her life as a prostitute before meeting Justinian as well as her rise to sainthood. The author also writes about all of Theodora's good deeds, in terms of religion and her work helping women who once were in the same situation as herself. This source will be used extensively to gain insights into life as a prostitute in the Eastern Roman Empire as well as a view into aristocratic life from a poor woman's perspective. *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint* focuses on Theodora's past but as a challenge towards the very biased criticisms written about her and argues that her past helped her achieve power and used it for good.

Rice, Tamara Talbot. *Everyday Life in Byzantium*. New York: Dorset Press, 1967.

In this book, Tamara Talbot Rice writes about Byzantine society, especially in its more mundane aspects. She argues against the idea that 'barbarians' obliterated Roman civilization during the 'dark ages.' Rice uses Byzantine's profound influence on European history, culture, and religion as her main argument. Through topics such as the emperors of Byzantium, the church and churchmen, town life and country life, and many more, Rice illustrates Byzantine society and culture along with illustrations of people, places, and objects that help shape the image of Byzantium as a thriving society. This source was useful for insights into Byzantine culture and everyday life. The illustrations were used to further help describing common objects found in Byzantine society.

Runciman, Steven. *Byzantine Civilization*. Columbus, OH: Meridian Books/The World Publishing Company, 1961.

Steven Runciman writes about all facets of Byzantine civilization, from the foundation of Constantinople to the army and navy to education and eventually to Byzantium and their neighbourly relations. He describes each one in great depth and relates them to each other and the way they influenced one another. This source was incredibly useful for its insights into Byzantine culture.

Sarris, Peter. *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
doi:10.1017/CBO9780511496387.

Peter Sarris' book provides an overview of the relations between the economy and society of the Eastern Roman Empire during Justinian's reign. It discusses the relations between landowners and peasants as well as aristocrats and emperors and the way these have been affected by Justinian's new laws and administrative framework. This source was useful as it provides an economic and social context to the Eastern Roman Empire during Justinian's reign.

Confucian Ideals & Values within the Overseas Chinese Business Context in Southeast Asia

Lisi Ding

HIST 2355 The Chinese Overseas: A Global History of Chinese Migration

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April 2020

From humble origins as impoverished migrants seeking, to a modern and vigorous commercial force to be reckoned with: due to the classical and timeless Confucian values that undergird the economic success of Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs and investors across Southeast Asia, the shrewd entrepreneurial Overseas Chinese business networks are at the heart of the economic development process throughout the economies of Southeast Asia. The Confucian principles that have taken root within Overseas Chinese business communities across Southeast Asia, date back more than two millennia to the Great Sage. These values continue to influence and serve as a basis for modern Overseas Chinese business life and managerial practices. Confucian values, business success, and economic dominance coalesce and interlock together to form a common basis among modern Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs and investors as they conduct business dealings within their host countries across Southeast Asia.

Over 30 million strong, the Overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia are major players and stakeholders in stimulating the region's economy and commercial life.¹ Though the Overseas Chinese comprise less than a tenth of the overall population of Southeast Asia, they make up 86 percent of the region's billionaires and generate an estimated GDP of over US\$ 450 billion annually.² Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs and companies dominate every private industrial sector throughout the economies of Southeast Asia.³ Across major Southeast Asian countries, ethnic Chinese exercise a disproportionate amount of economic clout in comparison to their small population numbers. In Thailand, the Thai Chinese community played a pivotal role in ushering in Thailand's economic development and control 81 percent of all publicly traded companies despite making up less than 10 percent of Thailand's population; and in the Philippines, ethnic Chinese make up just 1 percent of the country's population but are estimated to control 60 percent

¹ East Asia Analytical Unit, *Overseas Chinese Business Networks in Asia*. (Canberra, 1995), 1.

² *Ibid.*

³ Frank-Jürgen Richter, *Business Networks in Asia: Promises, Doubts, and Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, 1999), 241.

of the nation's economy.⁴ In Malaysia, the ethnic Chinese who make up 29 percent of Malaysia's population are estimated to control 61 percent of Malaysia's entire national capital and in Indonesia, while accounting for less than 5 percent of the country's overall population, they are estimated to control about 73 percent of all of publicly listed firms by market capitalization and 68 percent of the top 300 conglomerates.⁵

Sharing a common cultural value system that is steeped in an ancient Chinese philosophical tradition enabled the Overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia to achieve astonishing business success, as well as exhibit a disproportionate amount of economic dominance relative to their small population. Confucian principles such as "*guanxi*" (关系) or personal relationships and the emphasis on the importance of family remain two key factors that have contributed to the successful economic performance of Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs. The preponderance of Confucian values have provided a general and distinctive structure for the Overseas Chinese business ecosystem as well as implementing cutting edge management practices for Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs to administer their commercial business activities across Southeast Asia.

Drawn from ancient Confucian philosophical thought, the role that networking plays has come to have a major impact on Overseas Chinese managerial practices.⁶ For the Chinese, economic success is facilitated through the use of intricate relationships or "*guanxi*" (关系) that filter the interstices of business arrangements between themselves and other business stakeholders.⁷ *Guanxi* itself represents a focal Confucian philosophical concept that shapes everyday business transactions and in recognizing how business deals are negotiated. In addition, *guanxi* also characterizes the Chinese term "*guanxiwang*" (关系网) or relationship networks which buttress sets of fellow business contracts, the formation of trust relations and foster mutual succour within the Overseas Chinese business community.⁸ If an individual businessman wants to look for another partner to do business with when a new opportunity presents itself, that person can tap into his or her arsenal of business contacts within his or her relationship network. The network

⁴ David Ahlstrom and Michael N. Young, "Facing Constraints to Growth? Overseas Chinese Entrepreneurs and Traditional Business Practices in East Asia." *Asia Pacific Journal of Management* 21, no. 1 (2004): 650; and Melizza U. Chua, "The Essential Network: Business Relationships of the Chinese in the Philippines" (Doctoral Dissertation, Australian National University, 2003), 1-2.

⁵ Richter, *Business Networks in Asia*, 194; and Michel Backman, *Asian Eclipse. Exposing the Dark Side of Business in Asia* (New York, 2001), 193-194.

⁶ Henry Yeung, "Economic Globalization, Crisis and the Emergence of Chinese Business Communities in Southeast Asia," *International Sociology* 15, no. 2 (2000): 269.

⁷ Chua, "The Essential Network," 4.

⁸ Juliette Koning, and Michiel Verve, "Historicizing the 'Ethnic' in Ethnic Entrepreneurship: The Case of the Ethnic Chinese in Bangkok," *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 25, no. 5-6 (2013): 6; Stefan Ciofiia, "Socioeconomic Networks: The Bamboo Network of Southeast Asia and its Sociopolitical Grounds," *Revista Universitara de Sociologie* 2 (2018): 44.

will also influence the partner and clients which indicates that the people that are associated and attached to the partner and belong to the same relationship network will also benefit.⁹

As Overseas Chinese communities are major business players in the economies of Southeast Asia, the role of *guanxi* facilitated through personalized business networks based on specific relationships play a crucial role in their entrepreneurial and investment success.¹⁰ Moreover, *guanxi* between ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs transcend national borders where the Overseas Chinese business network also known as the 'bamboo network' are among the largest and most established diaspora business networks outside of East Asia.¹¹ As Overseas Chinese communities developed and grew across Southeast Asia, they depended on these intricately elaborate bamboo networks to protect their mere business existence and achieve socioeconomic prosperity.¹² The bamboo network is unique among diaspora business networks in part that it is predicated upon *guanxi*, which serves as the primary foundational grounding within the network's structure and is often cited as a factor for the business accomplishments of Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs in Southeast Asia.¹³ Whether if it is an individual businessman, the board of directors, or the company itself, building trust through relationships between these entities needs to transpire in order for any business transactions to be completed.¹⁴ These decentralized and well-connected networks underpinned by *guanxi* are based on a shared ethnic identity, family clan ties, a common language, and a collective Confucian tradition.¹⁵ In the aggregate, the Overseas Chinese business groups amalgamated with these common ethnic and cultural attributes help the bamboo network serve its purpose as a channel for profitable arbitrage opportunities, business contacts, gather business intelligence and disperse market information, as well as expediate the buildup and movement of cross-border human and financial capital in order to facilitate foreign direct investment between the economies of Greater China and Southeast Asia.¹⁶

Though many Confucian tenets such as diligence and frugality have been defining values that have helped lubricate the channels of trade and industry, the most significant Confucian values nonetheless have been the stress of familial ties that bind relatives and family members together that characterizes towards the success of the Overseas Chinese business networks in Southeast

⁹ Ciorăia, "Socioeconomic Networks," 44.

¹⁰ Chua, "The Essential Network," 4.

¹¹ Richter, *Business Networks in Asia*, 152

¹² Ching-Hwang Yen, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia and Beyond: Socioeconomic and Political Dimensions* (Singapore, 2008), 326.

¹³ Ciorăia, "Socioeconomic Networks," 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Joana Breidenbach and Pál Nyíri, *China Inside Out: Contemporary Chinese Nationalism and Transnationalism* (Budapest, 2005), 170.

¹⁶ Swee Hoon Chuah, Robert Hoffmann, Bala Ramasamy, and Jonathan H. W. Tan, "Is There a Spirit of Overseas Chinese Capitalism," *Small Business Economics* 47 (2016): 1100.

Asia.¹⁷ The family is recognized as a major component to how the company operates and how it is passed down between each succeeding generation as well as how the company manages its corporate relationships and conducts its business affairs and dealings. The family is of paramount value within the overall structure of the bamboo network as the family unit forms the foundational basis that underpins the entire business.¹⁸ At the very heart of the economic structure of the bamboo network rests upon the importance of the family which itself is a source of employment for relatives and fellow family members.¹⁹ Many members of the same family hold much of the firm's key upper management positions and ownership of the firm is concentrated within the hands of a single family.²⁰ Along with the bamboo networks based on familism, family ties played a key role in the economic development and establishment of Overseas Chinese businesses across the region reveal the distinctive and cultural and historical encounters they had to undergo in order to achieve business success.²¹ As a result, the propensity for Overseas Chinese businesses when managing their corporate affairs among the personal relationships exhibited through the bamboo networks are deeply rooted in close familial kinship that can be traced to the familial ideals found within traditional Confucianist doctrine.²²

Throughout imperial Chinese history, the enduring belief espoused through Confucianist tenets was that the family served as the basic social unit and chief component that held China's societal structure together.²³ In addition, Confucianist doctrine also established the importance of the role of the family not only within society but also when managing their business activities and making investment decisions.²⁴ Familial cohesiveness and clan loyalties have long been a common linkage for Overseas Chinese business families to function as a closely-knit community but to also allow the family to act as a repository for essential resources such as financial backing, emotional, and social support as well as concomitantly develop a sense of cooperation between fellow family members and relatives.²⁵ Much of Southeast Asia's small and medium sized businesses are predicated on the role of the immediate and extended family.²⁶ A significant portion of the Overseas Chinese businesses operating in Southeast Asia are small and medium sized family

¹⁷ Ciofria, "Socioeconomic Networks," 42.

¹⁸ Ciofria, "Socioeconomic Networks," 45.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Carolyn Erdener and Daniel M. Shapiro. "The Internationalization of Chinese Family Enterprises and Dunning's Eclectic MNE Paradigm," *Management and Organization Review* 1, no. 1 (2005): 411.

²¹ Carolyn Erdener and Daniel M. Shapiro. "Chinese Family Enterprise: A Theoretical Analysis with Implications for MNE Theory and Research," *Academy of Management Annual Meeting Proceedings* 1, no. 1 (2003): 2.

²² Yos Santasombat, *Chinese Capitalism and Economic Integration in Southeast Asia* (Singapore, 2018), 15.

²³ Kris Olds and Henry Yeung, *Globalizing Chinese Business Firms: Where are they Coming From, Where are they Heading?* (London, 2000), 19.

²⁴ Erdener and Shapiro, "Chinese Family Enterprise," 2.

²⁵ Olds and Yeung, *Globalizing Chinese Business Firms*, 19.

²⁶ Samuel Hughes and Murray Weidenbaum, "Asia's Bamboo Network," *The American Enterprise* 7, no. 5 (1996): 68.

businesses where family becomes the centrepiece focus for the company's corporate undertakings.²⁷ Many of Southeast Asia's largest companies controlled by the Overseas Chinese started out as small family firms who initially possessed limited amounts of wealth themselves.²⁸

Shrewd business acumen, diligence, frugality, and reinvesting surplus profits at prodigious rates allowed many small and medium sized Overseas Chinese family firms to evolve into colossal corporate conglomerates that have become major corporate players throughout the economies of Southeast Asia.²⁹ Besides close acquaintances, associates, and relatives, the family not only serves as a primary source for the accrual of seed capital for new start-up business ventures, but also other vital resources such as labour, management, emotional support and technical knowledge, skills, and expertise that forms a manifestation known as cultural capital.³⁰ Today, many multi-billion dollar conglomerates in Southeast Asia that are publicly traded and overseen by the Overseas Chinese continue to remain family-owned, with key business decisions being shaped by a patriarch.³¹

As the ever-changing global economic landscape continues to grow and usher in unprecedented prosperity stands the bamboo network that stretches from Mandalay to Manila overseen by astute Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs continue to remain a vibrant commercial force to be reckoned with through the economies of Southeast Asia. Deeply rooted in ancient Chinese philosophical thinking contain the eternal and everlasting codes, ethics, and ideologies based on personal networks and family solidarity that are associated with business success and economic achievement continue to influence modern managerial practices and values. Consequently, *guanxi* and familial ties have played a pivotal role in the economic development and transformation of Southeast Asia. These ideals that were arranged through the form of codified Confucian philosophical principles carries not only societal implications but also managerial applications that can be harnessed in a real-world business setting. Profoundly entrenched in traditional Chinese cultural values coupled with the distinctive experiences that the Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs endured and faced in Southeast Asia, these two major factors that underlie the foundation for Overseas Chinese business success characterize the vigour of the bamboo network as one of the emerging international economic powers during the twenty-first century.³²

²⁷ Ching Hwang Yen, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia and Beyond: Socioeconomic and Political Dimensions* (Singapore, 2008), 325.

²⁸ Hughes and Weidenbaum, "Asia's Bamboo Network," 68.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Ho-Don Yan and Tony Fu-Lai Yu, *Handbook of East Asian Entrepreneurship* (Abingdon, 2014), 111; and Yen, *The Chinese in Southeast*, 325.

³¹ Olds and Yeung, "Globalizing Chinese Business Firms," 19.

³² Laurence Ma and Carolyn Cartier, *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity* (Lanham, 2002), 31.

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French Influence on Intellectual Unrest in Twentieth Century China

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HIST 3350 China in the Twentieth Century: Reforms & Revolutions

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China in the 20th century is largely definable by a single concept: continuous revolution. At the start of the century, China underwent numerous political and societal changes, and was arguably already in a state of continuous revolution before Mao Zedong advocated for it.¹ After years of social unrest, the Qing Dynasty fell in 1911, and China emancipated itself from imperial rule. When the Republic of China was created after the Xinhai Revolution, the Qing state was removed, but the grievances of the Chinese population remained along with foreign imperial powers.² One of the groups most aggrieved by the state of Chinese society was the intellectuals, who compared the successes of other cultures to their own. To this end, Chinese intellectuals looked for ways to improve their own cultural and political standing through models from other countries. Many intellectuals drew inspiration from western societies, and in particular France, which had been seen as the pinnacle of revolutionary thought since the French Revolution of 1789. Interactions between Chinese intellectuals and French society impacted Chinese cultural movements in the early 1900s, and many of these intellectuals played key roles in China's transition to communism. French influence is also observable in some of the literary work and intellectual contributions that heightened Chinese radicalism. French culture and experiences in France impacted how many Chinese intellectuals sought political and cultural reform in 20th-century China.

Before the 1911 Revolution in China, radical thought was already spreading amongst the intellectuals. Many Chinese students became exposed to radicalism while studying and working in France in what was known as the "Diligent Work-Frugal Study" program. Li Shizeng, an educator who travelled to France to study in 1902 initiated the program after his stay abroad.³ During his stay, Li became associated with anarchism through the works of Élisée Reclus, a French geographer, writer and anarchist. Reclus' theory that science and education could bring

¹ John Bryan Starr, "Conceptual Foundations of Mao Tse-Tung's Theory of Continuous Revolution," *Asian Survey* 11, no. 6 (1971): 610.

² Joseph Klaitis and Michael H. Haltzel, *The Global Ramifications of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 2002), 182.

³ Paul Bailey, "The Chinese Work-Study Movement in France," *The China Quarterly*, no. 115 (1988): 443.

equality to society impressed Li, and he wanted to bring this theory to more Chinese students.⁴ The work-study program was created to educate students while also teaching them good morals. It was not uncommon for Chinese intellectuals to malign the backwardness of their culture and the “decadent and lazy” habits they perceived of society.⁵ Li Shizeng formed connections with French politicians, educators, and intellectuals during his stay abroad, which helped him to set up the first Society for Frugal Study in France.⁶ Preparatory schools were set up in Peking to prepare students for study in France, and from 1912 to 1913, about one hundred and twenty students went abroad.⁷ The first work-study society was disbanded shortly after, but it was clear that the idea of work-study exchange programs resonated with the Chinese intellectuals.

The nature of the work-study movement facilitated a political shift towards anarchist and communist philosophies. In particular, anarchists who were also Francophiles, saw France as the ideal place for Chinese students to get an education due to its “libertarian and revolutionary tradition”.⁸ Anarchist groups abroad were able to use labour shortages in France to educate Chinese workers with the onset of World War I in 1914.⁹ Over the course of the war, around 200,000 total Chinese workers went to France to work with the French army or in factories, and in 1916 the Sino-French Education Association was established.¹⁰ It was through this program the concept of “Labourism” took root amongst the anarchists. For some, labour had a valuable effect on the morals of a worker. It was seen as “the greatest obligation of human life...the source of civilization” and “the means to avoid moral degeneration and help moral growth, it was a means to forging spiritual willpower.”¹¹ Travelling to France brought together groups of likeminded workers and students, and the work-study programs introduced them to radical values. The Chinese workers had a five-year contract, and a ten-hour workday earned them 5 francs, with half going to room and board.¹² The conditions were not ideal, but the work-study program enabled students from poor households to gain education, as they were expected to work for their tuition. Initially many of the workers were illiterate, but with time many teachers, students, and translators went to France, forming a group of French trained intellectuals.¹³ The French work-study program played an important role in the formation of political radicals in the early 20th

⁴ Bailey, "The Chinese Work-Study Movement in France," 444.

⁵ Bailey, "The Chinese Work-Study Movement in France," 445.

⁶ Bailey, "The Chinese Work-Study Movement in France," 444.

⁷ Zhou Cezong, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA, 1960), 36.

⁸ Arif Dirlik, "The New Culture Movement Revisited: Anarchism and the Idea of Social Revolution in New Culture Thinking," *Modern China* 11, no. 3 (July 1985): 266.

⁹ Dirlik, "The New Culture Movement Revisited," 266.

¹⁰ Dirlik, "The New Culture Movement Revisited," 266.

¹¹ Dirlik, "The New Culture Movement Revisited," 286.

¹² Zhou, *The May Fourth Movement*, 37.

¹³ Zhou, *The May Fourth Movement*, 38.

century. It exposed working class students to French anarchy groups and French revolutionary culture, forming them into natural groups that could front cultural changes.

One of the cultural changes that the work-study programs in France influenced was Chinese literature. Not every student or worker who went to France adopted revolutionary political views, but many who returned to China after World War I had learnt to read and write and brought back new nationalistic and Marxist ideas with them.¹⁴ The Chinese students and workers gained experience and knowledge about western ideas of labour and socialism, and the effect of their experience in France is viewable through the insurgence of publications emphasizing a “New Culture” mentality. To this effect, more literary journals were published under the influence of the New Culture Movement in China. Intellectual journals were present before the 20th century, showing up after the Hundred Days Reform in 1898, so revolutionary thought was already in literature at the time.¹⁵ After 1910, however, there is a clear uptick in journals promoting revolutionary thought, with signs pointing to French influence. In 1916, the *Journal of Chinese Students in Europe* was published from Paris, in association with the Sino-French Educational Association.¹⁶ The journal expressed the views of anarchists and revolutionary intellectuals abroad and advocated for the combination of labour and study to the betterment of Chinese students.¹⁷ Another journal from Paris was the *Chinese Laborers Journal*, published in 1917, which was addressed to Chinese workers in France.¹⁸ This journal sought to eradicate bad habits amongst workers and preached a motto of “diligence, frugality and study”.¹⁹ These two journals are examples of how the New Culture Movement placed importance on the intellectual experience of the Chinese students in France.

One of the more notable journals published during this time was *New Youth*, whose first issue came out in 1915, and was edited by Chen Duxiu.²⁰ Chen Duxiu was not part of the work-study movement in France, but some of his journal articles directly relate to French revolutionary ideals and thought. Chen’s understanding of the French culture carried a tone of “French Romanticism”, where he idealized the concept of French revolutionary thought and culture more than its actual application.²¹ In his *New Youth* article “The French and Modern Civilization”, Chen credits the

¹⁴ Zhou, *The May Fourth Movement*, 39-40.

¹⁵ Chen Pingyuan, “Literature from the Perspective of Intellectual History: Studies of New Youth” in *Touches of History: An Entry into ‘May Fourth’ China* (Leiden, 2011) 70.

¹⁶ Dirlik, “The New Culture Movement Revisited,” 272.

¹⁷ Dirlik, “The New Culture Movement Revisited,” 285.

¹⁸ Dirlik, “The New Culture Movement Revisited,” 272.

¹⁹ Dirlik, “The New Culture Movement Revisited,” 272.

²⁰ Chen, “Literature from the Perspective of Intellectual History”, 69.

²¹ Zhou, *The May Fourth Movement*, 35-36.

French with being the leaders of modern society.²² Chen divides civilization into two: Eastern and Western, where he states that “Eastern societies are ‘modern’ by name, but ancient in reality”.²³ Chen’s praises for French contributions to society are rather exorbitant. He credits Lafayette, a French general involved in both the French and American revolutions, with bringing universal recognition to human rights.²⁴ He gives precedence to Lamarck over Darwin for creating evolutionary theory, which he says gave humans “control over their own destinies” and therefore increased the output of intellectual achievements.²⁵ He also delves into the importance of socialism, claiming that the downfall of modern society is its use of private property; to this end, Chen says that the French journalist Babeuf created socialism by advocating for the abolition of private property.²⁶ Chen’s high praise on French accomplishments reflects how many intellectuals looked outwards to Western society to make improvements on Chinese society. To Chen and other intellectuals, it likely was not so much about the actual ideals of outside cultures, but more of an attack against their own culture, so the high praise is used to stir up revolutionary feelings in Chinese society.

By 1919, revolutionary thought inspired by French society and the work-study programs began to infiltrate China at the university levels. *New Youth* was highly influential during its publication and owed much of its success to its background in the academic world.²⁷ Chen Duxiu was a professor at the Peking university in Beijing, and during his post calls for revolution spread amongst the students. The support for societal change reflects how aptly named *New Youth* was as it drew a lot of attention from the young student population. Many students who favored Western scholarship believed that the revolutionary preaching of Chen and other university intellectuals was of the utmost accuracy due to their connections with Western society, such as the work-study program.²⁸ Intellectual journals like *New Youth* pushed for an overthrow of imperial culture in favour of “liberalism, anarchism and Marxism”.²⁹ Chen makes harsh comments about China’s attitude towards revolution, saying:

Our sniveling, indifferent, and timid citizens are afraid of revolution, like snakes and bugs. That is why we are still enveloped in darkness despite the government having been subjected to three revolutions. A minor reason for this failure is that these three revolutions all started strong but ended weak without a full bloody expurgation of the corrupt. The

²² Chen Duxiu, Article from *New Youth*, 1915, “The French and Modern Civilization” in *The Chinese Human Rights Reader: Documents and Commentary 1900-2000*, edited by Stephen C. Angle and Marina Svensson (London, 2015) 63.

²³ Chen, “The French and Modern Civilization”, 63.

²⁴ Chen, “The French and Modern Civilization”, 63.

²⁵ Chen, “The French and Modern Civilization”, 64

²⁶ Chen, “The French and Modern Civilization”, 65.

²⁷ Chen, “Literature from the Perspective of Intellectual History”, 137.

²⁸ Chen, “Literature from the Perspective of Intellectual History”, 137.

²⁹ Chen, “Literature from the Perspective of Intellectual History”, 133.

main reason is that our people's fundamental morals, literature, and art are all covered in layers of grime and filth so they have not supported the revolutions.³⁰

Chen's extreme view of revolution harkens back again to a romanticized view of French society and specifically the French Revolution. The French Revolution was seen as a "heroic example of revolutionary self-sacrifice", and many believed that the violent and complete overthrow of existing powers was the only way to successfully evolve into a modern society.³¹ This was the attitude that Chen and other leaders of revolutionary thought took with them into the May Fourth Movement of 1919 where students protested Chinese society and the Treaty of Versailles after World War I. French influence on the May Fourth Movement stems not only from the revolutionary attitudes, but also from a feeling of betrayal from Western society. Students felt betrayed by the results of the Paris Peace Conference because the results allowed Japan to maintain control of Shandong territories.³² Student organizations, including the "New Tide Society, the Citizens Magazine Society, the Work-and-Study Society, the Common Voice Society, and the Cooperative Study Society" all agreed to hold mass demonstrations protesting the treaty and Chinese society.³³ The work-study programs and the Chinese intellectual publications likely influenced the methods of protests and demonstrations, as they both brought students together and gave them experience with labour and labour movements.³⁴ The University of Peking, which had significant association with France and work-study movements, had the highest number of participants in the May Fourth Movement at 2,411 students.³⁵ It is believed that other schools and groups associated with French influence, like the preparatory schools for work-study, also played roles in the May Fourth Movement.³⁶ This shows that a lot of the discontent and call-to-action was learned either abroad or influenced by others who had returned to China from France. Even though French influence on Chinese revolutionary thought was largely symbolic, it helped facilitate the organization of radical thought groups which persisted in China for much of the 20th century.

French culture and the Diligent Work-Frugal Study movements influenced notable Chinese political figures, many of which went on to have strong connections to the Chinese Communist Party. In this sense, French influence played an important role in the rise of communism in China. Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, two remarkable figures in the history of Chinese communism

³⁰ Chen, "Literature from the Perspective of Intellectual History", 131.

³¹ Klaitz and Haltzel, *The Global Ramifications of the French Revolution*, 182.

³² Zhou, *The May Fourth Movement*, 99.

³³ Zhou, *The May Fourth Movement*, 99.

³⁴ Zhou, *The May Fourth Movement*, 96.

³⁵ Zhou, *The May Fourth Movement*, 386-87.

³⁶ Zhou, *The May Fourth Movement*, 386-87.

were both part of the work-study program and went abroad to France.³⁷ Deng Xiaoping was introduced to Chinese nationalism because of his schoolteachers, and at the age of 14 took part in the May Fourth Movement.³⁸ Deng was exposed to Chinese revolutionary thought in China, but it was not until his participation in the French work-study program that he began to formulate his beliefs on communism. In 1920, Deng travelled abroad to France, but due to poor post-war circumstances and French men returning from the war to their jobs, there was little work for Deng and his fellow students.³⁹ Disillusioned with the perceived “grandiose” of French society, Deng participated in Chinese protests in France against their mistreatment and lack of support.⁴⁰ The Chinese Communist Party formed in China while Deng was still in France, but it was not long before Chinese Communist groups formed abroad.⁴¹ In 1922, Deng joined the Chinese Communist Youth League, of which the party secretary was Zhou Enlai.⁴² Deng Xiaoping’s experiences in France and the possibility to join other radicals abroad largely shaped his impressions of communism. The *New Youth* magazine also heavily influenced Deng, and Chen Duxiu of *New Youth* had sons abroad in France at the time of Deng’s studies.⁴³

Similar to Deng, French society and the impacts it had on Chinese intellectuals left an impression on Zhou Enlai. In 1920 Zhou wrote the following poem dedicated to a student travelling to France:

You are leaving our homeland
To cross the seas and oceans,
Amidst the roaring billows
That will carry you to France,
The birthplace of freedom.

There you will handle the tools of industry
And pour forth the sweat of labour,
Winning glorious achievements
Your abilities steeled and tempered
And your shining sincerity of purpose preserved.

One day you will return
And unfurl the banner of freedom,
Singing the praises of independence.
Struggling for women's rights
And seeking equality

³⁷ Dirlik, “The New Culture Movement Revisited,” 295.

³⁸ Ezra F. Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China* (Cambridge MA, 2011) 17.

³⁹ Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*, 19.

⁴⁰ Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*, 19-20.

⁴¹ Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*, 20.

⁴² Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*, 20.

⁴³ Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*, 21.

You will put these to the test in society.
The overthrow of traditional ethics
Entirely depends on such an outlook.⁴⁴

The poem reflects the high regard with which many intellectuals held France due to their admiration of its societal values. The poem essentially outlines someone going to France, learning about labour and socialism, and then returning to China with greater knowledge of individual freedoms and how to make Chinese society better.

The interaction between France was important to the formation of Chinese communism in multiple ways. The Diligent Work-Frugal Study movement brought many students and influential groups together. It served as a location to bolster radical ideas about anarchy, socialism and liberalism, and later played an important role in the formation of communist groups abroad. Chinese intellectuals revered France's revolutionary history for its boldness and ideals towards revolution and individualism. Much of the importance that France had for Chinese intellectuals was symbolic, as the application of French radical thought did not always translate well to the situation in China. Nonetheless, the cultural movements sparked inspiration to overthrow Chinese imperial powers and helped give many young intellectuals the tools required to support their own cultural and political revolutions. French culture, through both its symbolic history and the experiences of Chinese intellectuals abroad played a significant role in early reform and the later success of the Chinese Communist Party. The relationship between China and France in the early 20th century is compelling because it shows the interconnectedness of two vastly different countries, and how seemingly small events can play a role in larger changes.

⁴⁴ Bailey, "The Chinese Work-Study Movement in France," 451-52.

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Historical Biography of Gamont d'Avignon

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Note: This paper was written as a work of historical fiction; the annotated bibliography discusses the sources utilized in greater detail.

Arnaldo Fortuato: Gamont d'Avignon, A Worthy Physician

La Pestilenza came to my home of *Genova*, Italy in 1348 and my wife, *Cecilia*, fell ill nearly a month after its arrival. There was terror in every moment as I sat, only able to watch her grow weaker. Her tongue which had once so elegantly sung to our children was black and swollen with blood rendering speech impossible. After her passing, there was relief mixed with my sorrow knowing she was no longer suffering and was now with God in his kingdom. I have heard stories of those who, rather than die slowly and agonizingly in the fashion of this pestilence, had taken their own lives.

It was soon after my wife's passing that I too fell ill. I displayed a variety of the common symptoms including fever and swelling of the armpits and groin. However, after several days I was no longer afflicted. This seems to be the result of few cases and I have hence gladly used this extra time permitted me by God's grace to document the good deeds of that select few who did not receive their merit during their lives.

I write presently about the worthy physician *Gamont d'Avignon* who worked tirelessly amongst the putrid ill of the pestilence in the name of compassion and God. Before the plight of pestilence ravaged our countries, I had the honour of meeting the worthy physician on one of my many merchant trips through the *Avignon* region. He possessed a youthful face and a calming temperament. His quick wit and knowledgeable conversation led me to appreciate his company. And, on subsequent trips to the region, I found myself seeking him out for an afternoon of conversation.

This account is based on the journals of my dear late friend *Gamont d'Avignon*, on the stories, *Gamont* had told me during our years of friendship, our correspondences, as well as the experiences of those who knew him.

In the Autumn of 1301, Gamont was born in Avignon, France to parents Malorie and Aloïs Rocher. Gamont was the 3rd of four brothers Lyle, Marquis, Bondant, and Mason and all were raised with strong faith. The family was of moderate means as Aloïs Rocher was a stonemason of high regard in Avignon.

While raised to work in his father's business, Gamont grew dissatisfied. He was a God-fearing, compassionate, and sage man. Upon his maturity, Gamont left his family to join a monastic order so as to devote his life to God and his teachings. The Monastery taught him many things. However, what intrigued Gamont the most was the practice of healing. The monasteries of France often upheld some tradition of healing and medicine, and Gamont showed an aptitude for the practice. After scarcely a year had passed, Gamont left the order to study at the prestigious Montpellier school of medicine. For nine years, Gamont studied the practice of medicine and achieved the title of *master of medicine*, receiving license to practice in Montpellier's neighbouring regions. Upon receipt of his title, Gamont returned to his home in Avignon. Once returned, he was offered a position in the Palais des Papes where he would serve to keep the health of the Pope and Cardinals.

In 1348, when the pestilence struck the populace of Avignon I am told that Gamont was active in his duty as a physician. As all men of his education, he was tasked with the health of those of high status. Those aristocrats and members of the papacy that fell ill were to be treated by the thirty licenced physicians of the region of whom Gamont was among.

It was shy three months since Avignon had been crippled by this putrid malady. The people of France were dying in such large quantities that graves had been abandoned in favour of deep pits whose entirety were filled with the contagious rotting corpse of those taken by the plague, rich and poor alike.

Already Gamont had seen four Cardinals die of the illness. There is no cure for this malady and thus Gamont and his fellow physicians did what they could to ease the suffering. The Pope, Clement VI, was instructed by his highest physician, Guy de Chauliac, to position himself between two large fires and to permit no entry to his chambers. In this fashion and by the grace of God, the Pope was spared.

Gamont, the kind soul, could not bear to see the common folk suffer in the ways of this dreaded illness with no physician skilled enough even to ease discomfort and pain. Abandoning his position in the Palais des Papes he travelled through villages aiding the ill when possible and meticulously documenting what he encountered. Gamont d'Avignon worked tirelessly through those long months of pestilence to alieve the pain of those inflicted. Poultices of butter and onion, bloodletting, and the sprinkling of dried frog, arsenic, and flowers were commonly used to stave off the illness. Gamont practiced the method of cutting open the "great imposthumes" as he called them. This, to afford reprieve of pressure and pain by expelling the discharge of offensive fluids that rested within.

While he had been among the papacy and aristocracy there had been a limited variety of symptoms. Conversely, among the peasantry, he encountered several symptoms not yet noted. Included here is an expert from the journal Gamont kept during his healing campaign.

There is nowhere in le Royaume de France one may go to be free of this dark cloud of disease and death. The moaning of the infected and the starving serve to replace the bird song one no longer hears. Those birds, along with all manner of beast are vulnerable to this illness, it is indiscriminate in its design. A street dog feasts on the flesh of a victim and hence he too falls prey... Among the peasantry, I have seen a variety of symptoms, some more common than others. Fever, terrible imposthumes, and black spots of rancid decomposition are likely, but not always present. I have seen swelling of the tongue with blood so severe it appears black and can perform no movement. I have witnessed a prevailing occurrence of violent pain and inflammation of the respiratory organs so as to make breathing difficult. One notes the pestiferous odour that exudes from the mouths of those taken with the illness as if the body is rotting from its core... When fever and the evacuation of blood are present, those afflicted will surely die three days hence...

As is mentioned in Gamont's journal the illness is not simply that of the individual. The pestilence is a horrid thing that can infect even the animals and livestock. Simply by being near an ill person or in fact near their belongings could impart the pestilence to you. Whole households from head to attendants would be afflicted. Many houses remain empty still in all regions, kingdoms, and countries their occupants taken by the pestilence. The confounding ease at which the illness pervades a populace is incomprehensible to me and many others. Some have said the malady is sent from God to test and to challenge us. Some have abandoned their faith in fear and anger towards God. Others found their faith strengthened in this time of uncertainty. I know that I, as well as Gamont, never wavered in our faith.

In my country, as in Gamont's, I have heard tell of parents abandoning ill children so as not to contract the pestilence themselves. How then could a physician be expected to care for those who are ill if even a mother abandons her child and a father abandons his heir? Gamont, a true agent of God, believed that all of God's children deserved to be cradled gently to death. There was not one patient whom he refused. No matter what stages of illness or social position, Gamont would come to aid however he could.

It was this dedication that lent to Gamont's eventual death. Having tended to patients from Pope to peasant over the course of five months in close proximity, Gamont, belatedly, was taken with the malady. It was surely by God's grace that Gamont had been spared of the illness for as long as he had. God granted Gamont time to comfort the ill and to record what need be remembered so mayhaps some future physician may, at last, find a way to rid us of this pestilence.

I conclude this account of my dear friend Gamont d'Avignon, the worthy physician with a prayer to St. Rocco, a saint in the time of pestilence.

O Great St. Rocco, deliver us, we beseech thee, from the scourges of God; through thy intercession, preserve our bodies from contagious diseases, and our souls from the contagion of sin. Obtain for us salubrious air; but, above all, purity of heart. Assist us to make good use of health, to bear suffering with patience; and, after thy example, to live in the

practice of penance and charity, that we may one day enjoy the happiness which thou has merited by thy virtues. St. Rocco, pray for us. . .

— Arnaldo Fortuato



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Archambeau, Nicole. "Healing Options during the Plague: Survivor Stories from a Fourteenth-Century Canonization Inquest." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 85, no. 4 (Winter, 2011): 531-59.

This article consists of witness testimonies from both the first and second waves of the plague in 1348 and 1361. The testimonies provide insight into the social scenes and structure shifts at the time of the plague. The accounts also detail healing networks and the healing processes of the time, which would have played a large role in the containment, healing, and comfort of plague victims. Eyewitness testimonies allow insight into the emotional and personal side of the outbreak and serve to ground the events in a human context. The entanglement of medicine and religion is also revealed. By using testimonies the language, emotions, medicine, and religion of the fourteenth century can be understood, at least in part.

Benedek, Thomas G. "The Shift of Medical Education into the Universities." *Medievalists.net*.
<https://www.medievalists.net/2008/10/the-shift-of-medical-education-into-the-universities/>
 [accessed March 17, 2020].

This article overviews, as the title suggests, the shift of medical education into universities between the 13th to 15th centuries. Benedek writes about the first universities, the shift away from monastery medicine training and the secularisation of education. Further, Benedek discusses laws setting medical education standards including the required curriculum, length of education, clinical experiences, and degree requirements. This outline of medical education curriculums also includes the average length of time it takes to acquire a degree as well as Ph.D., and the average number of licensed physicians per city (30-40). More specifically, Benedek discusses these standards within the application at the University of Paris as well as at Montpellier.

Bovey, Alixe. "Medicine in the Middle Ages." *The British Library*. The British Library, April 30, 2015. <https://www.bl.uk/the-middle-ages/articles/medicine-diagnosis-and-treatment-in-the-middle-ages>

Dr. Alixe Bovey is a medievalist who conducts research into the "relationship between myths and material culture" and is the head of research at The Courtauld Institute of Art. This article examines the roles of astrology, religion and magic in the conception of medicine and medical theory. Headers include: The stars and planets, Examining urine, Wounds, ruptures and lesions, Medicine and the Church, and Occult Healing. Under each heading is a brief explanation/summary of the topic including an image that illustrates a particular of the specified practice. The overall conclusion of the article is that the fourteenth century understanding of medicine and healing was greatly influenced by their understanding of the world. In other words, medicine was dictated by astrology, religion and the concept of magic.

Bovey, Alixe. "Peasants and Their Role in Rural Life." *The British Library*. The British Library, April 30, 2015. <https://www.bl.uk/the-middle-ages/articles/peasants-and-their-role-in-rural-life>.

Dr. Alixe Bovey is a medievalist who conducts research into the "relationship between myths and material culture" and is the head of research at The Courtauld Institute of Art. This article details the daily lives of

peasants during the fourteenth century as well as images of peasant life with analytical breakdowns of the scenes they portray. Notably, the article examines the changes in peasant life and the social changes that emerged during the plague.

“Bubonic Plague.” Khan Academy. Khan Academy. Accessed February 6, 2020.
<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/world-history/medieval-times/disease-and-demography/a/disease-and-demography>.

This source discusses the bubonic plague (aka the Black Death). It provides an outline of the key causes of the bubonic plague as well as its spread, origins, and social impacts. There is a discussion on the effect of trade on the contraction and spread of the disease as well as the specifics of origin and bacterial composition. Notably, the article discusses the socio-economic effects that the plague had on medieval Europe, China, Middle East, and South Asia.

“Guy De Chauillac.” Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guy_de_Chauillac [accessed March 15, 2020]

The Wikipedia page for Guy de Chauillac outlines his life experiences during the plague. Guy studied medicine in Montpellier, the “centre for medical knowledge in the 14th century”. Guy, a noteworthy physician, was invited to the Papal court in Avignon where he served as the personal physician to Popes Clement VI, Innocent VI, and Urban V. During the plague, Guy advised Pope Clement to keep a fire burning continuously in his chamber and to not let anyone in as a precautionary measure. Guy stayed in the city to treat patients and to meticulously documented symptoms. During this time he fell ill with the plague but survived. The page also lists his written works including the *Chirurgia Magna* a seven-volume treatise about anatomy, bloodletting, disease, and other medical phenomena.

Hecker, J.F.C. “The Black Death.” In *The Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, translated by B.G. Babington. 3rd Edition. London: Trübner & Co., 1859.
<https://archive.org/details/epidemicsofmiddl00heck/page/n1/mode/2up>.

Hecker’s *The Epidemics of the Middle Ages* covers three main illnesses: The Black Death, The Dancing Mania, and The Sweating Sickness. The section devoted to the Black Death is split into six chapters, each discussing a different topic relevant to the epidemic and the period. These chapters include “General Observations”, “The Disease”. “Causes - Spread”, “Morality”, “Moral Effects”, and finally “Physicians”. The section also includes a translator’s preface in which Babington explains that while he respects the work of Hecker, he does not believe in the “astral and telluric influences” along with alchemy and magic. Despite this, however, he continues that he believes that what Hecker chronicled is, in fact, factual and “from authentic sources”.

“Jobs in the Middle Ages.” Medievalists.net.
<https://www.medievalists.net/2014/06/jobs-middle-ages/> [accessed March 19, 2020].

Jobs in the Middle Ages is a brief list of common medieval occupations accompanied by images. The source for this list is a 15th-century German book titled, *House Books of the Nuremberg Twelve Brothers Foundation*. The book was actually records of a charitable foundation that started in Nuremberg in 1388. The Foundation found twelve poor people and gave them training and a job in a trade. The book included images of the people they trained along with what profession they were in and with a brief description. The list of professions included is butcher, baker, stonemason, weaver, winemaker, mason, farmer, watchman, cobbler, wheelwright, roofer, locksmith, tanner, tax collector, belt maker, merchant, armourer, carpenter, cook, and blacksmith.

Martin, Sean. *Black Death*. Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2001.

Black Death provides an overview of life before, during, and after the plague of the fourteenth century. It pays particular attention to the spread of the plague as it went from one area to the next and focuses on the reactions of each region. This source contains a chapter on medical theory at the time of the plague that provides insight into what would have been knowable at the time. In the same chapter, it shows the dynamic between religion and medicine. Included at the end of the book is a chronology of plagues before and after the plague of the fourteenth century.

Mellinger, Jessica. "Fourteenth-Century England, Medical Ethics, and the Plague." *Journal of Ethics* | American Medical Association. American Medical Association, April 1, 2006. <https://journalofethics.ama-assn.org/article/fourteenth-century-england-medical-ethics-and-plague/2006-04>.

Jessica Mellinger, MPhil is a third-year medical student who previously studied the history of medicine as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University. Mellinger's article examines the modern-day understanding of the plague in comparison to the fourteenth-century understanding. She explores the medieval profession of medicine and its understanding of ethics. In addition, Mellinger discusses the moral and social life of those living during a period of mass death.

Montagna, Pauline. "La Pestilenza: The Black Death in Italy." Medium. The History Buff, August 20, 2016. <https://medium.com/the-history-buff/la-pestilenza-the-black-death-in-italy-197dc326abbe> [accessed March 18, 2020].

This *History Buff* article discusses the 14th-century plague, specifically in Italy. The article begins with the arrival of the plague in Sicily in early October 1347, its spread to Venice and Genoa in 1348, and its spread to Rome. The article notes that the plague was called *La Peestilenza* in Italy during the 14th century. Additionally, *History Buff* outlines the pneumonic and bubonic forms of the plague and their respective symptoms. Also detailed is the treatment of infected bodies and the differences in treatment between the wealthy and the poor in Italy.

Rosenhek, Jackie. "Doctors of the Black Death: The Infamous Plague Doctors of the Middle Ages Were a Fearsome Sight." *Doctor's Review: Medicine on the Move*, October 2011. <http://www.doctorsreview.com/history/doctors-black-death/> [accessed March 18, 2020].

This article in *Doctor's Review* recounts a mix of general and very specific goings-on and medical practices during the 14th-century plague. Notably, Rosenhek describes the symptoms of and the general reactions to the plague. Rosenhek also notes the varied methods used to treat the plague including “Poultices of onion and butter, sprinklings of dried frog, arsenic, floral compounds and [...] bloodletting”.

“The Black Death.” Khan Academy. Khan Academy. Accessed February 6, 2020.

<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/renaissance-reformation/late-gothic-italy/beginners-guide-late-gothic/a/the-black-death>.

This source discussed the Black Death and its impact on a variety of socio-economic factors.

Due to the high death toll of the plague, there was a sharp decrease in population. This combined with trade cutoffs and quarantines resulted in a heavy negative economic impact. At the time of the plague, religion increased in some part due to the overwhelming feeling of hopelessness and the entanglement of religion and miracles in their understanding of medicine and healing. The article includes an account by the Sienese chronicler, Agnolo di Tura del Grasso who witnessed the effects of the plague first hand when he lost his five children and then his wife to the disease. The piece finishes with a brief section on the possible contribution that the plague had on the dawn of the Renaissance.

Viola, John, and Pat O'Boyle. “St. Rocco's Prayer: An Italian Tradition for the Good of Body and Soul.” Italian Sons and Daughters of America, March 18, 2020.

<https://www.orderisda.org/culture/stories/st-roccos-prayer-an-italian-tradition-for-the-good-of-body-and-soul-coronavirus-2020/> [accessed March 19, 2020].

This source introduces the Italian Catholic tradition of praying and processions to and with relics of St. Rocco for protection against “epidemics and all types of contagious diseases”. The post is in response to the Vatican’s encouragement to partake in a day of prayer and fasting on Wednesday, March 11th, 2020 in order to help and protect those affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. In addition, the post describes the life of St. Rocco and how he became a saint, particularly one associated with a contagious disease. In short, St. Rocco was a nobleman who distributed his wealth and went on a pilgrimage during the 14th century curing those infected with the plague with “prayer and the sign of the cross”. During this journey, he contracted the plague, though eventually, he recovered. The post concludes with the St. Rocco prayer.

Canine Colonists: A Dog History of Colonial America

Aaliyah Kumar

HIST 2303 Bleat, Bark, Buzz: Animals in Global History

Dr Kyle Jackson

November 2019



Figure 1. John Gibson. *Map of Colonial America*. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington D.C. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2015591097/>

The history of colonization through what would become known as North America is a long and gruesome tale, filled with war, chaos, and the eventual assimilation of Indigenous culture. Beginning in 1492, with the arrival of Christopher Columbus, an irreversible chain of events was set in motion, leading to the eventual absorption of the Indigenous way of life. Settlers in what would become known as North America would come to make assumptions and generalizations about the Indigenous lifestyles, failing to understand the necessity of Indigenous actions in surviving the North American terrain.¹ The

Indigenous inhabitants were often seen as an obstacle in the way of settlement, with their way of life degraded to being “savage and barbaric.”² “In the case of the British Empire, notions of superiority greatly stemmed from religion, as many Indigenous groups were condemned as “merciless heathens.”³ This would lead to the idea of Indigenous peoples needing to be “brought to civility and embrace the true religion”⁴ A rhetoric was popularized of Indians being “savage

¹ Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *Stereotypes and the Real Indians; The Indian Heritage of America* (Boston, 1991), 4-5.

² Josephy, *Stereotypes and the Real Indians*, 5.

³ Mary Rowlandson, “Mary Rowlandson Describes her Captivity Among the Indians, 1682,” in *Major Problems in American Colonial History*, ed., Karen Kupperman (Lexington, MA, 1993), 3. This essay will focus on British and Indigenous relations.

⁴ Thomas Harriot, “Thomas Harriot Forecasts Indian-Colonist Relationships, 1588,” in *Major Problems in American Colonial History*, ed., Karen Kupperman (Lexington, MA, 1993), 13.

and “bestial” warriors.”⁵ This idea would only be strengthened by the British perception of the Indigenous dog.

Historians have long neglected the essential role that animals have played and continue to play in history. Animals and their agency, or lack thereof, have worked to shape the current state of the world, though the limited view of “human exceptionalism” blinds one to the thrilling history of animals. “As the labor movement, the civil rights movement, and the women’s movement inspired sympathetic scholars, so have, in their turn, the advocates of hunted whales, poached tigers, abandoned dogs, and overcrowded pigs.”⁶ While most often believed to primarily play a role in environmental history, animals have affected military history, government authority, urban development as well as colonial history, the focus of this essay. Dogs played an essential role in the development and conquest of what would soon be America, both in their practical uses as well as the colonialist ideals projected upon them. British perceptions of the Indigenous dog mirrored the perceptions of Indigenous peoples. The canines were seen as savage, further reinforcing the idea that Indigenous people were uncivilized and therefore deserving of colonization.



Figure 2. Violetta Dela Field. Dog of the American Indians. Benjamin Smith Barton Collection, American Philosophical Society Library; <https://amphilsoc.org/exhibits/animals/case>

Believed to have been brought by the Paleo Indians,⁷ North American “dogs were far smaller in size, much like that of a modern-day terrier, as well as having a wolf-like colouration.”⁸ The barking of these dogs was believed to sound more like the howl of a wolf, than the sound of a European canine.⁹ Botanist and natural historian, Benjamin Smith Barton, stated they were “much more savage and imperfectly reclaimed than the common dog.”¹⁰ The canines were used for their hair fibre and food; as well as hunting and sled dogs,¹¹ though nonetheless, the Indigenous dog was still semi-wild.¹² Following the logic of

⁵ Josephy, *The Indian Heritage*, 28.

⁶ Harriet Ritvo, “Animal Planet,” *Journal of Environmental History* 9, no. 2 (April 2004): 205.

⁷ R.A Harcourt, “The Dog in Prehistoric and Early Historic Britain,” *Journal of Archeological Science* 1 no. 2 (June 1974)

⁸ Martin H. Welker and Rebecca Dunham, “Exploring the Introduction of European dogs to North America through shoulder height,” *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 29. no. 2. (January 2019)

⁹ Joshua Abram Kerksmar, “Wolves at Heart: How Dog Evolution Shaped Whites’ Perception of Indians in North America” *Journal of Environmental History* 21, (July 2016): 518.

¹⁰ Kerksmar, “Wolves at Heart,” 518.

¹¹ Welker and Dunham, “Exploring the Introduction of European dogs”

¹² Kerksmar, “Wolves at Heart,” 518.

Timothy P. Barnard, the idea of “taming the savage”¹³ echoed throughout the period. The wildness of the canine was believed to mirror the wildness of the Indigenous inhabitants and thus providing further means for the British civilization efforts. Aaron Skabelund – author and avid animal historian – describes this as “canine imperialism”, as the appearance and human ideals began to overtake the functional purpose of these canines.¹⁴ In the “Old World”, the British upper class used dogs as status symbols of wealth, prosperity and fidelity.¹⁵ Many breeds were collected from throughout Europe and made to be “British”; this not only demonstrates the importance of dogs in British history but “demonstrates the capacity for humans to invest dog characteristics with national histories.”¹⁶ For instance, in the image below depicting the first Thanksgiving in 1621, one can see a distinctly placed dog beside the woman, further illustrating the dog’s rhetoric of fidelity, as well as an idealized British family. Upon their arrival to the “New World”, European settlers were often accompanied by their canine companions, which would play an essential role in the process of British colonization and the civilizing mission. These “canine imperialists”¹⁷ were used to “herd livestock, defend settlements, track game and runaway fugitives or slaves, and act as war dogs for intimidating, tracking down, and attacking hostile Native Americans as well as other European colonists.”¹⁸



Figure 3. Jean Leon Gerome Ferris. *The First Thanksgiving 1621*. Library of Congress.

The memoirs of Mary Rowlandson – a seventeenth century British settler and captive of King Philip's War – illustrate the sometimes-violent colonial alliance of settler and dog. Rowlandson wrote of her six canines: “[I]f any Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down.”¹⁹ As the dogs brought to the New World were to serve as both labour animals as well as represent a strong European nation; a sort of selective importation process was instilled in which the largest European breeds were taken. Purebred dogs such as greyhounds, bloodhounds and mastiffs primarily accompanied settlers.²⁰ Colonial dogs were likely bred from larger European dogs as the average

¹³ Timothy P. Barnard, *Imperial Creatures: Humans and Other Animals in Singapore 1819-1942* (Singapore, 2019), 37.

¹⁴ Barnard, *Imperial Creatures*, 37.

¹⁵ Neil Pemberton and Julie-Marie Strange, “Dogs and Modernity: Dogs in History and Culture,” *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 22, no. 5 (2015): 705-08.

¹⁶ Pemberton and Strange “Dogs and Modernity: Dogs in History and Culture,” 705-8.

¹⁷ Barnard, *Imperial Creatures*, 37.

¹⁸ Welker and Dunham, “Exploring the Introduction of European dogs”

¹⁹ Rowlandson, “Mary Rowlandson Describes her Captivity,” 2.

²⁰ Welker and Dunham, “Exploring the Introduction of European dogs”

size of a colonial dog was 13.38cm taller than that of the average European dog.²¹ This is likely to do with the functionality of the animals as well as their work in the colonization process as intimidators and war dogs. English settlers in Jamestown as well as pilgrims of the Mayflower, for instance, brought mastiffs across the Atlantic, likely to defend property and livestock from any New World dangers. In later wars, English military leaders armed English soldiers with mastiffs in an attempt to adopt an Indigenous fighting tactic. During the French and Indian War, Ben Franklin, “suggested that men use tethered dogs for flanking and scouting duties, unleashing them when enemy were spotted.”²²

The British colonization in North America would seep into every aspect of soon-to-be American life. The use of dogs as a method and rationale for the civilizing mission is an overlooked and understudied factor, long ignored in conventional history-writing. As the Indigenous dog resembled the appearance of a wolf, colonists used this to further the notion that Indigenous people did not have the power nor the intelligence to unlock the fullest potential of the terrain.²³ This allowed for rationalization of such forceful occupation; much like Indigenous polities, groupings, or agriculture, if the dogs look European, they were deemed inferior.



Figure 4. John Smith. *Virginia*. Library of Congress. [London 1624] Washington, D.C Peters Photo-Lithographer. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3880.ct000377/?r=-0.436,0,1.871,0.77,0>

The notion of Indigenous dogs being more “savage” or “wolf-like” is a gross oversimplification. The appearance difference is seemingly linked to European selective breeding. As European dogs were not allowed to roam freely, being mostly bred for specific purposes, their lack of genetic variation created what many would know today as the modern dog.²⁴ The Indigenous dog, by comparison, had not been bred by humans, and often found mates with wolves, foxes or any type of dog.²⁵ Furthermore, it is believed that both the Indigenous dog and the European dog were derived from the same species in Asia, further dismantling this argument of superiority. This reveals an

²¹ Welker and Dunham, “Exploring the Introduction of European dogs”

²² Brooke C. Stoddard, “When Ben Franklin Met the Battlefield,” *Smithsonian Magazine* (October 7, 2010).

²³ Kercksmar, “Wolves at Heart,” 518.

²⁴ Kercksmar, “Wolves at Heart,” 533.

²⁵ Kercksmar, “Wolves at Heart,” 518.

interesting link between, first, the European practice of breeding out any abnormalities or wildness out of their dogs, and second, their forceful “civilization” in their colonies. Any deviance in this was seen as savage and immoral, thus linking in their attitudes towards dogs with their attitudes towards other humans. Indigenous peoples were viewed as “savages” greatly because of their lack of European innovation and culture. As the dog looked to be more “primitive” to European eyes it helped to reinforce the idea that the overall Indigenous lifestyle was inferior to that of Europeans.



Figure 5. Alfred Jacob Miller, *Pawnee Indians Migrating*, 1858. Credit Walters Art Museum.

Colonists also wished to prevent Indigenous peoples from acquiring European dogs.²⁶ A ban was installed by many colonial governments, including Virginia and Connecticut, prohibiting the trade of any “English dogs of quality.”²⁷ If caught trading dogs to the Indigenous peoples, settlers could incur a fine upwards of five shillings per offence.²⁸ These bans were included in an overall attempt to control the trade of livestock to Indigenous people. This trade restriction suggests that the colonists wished to keep their dogs of “pure” European origin. Much as with the human settlers, dog settlers intermingling with the Indigenous population was heavily frowned upon. Despite the colonists’ best efforts, there would be inevitable interbreeding between European dogs and Indigenous dogs. This would eventually lead to the Indigenous dog being bred out as there was now an increase in gene flow.²⁹ In modern times, there are very few remnants of what were Indigenous dogs, as most were replaced by the genetics of European dogs. This mirrors events occurring within the human population. Initially, many colonists were willing to co-exist with Indigenous groups, though as time went on this turned into hatred, leading to numerous wars and conflicts, many with the goal of erasing the Indigenous presence.

As history as a discipline widens its conventional perspectives on the past, the idea of studying a dog-based history of North America becomes less and less novel. While the history of American colonization has been told many times over, rarely is a canine component taken into account. Through the lens of a dog, one can further understand this history of colonization. Human European settlers were far from alone in their colonization efforts. Their canines acted as

²⁶ Welker and Dunham, “Exploring the Introduction of European dogs”

²⁷ Welker and Dunham, “Exploring the Introduction of European dogs”

²⁸ Welker and Dunham, “Exploring the Introduction of European dogs”

²⁹ Welker and Dunham, “Exploring the Introduction of European dogs”

colonizers in their own respects. Moreover, the ideas projected onto the Indigenous dog would act as a motivation for, and rationalization of, the civilization process as a whole. The wolf-like nature further amplified British ideas of Indigenous people being unable to unlock the full potential of their environment. Additionally, European unwillingness to allow interbreeding between the two dogs further displayed not only their prejudice but also an emphasis on upholding a British national identity within the new colonies. Dogs did not merely serve as workers, but as symbols of the strength and loyalty to the mother country even when an ocean away.

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Churchill's Involvement with the Cripps Mission of 1942

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HIST 3360: British India 1857-1947

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In March 1942, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill sent Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British War Cabinet and leader of the House of Commons, to India to rally support for the war effort. As a colony of the British Empire, India was obligated to fight and had been brought into the war by a declaration from India's Viceroy Linlithgow, made without consulting Indian leaders. He had, however, promised Indian leaders Dominion Status after the war on three separate occasions after that.¹ Cripps had been an advocate for Indian independence for many years and was personal friends with Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohandas Gandhi, as well as other members of the Indian Congress. Thus, there was a small measure of hope that Cripps would offer Dominion Status in his proposal. However, Indian leaders took issue with the actual proposal and Cripps' mission ended in failure. The question is, why did the mission fail? The argument of this paper is that, though the United Kingdom ostensibly fought for the cause of freedom over tyranny in World War II, Prime Minister Winston Churchill intentionally undermined the Cripps Mission, which would have given India Dominion Status. Churchill had help in this from Viceroy Linlithgow. Cripps himself was unaware of the many conversations happening without his knowledge.

Why would Churchill, a man passionately committed to fighting fascist tyrants, intentionally derail Cripps' mission? What was Cripps authorized to offer in his proposal? Why did the Indian leaders refuse the offer given? Why did Churchill bother to send Cripps to India if he had no intention of following through with anything promised? And most importantly, what proof is there that Churchill acted intentionally in undermining Cripps?

Churchill had a long history with India. He was born in 1874, when the British Empire was at its peak and India was considered the jewel in its crown. "Britain was the undisputed master of more than a quarter billion people. In 1874 two out of every three British subjects was an Indian,"² but

¹ A.K. Ghoshal, "The Cripps Plan... A Critique," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 7, no. 1 (1945): 319.

² Arthur Herman, *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry That Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age* (New York, 2008), 17.

for all its importance few politicians knew anything about India. Churchill's father, Randolph, a Member of Parliament (MP) was committed to changing this. He set off to explore India for almost six months. The report he brought back to Parliament was so well received that he earned the coveted position of Secretary of State for India in 1885. In a speech to the Commons he declared, "Without India, England would cease to be a nation."³ This deeply impacted his son who followed in his father's political footsteps, serving as an MP before he became Prime Minister in 1940. In a speech to the Commons in 1931 Winston had echoed his father's words that without India the Empire "would pass at a stroke out of life into history."⁴

However, before venturing into politics Churchill served in the British Army, stationed in India from 1896-1898. The India he experienced had already become highly segregated, with Indians functioning mostly as servants or soldiers, or occasionally in the India Civil Service. He shared the typical British view of his day, viewing Indians as "niggers, incapable of accomplishing anything without British help...."⁵ Jawaharlal Nehru, a devoted proponent of Indian independence and a key leader in the India National Congress, recalled Churchill's warning to the British Parliament: "Sooner or later you will have to crush Gandhi and the Indian Congress and all that they stand for. [He went on to say], "the British nation has no intention of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel..., which more than all our dominions and dependencies, constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire."⁶ From both a political and racial point of view, Churchill had a strong opinion not only about India but also about its people.

Prior to the U.S. officially joining the war, Churchill met with U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt in 1941 to discuss British war aims, signing a joint declaration known as the Atlantic Charter. The charter pledged "sovereign rights and self-government restored to those peoples who had been forcibly deprived of them."⁷ However, in his speech to the House of Commons afterward, Churchill made it clear that this declaration did not include India. Prior to this meeting, Viceroy Linlithgow, a political conservative, loyal Imperialist and friend of Churchill, shared Churchill's view of India and with Churchill's approval "determined to crush the [India National] Congress as a political institution and... arrested scores of Congress leaders."⁸ This did not go entirely unnoticed on the international scene and the leaders were reluctantly released.⁹ Unrest and

³ Herman, *Gandhi & Churchill*, 50.

⁴ Herman, *Gandhi & Churchill*, 50.

⁵ Herman, *Gandhi & Churchill*, 31.

⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Calcutta, 1946), 484.

⁷ Ranbir Vohra, *The Making of India: A Political History*, 3rd ed. (New York, 2013), 168.

⁸ Kenton J. Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt, Louis Johnson, India, and Anticolonialism: Another Look," *Pacific Historical Review* 57, no. 3 (1988): 262.

⁹ Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1993), 334.

resentment grew in India, especially in Bengal where, what was labeled a terrorist movement, grew under the leadership of Subhas Bose.

However, it was not that the majority of Indian leaders were indifferent to the cause for which the Allied Forces were fighting, “but before they could wholeheartedly associate themselves with the war effort they wanted an assurance from the [British] Government that India would be made free, because only as a free people, they contended, India could fight effectively in the cause of democracy and freedom.”¹⁰ Still, “Churchill opposed... even the most innocuous concessions to Indians.”¹¹ Then Japan decisively entered the war in the Pacific with devastating effect. By February of 1942 they had conquered Singapore, capturing 60,000 Indian troops without even firing a shot.¹² This made India even more important to the Allied war effort, not only because it was a source of anti-colonial unrest, but also for military reasons; an Allied base in India was essential for both offensive and defensive reasons in the fight against Japan. Under heavy pressure from President Roosevelt, Churchill conceded that something needed to be done to placate India and bring the nation wholeheartedly into the war effort. In March of 1942, Churchill sent Cripps with an olive branch to bring India fully onside. Roosevelt sent his own man, Louis Johnson, to India as his personal representative to aid the Indian government in any way possible as a military advisor.

The choice of Cripps was no accident. Cripps, a prominent English socialist, had already been sent by Churchill as British Ambassador to Moscow, seeking to ensure Russia would not join Germany in the war. Though in reality he did not accomplish as much as he hoped, the mission was still deemed successful and Cripps carried favour in Parliament and even found a seat on the War Cabinet. Cripps was also a long-time vocal champion of Indian independence, so it was a bold choice for Churchill to send him. Churchill even boasted Cripps was “going to India with a radically new scheme of constitutional reform that would help rally ‘all the forces of Indian life’ to the defense of India against the Japanese invaders.”¹³ Cripps was a shrewd choice because both Parliament and the Indian leaders held him in high regard. Indeed, Churchill’s announcement about Cripps’ mission “raised nationalist hopes and expectations throughout India.”¹⁴

The proposal he brought to the Indian leaders consisted of two parts: the first part dealt with India’s future, “proposing full dominion status... ‘upon cessation of hostilities.’”¹⁵ The second

¹⁰ Ghoshal, “The Cripps Plan,” 319.

¹¹ Clymer, “Franklin D. Roosevelt,” 265.

¹² Wolpert, *A New History*, 332.

¹³ Vohra, *The Making of India*, 168.

¹⁴ Wolpert, *A New History*, 334.

¹⁵ Wolpert, *A New History*, 334.

part dealt with India's immediate political situation, what the proposal called the interim arrangement. It was noted by some Indian leaders that if the proposal was intended to "enthuse the people into an all-out war effort..., the second part should have come first in point of importance"¹⁶ as it dealt with the present situation. This was not the first time the British Government had promised Dominion Status in the vague future. Indeed, this had been promised after the first World War and was included in the preamble of the India Act of 1919, though it was removed from the India Act of 1935. Viceroy Linlithgow had also promised Dominion Status on three separate occasions prior to Cripps' arrival in March of 1942. Furthermore, the second part, regarding how India would be treated in the interim, i.e. present, reinforced that nothing would substantially change. "The British Government cannot part with the responsibility of the defence of India 'as part of their world war effort' but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India, [i.e. British Raj], with the cooperation of the peoples of India."¹⁷ Indians would be permitted to sit on the Indian war council *if* the viceroy so chose. Without an understanding of the perennially vague promises made by the Raj and the ever-increasing powers for the viceroy, the proposal as described to the British people and Allies seemed reasonable. After all, the war had to take precedence above all.

The offer of Dominion Status came with significant conditions. First, it would only be possible after the cessation of hostilities. Secondly, a constitutional assembly would be put together that would not represent the population as it was (with a Hindu majority), but divided it in electoral sectors the British had constructed over years in an attempt to weaken control of the Hindu and Congress majority – a tactic known as Divide and Rule. Of course, the British loudly declared to the Allies its official reason for doing this: "to ensure protection of racial and religious rights of the minorities."¹⁸ Those that had lived in the Raj knew differently. Finally, any province or princely state could opt out of this arrangement. This clause existed primarily for the sake of the Muslim League and princely states, who were not interested in a unified India.

Upon pressing him for details regarding this Dominion Status, Cripps received clarification from Churchill "that even after the transfer of power the Viceroy would continue to be the *de facto* and *de jure* head of the Government – someone who would rule, govern, and reign at the same time, unlike the constitutional monarch of Britain."¹⁹ The reality then, is that no actual power was being offered to the Indian people now or in the future. Unsurprisingly, all Indian leaders, including the Muslim League, chose not to accept this supposedly generous proposal from the British.

¹⁶ Ghoshal, "The Cripps Plan," 321.

¹⁷ Ghoshal, "The Cripps Plan," 324.

¹⁸ Vohra, *The Making of India*, 169.

¹⁹ Shyam Ratna Gupta, "New Light on the Cripps Mission," *India Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1972): 69.

Gandhi, an old friend of Cripps, at one point told Cripps to go home, calling his offer of Dominion Status “a post-dated check on a failing bank.”²⁰ Gandhi himself abruptly left the meetings after that, telling the Congress Working Committee “to make up its own mind.”²¹ Cripps reported this negative response to a relieved Churchill who willingly accepted their refusal. Even though Cripps failed the attempt to placate India was a PR victory for Churchill, “a shining example of [British] magnanimity towards the Indians, an attempt to meet to the utmost their aspirations [of] Dominion Status.”²² The Indians, on the other hand, were portrayed as obstinate and ungrateful. Cripps, himself frustrated with the outcome, sought to extend negotiations but was shut down by Churchill.

Over the years, Gandhi has been given bad press for his role in stubbornly refusing Cripps’ proposal, as he had such a powerful influence on the Indian Congress. However, as has already been demonstrated, the proposal’s lack of genuine merit was the real deal breaker. As well, Gandhi’s influence on Congress at this point had been steadily waning, with Nehru being the more dominant voice in Congress. Commenting on Cripps’ clarification, Nehru said it best:

Later [Cripps] explained what those magic words, ‘Dominion status’, so frequently thrown at us, really meant.... India was the [British] empire; it was her possession and exploitation that gave glory and strength to England and made her a great power. Mr. Churchill could not conceive of England except as the head and possessor of a vast empire, and so he could not conceive of India being free.²³

It is revealing that Nehru laid the failure of the mission at Churchill’s feet, not Cripps’. However, it could be said that this was simply more proof of an obstinate Indian Congress seeking to blame Britain for its own cowardice in refusing Cripps’ proposal. However, there is more to the story.

Though Cripps knew Churchill’s view on India, he believed he had been sent in good faith by the PM. However, though Cripps’ was told to negotiate a settlement, he was given very strict guidelines by the PM for doing so. Cripps was upfront about this with the Indian leaders, telling them that “the scheme would not be amenable to a major change and must be accepted or rejected as a whole.... Such a rigid attitude announced at the beginning [served] as a damper on free negotiations....”²⁴ This tied Cripps’ hands as well as the Indian leaders present at the meetings. Linlithgow and Secretary of State Amery, both staunch Imperialists, made sure Cripps worked within this framework. Cripps did, however, find a surprising ally, Louis Johnson, who had been

²⁰ Vohra, *The Making of India*, 169.

²¹ Gupta, “New Light,” 70.

²² Gupta, “New Light,” 73.

²³ Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 485.

²⁴ Ghoshal, “The Cripps Plan,” 325.

sent by Roosevelt to India coincidentally at the same time. Johnson's mission was intended to help shore up India's defenses and bring them more in line with the war effort. Though there was no official U.S. interest in interfering with the internal politics of India and Britain, Johnson quickly found himself in the thick of it.

Arriving the day after the Congress Working Committee officially rejected Cripps' proposal, Johnson attempted to negotiate, along with Cripps, a new settlement. Inspired by this show of support, Cripps cabled Churchill that the British could accept the refusal "but to do so 'would be a fatal policy' that would ensure failure and leave the government open to criticism for being rigid and stubborn."²⁵ Instead, Cripps suggested a more radical proposal to Churchill. However, he now understood that neither Churchill or Linlithgow actually wanted India to break free from Imperial rule so he asked Johnson to contact Roosevelt. Johnson cabled Roosevelt, requesting that he directly intervene with Churchill to continue negotiations, but the President declined to do so at that time. It was at this point that Johnson himself met with Nehru, urging him to reconsider the initial proposal: "He told the Indian leader that the United States would 'support Great Britain to the end of the war, to the utmost to preserve the integrity of the British Empire.' If Congress wanted to retain America's sympathy, he added forcefully, it would have to support the war wholeheartedly."²⁶ Very quickly, however, Johnson realized how little had actually been offered to the Indian people and he helped Cripps to finetune his radical proposal, clarifying that Dominion Status with actual power also included a very limited role for the viceroy. This incensed Linlithgow who accused both Johnson and Cripps of "being dupes of the Congress."²⁷ It was then Johnson realized that Congress and Cripps were not the problem, but rather it was the viceroy who was the chief problem. He assessed that Linlithgow was "bent on blocking a settlement of historic proportions."²⁸ Johnson's support emboldened Cripps to send another cable to Churchill, this one far more defiant: "Largely owing to very efficient and wholehearted help of Col. Johnson... I have hopes scheme may now succeed.... I should like you to thank the President for Col. Johnson's help on behalf of H.M.G. and also personally on my behalf."²⁹ This telegram was a miscalculation on Cripps' part. Churchill sent back a rebuke and "ordered him not to commit the government in any way pending consultation with the... commander-in-chief... and the viceroy."³⁰ What Cripps had not known was that Linlithgow, a personal friend of Churchill, had been communicating privately with Churchill outside the normal communication channels, keeping Churchill abreast of the mission. He even referred to the PM simply as Winston

²⁵ Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt," 267.

²⁶ Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt," 268.

²⁷ Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt," 269.

²⁸ Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt," 269.

²⁹ Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt," 269-270.

³⁰ Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt," 270.

in his correspondence, rather than as the PM or Churchill. This was highly unconventional and inappropriate. As well, in a letter updating Secretary of State Amery on the negotiations, Linlithgow told him that,

Winston, finding discussions were likely to result in settlement telegraphed [me] direct that H.M.G. would not ratify unless the Chief and I telegraphed direct that we agreed, and that as we refused to do so, negotiations broke down; and that Cripps, who might have made a sensation by publishing the facts in Parliament, failed to do so and can [now be discredited] as a hypocrite....³¹

This telegraph exposes the fact that Churchill and Linlithgow were never going to allow Cripps' mission to succeed.

Further, Churchill took advantage of the political situation and chastised Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's personal aide who was in London at the time, regarding Johnson's outrageous behaviour in meddling with the British colony. Churchill asserted that Nehru was about to agree to the original proposal, which was untrue, until Johnson and Cripps, without authority, offered Nehru even more. "Churchill deliberately misled [Hopkins] in an effort to make Johnson's action appear foolish... as well as unauthorized."³² A horrified Hopkins apologized and without conferring with Roosevelt, assured the PM that Johnson "was not acting as the representative of the President in mediating the Indian business."³³ This gave Churchill all the ammunition he needed to shut down any further negotiations while still saving face with the War Cabinet, Parliament, and the President. Churchill laid the blame for the failure of the mission on both Cripps and Johnson, who had exceeded their mandate to such an extent that negotiations had fallen irreparably apart. Churchill was victorious, and India remained a colony of the Empire. However, the story still did not end here. Johnson was not prepared to be thrown under the bus by either Hopkins or Churchill. He cabled Roosevelt and explained the situation. After clarifying matters, Roosevelt cabled Churchill regarding India and the new Cripps-Johnson proposal. Roosevelt, "insisted that the deadlock was due to the failure of the British government, [i.e. Churchill], 'to concede to the Indians the right of self-government.' Drawing directly from Johnson's reports the President noted acidly, 'I read that an agreement seemed very near'... and he urged Churchill to keep Cripps in India to continue the negotiations."³⁴

Backed into a corner, Churchill responded angrily, refusing to be told what to do. He threatened to resign as PM unless Roosevelt backed off on this matter. Roosevelt let the matter drop.

³¹ Gupta, "New Light," 72.

³² Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt," 273.

³³ Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt," 273.

³⁴ Clymer, "Franklin D. Roosevelt," 280.

The Cripps Mission is really a story of intrigue and the commitment of a man who would go to great lengths to rationalize and justify why India had no right to exist outside the British Empire. Its sadly ironic that one of the leaders of the free world fighting against tyrannical oppression could not see his own tyrannical bent. Whether setting up Cripps to fail with an over-restrictive mandate, collaborating with Linlithgow to ensure the proposal's failure, lying to Hopkins about Johnson's involvement, or threatening to resign when Roosevelt called him out, Churchill did not behave as an advocate for freedom. He was a man obsessed with Empire. His actions demonstrated that he truly believed "without India, England would cease to be a nation."³⁵

³⁵ Herman, *Gandhi & Churchill*, 50.

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Postwar Identity of the Japanese Canadian

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HIST/ASIA 3150: East Asian Immigrants to North America

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On December 7, 1941, Imperial Japan conducted a series of surprise attacks on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, crippling much of the American naval fleet, a country that was a neutral party during that time. Thousands were dead, many ships were lost, and a nation collectively shocked. A day later, President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered his Infamy Speech, declaring December 7 “a date which will live in infamy,”¹; thus, the United States declared war on Japan and officially entered the Second World War. Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King issued a proclamation which stated “a state of war with Japan exists and has existed as and from the seventh day of December, 1941”², although this proclamation was not officially issued until parliament resumed on 21st of January 1942.³ The Canadian government, via secret parliament session, declared a 100-mile⁴ exclusion zone around the West Coast as part of the War Measures Act.⁵ All people of Japanese descent, including those with Canadian citizenship, were to be moved away from coastal regions of British Columbia and into internment camps in the Interior or beyond. The uprooting, confiscation, and subsequent unauthorized resale of property, and injustices that had occurred during that time impacted the identity of the Japanese Canadian community and it reverberated through the post-war period. The paper will follow a chronological order with the introduction of Japanese immigrants to Canada, followed by their establishment of an ethnic identity, to the internment, to the post-war period and a generational identity rift that formed.

Edo Japan was a closed country; the Tokugawa Shogunate declared no one could enter or leave the country with the exception of foreign traders. However, in 1833, three Japanese were recorded

¹ Library of Congress, Speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt, New York (Transcript)

https://www.loc.gov/resource/afc1986022.afc1986022_ms2201/?st=text, accessed 31 October 2019.

² Canada Declares War on Japan; <http://ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1941/411208b.html>, accessed 31 October 2019.

³ Michel Rossignol, Parliament, The National Defence Act, and the Decision to Participate; <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/bp303-e.htm#3.%20Japan>, accessed 31 October 2019.

⁴ 160 kilometres.

⁵ Defence of Canada Regulations, Protected Areas – Japanese Nationals in British Columbia – Measures for Security; Lipad, February 25 1942, <https://www.lipad.ca/full/1942/02/25/1/>, accessed 31 October 2019.

to have been imprisoned by First Nations peoples on Haida Gwaii after their sampan were caught in a storm and, subsequently, the Kuroshio, or Black Current, took them to the islands. A Hudson's Bay Company ship rescued them and returned them "to the Orient."⁶ Since the Edo government forbade any Japanese from going abroad, their fates were unknown.

By the time the first Japanese immigrants to Canada came in the late 19th century, the Tokugawa era was gone, and the Meiji Restoration launched. Scores of boats from Japan came to the shores of British Columbia in the 1870s, their passengers mostly young men and teenagers. In 1873, the Imperial Japanese military introduced conscription for males at the age of 20 for a service of two years. Many escaped by boat to Hawaii, the mainland United States, and Canada to avoid being called up and sent to endure harsh realities. However, not all young men were draft dodgers but many were merely "sons of struggling farmers, fishermen and labourers whose prospects in their homeland were dim."⁷

The first officially recorded Japanese immigrant to Canada was a 22-year-old named Manzo Nagano, a native of Kuchinotsu village in Nagasaki Prefecture, who arrived in British Columbia in 1877.⁸ Dubbed "*ichi-ban*"⁹, he was an experienced carpenter and arrived on a British steamship that he had impulsively hopped aboard without knowing its destination. Aside from being a carpenter's apprentice, he had very little schooling, but he made up for a lack of education with the ability to be resourceful and quick to adapt. Thus, he took the job of a fisherman alongside an Italian fisherman shortly after landing. He would later set up a business, J.M. Nagano & Company, in Victoria where he would spend most of his productive life.¹⁰ Many Japanese saw his fortunes and followed his footsteps, landing in the country, often with family, to start a new life in a new world.

By the 20th century, a Japanese community was starting to form in Canada, notably in the Powell Street area of Vancouver. However, its residents were met with generally racist sentiments, mostly from the white community, with tensions boiling over in the 1907 Vancouver Race Riots that saw Japanese and Chinese businesses vandalized by members of the Asiatic Exclusion League. Nevertheless, persevering through the hate, the Japanese started to find their own voice

⁶ Toyo Takata, *Nikkei Legacy: The Story of Japanese Canadians from Settlement to Today* (Toronto, 1983), 12.

⁷ Takata, *Nikkei Legacy*, 12-13.

⁸ Tim Hornyak, *A Pioneer's Roots – Nagano Manzo's Journey from Japan to Canada*, <https://thecanadian.cccj.or.jp/nagano-manzos-first-japanese-immigrant-canada/>, accessed 31 October 2019.

⁹ Japanese term for "number one."

¹⁰ Takata, *Nikkei Legacy*, 74-75.



Figure 2. The Asahi baseball team walking in procession in Vancouver. Sepia photograph dated 1919. (Nikkei National Museum (NNM) 2010.30.1.7.1)

and identity through sport. In 1914, at Powell Grounds, today known as Oppenheimer Park, the famous Asahi baseball team was formed, comprised of Japanese Canadians. In an interview with Tad & Aki Wakabayashi in January 29 1991, they said that the members of the Asahi baseball team “were the representatives of the Japanese community in Vancouver.”¹¹ Indeed they were, as the Asahi baseball team was the voice of a Japanese Canadian community that thrived amid a growing sentiment of discrimination against these people by the Caucasians or as the Japanese referred to them, *hakujin*, literally meaning “white person.” The Asahi baseball team played in local, national, and international leagues and won many championships and the hearts of both Japanese and some *hakujin*.

On December 7, 1941, Japan conducted a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii and attacked British garrisons in Hong Kong and Malaya. This conflict brought the then-neutral United States into the Second World War. As a result, the Japanese Canadian community was put in a world of uneasiness amid the bombings at Pearl Harbor. With both Canada and the US declaring war on Japan, their future seemed bleak. In 1942, Canada enacted the War Measures Act and created a 160 km Japanese exclusion zone around the West Coast, meaning no person of Japanese descent could reside in those areas. Wakabayashi noted that the Asahi baseball team was shattered during

¹¹ Tad & Aki Wakabayashi Interview, 29 January 1991 (Powell Street Festival Fonds, Nikkei National Museum, 2011.46.12).

this time. He said that “when Japan declared war, you know, the community was just...they didn’t want to play ball or anything.”¹² Indeed it was as 18 September 1941 was the last game the Asahi played as a team in the same uniforms.¹³ The baseball team that had captured trophies and the hearts of both Japanese and Caucasians now ceased to exist. A piece of the Japanese Canadian identity was lost thanks to the war.

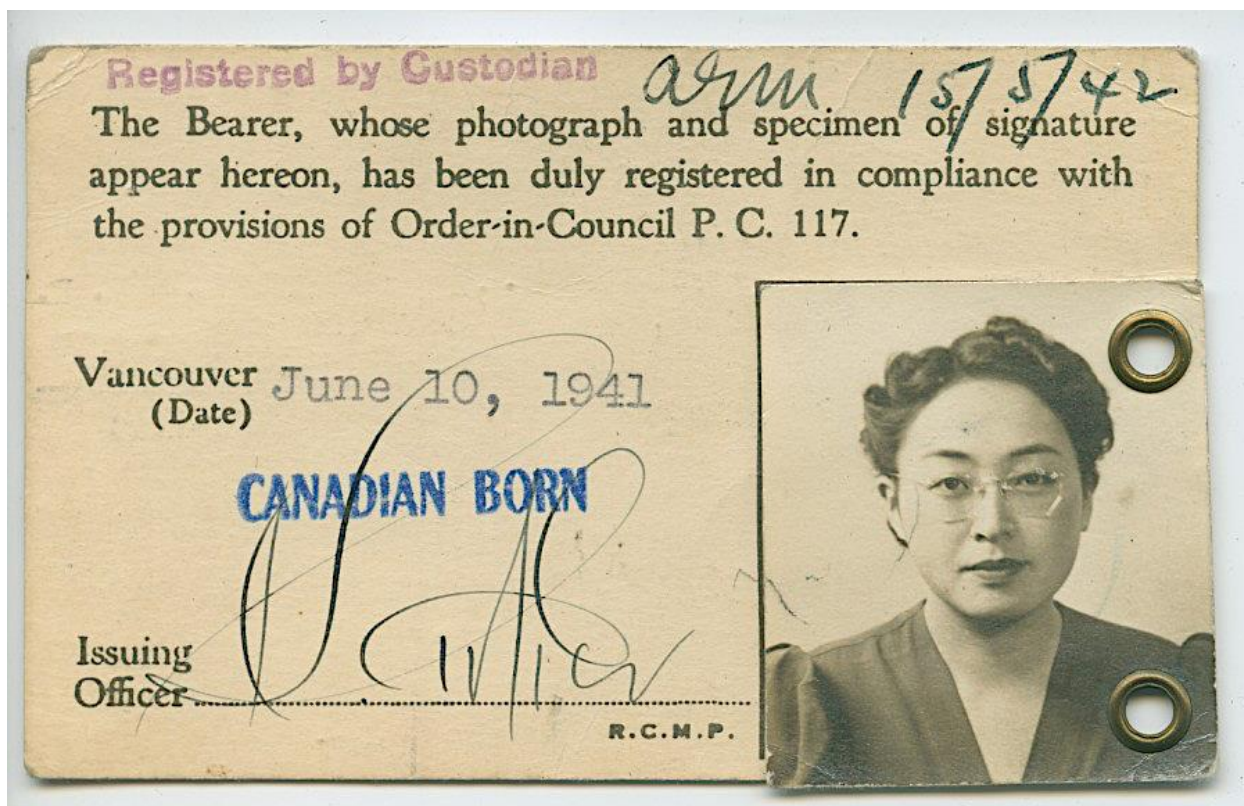


Figure 3. Muriel Kitagawa's registration card. Note the "Canadian Born" stamp. (NNM 2010.30.4.1.1.a-b)

The Canadian government ordered some 22,000 people of Japanese ancestry, even with Canadian citizenship, to be relocated into camps located in the BC Interior and beyond. Under the Custodian of Enemy Property, any property that these Japanese owned would be sold at fire sale prices to pay for the internment. The Japanese were sent to Hastings Park to await their fate. Hastings Park is a ground for the Pacific National Exhibition, a yearly summer tradition for thousands to go to be entertained via family-friendly amusement rides, music, and animal shows. However, the joyous and happy experience of the park would be replaced by a dark, sombre, and unpleasant experience for thousands of Japanese. The living conditions were gruesome. Roy Ito described the conditions of the park by using a series of stories and accounts by people who had

¹² Tad and Aki Wakabayashi Interview, 29 January 1991.

¹³ Norio Goto, *Story of the Vancouver Asahi – A Legend in Baseball*, trans. Masaki Watanabe (Vancouver, 2016), 180.

been in the park. Muriel Kitagawa, a *nisei*, mentioned in a letter to a family member how the “whole place was impregnated by with the smell of ancient manure and maggots” left over from the horses that used to live in the livestock building, which was transformed into a women and children’s dormitory. The letter also described how the bunks were shoddily made and recalled many people living in suffering and pain in dire conditions.¹⁴ Many Japanese asked themselves why they were treated this way – corralled into these buildings like the animals that had inhabited them.

As for the camp experience itself, the Japanese themselves actually found most of it enjoyable. The camps were a way to escape racial prejudice and the war. For the *issei*, they felt like they had received their first real “vacation” after being worked for most of their lives. They enjoyed recreational activities such as *go* or *shoga*, which were Japanese equivalents to checkers and chess, respectively. As for the *nisei*, the camps brought them release from Japanese language courses that their parents forced them in, finding it boring and tedious to learn the language of their ancestors. Instead, they hung out with one another, sociability and athleticism with no bounds.¹⁵ It was through these camps that *nisei*, especially the younger ones, slowly started to abandon their heritage in favour of a Canadian one. Adachi stated that while many people talked about *nisei* becoming “Japanese” that simply wasn’t the case as evidence suggested that very little had done to ensure a revival of Japanese culture.¹⁶

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the parents of the *sansei* – *nisei* – wanted to move forward from the traumas of being treated as the enemy during their time at internment camps. Ken Adachi argued that the Japanese would have been assumed to be a “problem group” like some other minorities that had unstable relationships, poor health and education, and a tendency to commit crimes due to psychological traumas that occurred during their time being interned. Instead, the *nisei* defied this assumption. Traditional values taught to them by the *issei* such as *enryo*¹⁷, *gaman*¹⁸, and something known as “*shikata-ga-nai*”¹⁹ syndrome. These values along with “innate respect for authority” helped this generational Japanese overcome their past and become a model citizen that reflected the values of middle-class Canadians during that time.²⁰ The value of *enryo* is mostly associated with the *nisei* group and in a conference about aging Japanese seniors, Victor Ujimoto argued that the reason the redress movement took so long was because

¹⁴ Muriel Kitagawa, “This is My Own” (1985), quoted in Roy Ito, *Stories of My People: A Japanese Canadian Journal*, (Hamilton, 1994), 291-292.

¹⁵ Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was – A History of the Japanese Canadians*, (Toronto, 1976), 271-272.

¹⁶ Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, 274.

¹⁷ Japanese term for reserve or restraint

¹⁸ Japanese for patience or perseverance

¹⁹ Japanese for “it can’t be helped.”

²⁰ Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, 355-365.

of this value, that *nisei* and *issei* were taught to respect authority, and to “accept and never question what our seniors are saying.” However, he also reiterated that while *enyro* had negative side effects, the positivity of this aspect was that if authority had the “correct vision”, everyone can work together to create a harmonious community.²¹ For “*shikata-ga-nai*,” Sumi Kinoshita’s account of her internment recalled her brother referring to the phrase:

My brother Ken remembers hearing, “*shikataganai*” (it can’t be helped) repeated over and over again from the people at Hastings Park and later in New Denver. It was the sad and hopeless refrain of our people which described the hopelessness and resignation the Japanese Canadians felt during this period in our lives. They believed that fate is beyond one’s control.²²

Kinoshita argued that the *shikata-ga-nai* phrase helped the Japanese to “give them the impetus to go on,” to persevere, or *ganbaru*, in order to prove to the Canadian government that they are loyal to Canada and the allied war effort.²³ However, this effort did not went noticed. During the internment, 62 *nisei* enlisted in the Canadian armed forces at the behest of the British government to work as translators and interpreters. They were the only Japanese permitted inside the coastal zone as they underwent training. These 62 men volunteered to serve and demonstrated their loyalty to king and country but did not receive any military benefits to them or the veterans that served in the First World War. Compared to the American experience in which *nisei* men who enlisted in the armed forces proved their loyalty to America in a well-publicized manner, the Canadian experience for these 62 *nisei* was a shadow of its counterparts south of the border, with almost no one batting an eye or even cared that these Japanese men played their role in helping the Allied effort. An RCMP member, F.J. Mead, thought that enlisting Japanese into the armed forces would improve their image to Caucasians and boost Japanese Canadian morale but those did not happen.²⁴

The *sansei* themselves have tend to have a bigger voice than their predecessors in terms of cultural preservation and identity. Haruko Okano published a book, *Come Spring: Journey of a Sansei*, that showcased her artworks and poems. One of those poems were named “Sansei” and it is an interpretation of how her Japanese heritage and identity are in conflict while living in a “white” Canadian world. Take this stanza for example:

I expect any moment to waken

²¹ Fumiko Greenaway, Yumiko Hoyano, and K. Victor Ujimoto, “To Enyro or Not to Enyro,” in *The Best Years: The First Japanese Canadian Conference in Aging*, (Winnipeg, 1990), 77.

²² Sumi Kinoshita, *Shikataganai: It Can’t Be Helped*, (frisenpress Victoria, 2014), 35.

²³ Kinoshita, *Shikataganai*, 35.

²⁴ Patricia E. Roy, *Lessons in Citizenship, 1945-1949*,” in Louis Fiset and Gail M. Nomura, eds., *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle 2005), 257.

With blue eyes and blonde hair
So great is the pull of immersion.

Yet, the flash of my black hair hissing
As I jerk upright
Brings reality into my almond eyes.²⁵

This stanza is Okano imagining herself waking up as a Caucasian person, assimilated to Canadian culture yet when she wakes up, she is just back to her Japanese self, unknown and confused about her identity. Are they Japanese? Canadian? Canadian with Japanese-ness? These are the kinds of questions Okano questions herself as her work progresses. Tomoko Makabe in *The Canadian Sansei* illustrated and discussed the third generation Japanese and their apparent identity development during the post-war period to present. She argued that the “*Sansei* were brought up to be 100% Canadian and they themselves see their upbringing as totally Canadian.”²⁶ Their upbringing was by the *nisei*, the group who survived internment camps and many of them rejected any and all things Japanese due to being “brainwashed by wartime hysteria.”²⁷ However, some broke through their parents’ thinking. Adachi argued the *sansei* were struggling for an identity that differed from their parents’ who had accepted the past and had strong work ethics that made them model Canadians. He noted that in a University of Toronto publication, *Tora*, the *sansei* voiced their frustration: “Only now we do realize that our parents neglected to instill us in a sense of our cultural heritage and ethnic history. This is the very crux of the young Japanese Canadians’ identity crisis...why didn’t they tell us what it was like to be a dirty Jap in Canada during the Second World War?”²⁸ The *sansei* thought that the *nisei* were disgraceful for abandoning their cultural heritage in order to become accepted as Canadians. Very few *sansei* however, such as David Suzuki, have grown up in internment camps and they experienced little to no cultural division, aside from culinary efforts, and some had a drive to recover and retain what it meant to be Japanese.²⁹

Back in Vancouver, the 1970s was a time of “cultural renaissance” when the Japanese wanted to revisit their culture and start making an effort to do it with the help of the *issei*.³⁰ They decided to make a festival with the location on Powell Street, the street that was historically significant to the Japanese, and at Oppenheimer Park, the park that identifies most with the Japanese as it once was the home ground of the Asahi baseball team. Thus, the Powell Street Festival was born in

²⁵ Haruko Okano, *Come Spring: Journey of a Sansei* (North Vancouver, 1992) 41-42.

²⁶ Tomoko Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei*, (Toronto, 1998), 88.

²⁷ Takata, *Nikkei Legacy*, 165.

²⁸ Tora, “May 1972,” quoted in Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was*, 362.

²⁹ Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was*, 363.

³⁰ Birmingham & Wood Architects and Planners, “Historical and Cultural Review: Powell Street (Japantown)”, <https://vancouver.ca/files/cov/powell-street-japantown-historical-cultural-review.pdf>, accessed 7 November 2019.

1977, to mark the centennial of Manzo Nagano's landing in New Westminster as the first Japanese Canadian immigrant. The festival is a celebration of Japanese culture and for the Japanese Canadian community, it is a way to "positively express their ethnicity before the Uprooting."³¹ Masumi Izumi interviewed Ken Shimizu, a *sansei* community activist, on why the Powell Street Festival was so important to the community:

I think most of us from Tonari Gumi³² felt that Powell Street was very important to the *issei*, because it was almost like we were reclaiming the park that was theirs, reclaiming the area that was theirs before the wartime. This was very significant, that they could walk on Powell Street, see all the banners and all the stuff and say "Hey, this is our park, this is our street."³³

The Powell Street Festival became a voice for the cultural renaissance and as a way for Japanese Canadians to celebrate, learn, and enjoy their cultural heritage and to share it with others. In a December 20 1990 *Nikkei Voice*³⁴ interview with David Murata, the 1987 Powell Street Festival coordinator, he recalled the festival being a memorable experience that helped mentor with the struggles of identity:

Powell Street was not only (a) good experience and (a) learning experience, but it became a mentor (a) historical mentor for me and...symbolizing the JC [Japanese Canadian] community and *sansei* struggle, but it was not *nisei*...I think JC...Powell Street Festival was *sansei* struggle: the crystallizing of that. And I think younger Japanese people from Japan is...I think there's something that pulls them together because they are also looking for meaning as well. And JC *sanseis'* struggle...crystallization of that struggle in a Powell Street Festival, the process of that drawing such a powerful experience that draws people in.³⁵

When asked what that struggle was, Murata clarified that he is not a Canadian-born Japanese but he argued that the *sansei* are struggling against the history of their predecessors, "the silence of the *nisei*," and uncertainty about the future, especially for future generations. He also mentioned the generational gap between *nisei* and *sansei*, stating that there is a loss of language and culture, and "half-severed Japanese roots from Japan" from *sansei* having a high intermarriage rate. However, he reiterated that he wanted to credit the *sansei* for reinvigorating the Japanese

³¹ Masumi Izumi, "Constructing Ethnicity," in J.F. Kess, ed., *Changing Japanese Identities in Multicultural Canada* (Victoria, 2003), 86.

³² A non-profit charity organization of volunteers serving the Japanese Canadian community in the Lower Mainland.

³³ Izumi, "Constructing Ethnicity," 86.

³⁴ Japanese Canadian national newspaper founded in 1987.

³⁵ The *Nikkei Voice*, An Interview with David Murata, 20 December 1990 (Powell Street Festival Fonds, Nikkei National Museum).

Canadian history and culture.³⁶ The Powell Street Festival had surely helped the *sansei* discover their lost past and culture.



Figure 4. Two judokas (judo practitioners) with orange belts competing in the Powell Street Festival. Unknown date, possibly 1980s-90s. (NNM 2015.2.10.9.6.a-b)

The emergence of a new identity in the post-war period was a process of a multigenerational identity gap between the three Japanese Canadian generations. While the *issei* were more conservative in cultural traditions and a harder crowd to assimilate, the internment of the Japanese that followed the declaration of war on Japan in the Second World War shattered the *nisei*'s perspective of cultural identity and they actively pursued efforts to assimilate into the larger Canadian society to become accepted. Their offspring, the *sansei*, was struggling with an identity crisis left by their parents which eventually led to the creation of cultural preservation movement of all things Japanese, such as the Tonari Gumi foundation that started the Powell Street Festival.

In 2011, the Asahi's legacy was cemented via a plaque at Oppenheimer Park that commemorated the team for "making an outstanding and lasting contribution to Canadian history."³⁷ The grounds that the team once played ball in is now home to the yearly tradition of the Powell Street

³⁶ Interview with David Murata, 20 December 1990.

³⁷ Roy Hotchkiss, *Diamond Gods of the Morning Sun: The Vancouver Asahi Baseball Story*, (Victoria, 2013), 279.

Festival that takes place each August. It is a celebration of the Japanese created by a generation that desired to share and preserve their history, culture, and heritage for all to enjoy.

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I would also like to give my thanks and appreciation to the rest of the people at the museum and cultural centre for their deeds in preserving history and culture of a people once alienated and betrayed by their own government simply because they had heritage to an enemy state. Their mission in preservation and sharing of Japanese Canadian history, culture, and heritage has allowed all people to learn, enjoy, and embrace to build a better world for now and generations to come.

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Who is the Hunter? An Analysis of Elephant Descriptions from British India

John Niescier

HIST 3360: British India 1857 – 1947

Dr Robert Menzies

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When it comes to discussions of British India, one topic that cannot be avoided is that of the British themselves. During the period of both the British East Indian Company (BEIC) and British Raj, British education, technologies, militaries, and ideas all flowed into the subcontinent, forever changing it. It is worth examining just what sort of ideas the British had regarding India, and what influenced them. While it is tempting to believe that British beliefs were largely affected by interactions with the local environment in the subcontinent, this also paints a simple picture that rids the British of their biases. This paper will argue the opposite approach, that when the British came to and dominated the Indian subcontinent, many of their ideas and beliefs were largely influenced by their own situation, and less by the land in which they found themselves. To demonstrate, this paper will explore the elephant in British India and British attitudes towards it. It will be argued that British perspectives towards elephants changed largely due to their own situation changing, and not due to the condition of the elephants themselves. It will thus conclude that analyzing British attitudes towards elephants is an effective way to understand the British perspective on India.

Before contact with India, few elephants had been to the British Isles, with there being only two notable instances up to this point (a Roman invasion in 43 CE and a gift from the French King in 1224).¹ For the initial colonizers, this was their first time seeing an elephant. However, while the British had not seen elephants, connections with the European continent, more familiar with the animal, meant there was an awareness of the creature.² This theoretical creature with little practical experience created a romanticized and revered idea of the elephant in the British Isles. They were viewed as powerful creatures, whose existence was proof of the greatness of the Christian God and its power.³ From this came a belief that in the Christian hierarchy elephants were greater than other animals, almost human like in their divine nature.⁴ This was in line with

¹ M.G. Aune, "Elephants, Englishmen and India: Early Modern Travel Writing and the Pre-Colonial Moment," *Early Modern Literary Studies: A Journal of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century English Literature* 11, no. 1 (2005): 4-5.

² Aune, "Elephants," 5.

³ Aune, "Elephants," 5.

⁴ Aune, "Elephants," 7.

the general feeling the British held towards India, as an exotic and rich place that was a golden land of opportunity for the British. Reaching such a place could net them an unimaginable profit.⁵

This perspective was seen all over early British accounts of elephants. They were depicted as powerful and yet righteous creatures to be respected.⁶ They were even depicted as having self-control, empathy, the ability to rationalize, and even their own humanity, traits typically denoted with noble humans in British culture at the time.⁷ All of this showcased how the British were quick to describe elephants as conforming to their pre conceived notions of what they and the Indian subcontinent would be like.

However, early perceptions of India were broken as the British interacted more with the subcontinent. Initial attempts to get trade deals with the Mughal and nawab lords proved difficult, as they already possessed extensive trade networks and had little need for the goods the British were offering.⁸ The dream of infinite riches was a false idea. Faced with this obstacle, the British perspective towards India changed, which can also be seen in their descriptions of elephants. They were still depicted as beautiful creatures, rich with opportunity, but now they were also corrupt. The Indians were blamed for this corruption of the rich land and animals of the subcontinent, with portrayals of Emperor Jahangir as a clear example of this.⁹ Depictions of him emphasized his vast collection of wealth and elephants, but also his corruption and decadence, abusing his power for his selfish needs.¹⁰ It was the beginning of Orientalist thinking that implied that only the noble Europeans could rule the vast wealth of India since its leaders were so inferior. It is interesting that rather than see the elephants as the problem, it was the Indian humans. It shows that despite the revered qualities British colonists initially gave elephants, they continued to view them as below themselves, with the ideal elephant being one that was submissive to them. Indeed, the fact that Indian lords had been able to tame and ride elephants was likely a part of why the British took to them: they fell into the pre-conceived Christian influenced ideas that animals should naturally be submissive to humans.¹¹

As British interactions with both elephants and humans of South Asia continued to worsen, it eventually led to conflict, with the British using their weapons as diplomacy. As many within the BEIC realized the great economic damage elephants could cause, they began to see them no

⁵ Aune, "Elephants," 2-3.

⁶ Aune, "Elephants," 7.

⁷ Aune, "Elephants," 6-7.

⁸ Aune, "Elephants," 3.

⁹ Aune, "Elephants," 3-4.

¹⁰ Aune, "Elephants," 3-4.

¹¹ Aune, "Elephants," 7.

longer as divine creatures but as ruthless beasts, beasts which needed to be destroyed.¹² British frustrations with elephants led to an encouraging of hunting and killing them. This led to a massive decrease in elephant populations as the British massacred them.¹³ It left scars on elephants that suddenly lost much of their community. It forced them to begin to fear and flee from humans. They stayed deeper in forests, and only came out at night.¹⁴

As the British consolidated their control over India after the mutiny of 1857, they took on more of an administrative role rather than that of a conqueror. In this context, it was necessary to portray themselves not as conquerors but legitimate leaders of India, that were superior and so had to use their ideas and technology to help, i.e. the white man's burden. It is no surprise then, that around this time is when discussion began on the idea of conserving and protecting elephants. 1873 saw the passing of the Elephant Preservations Act, which showed a new perspective of elephants developing within the British.¹⁵ Now, rather than being terrifying beasts, elephants were viewed as helpless creatures that could not take care of themselves. They would face extinction if not for the protection of the British.¹⁶ It was only natural then for the British Indian government to begin taking ownership over large swaths of land for the sake of protecting elephants.

However, the British saw that taking land was not the only benefit to conserving elephants.¹⁷ It also dawned on them that elephants had economic value that could help the British economy. For the timber industry especially, elephants would be a significant asset in working within heavily forested parts of India. The huge size of elephants allowed them to traverse forests easily where humans struggled, and the size also allowed them to knock down and carry trees more effectively.¹⁸ This further incentivized the British to conserve and take care of them, and again influenced their perceptions. Elephants were now seen as powerful beasts that could be used for great things should the British be able to tame them.¹⁹ There were more portrayals of them as fascinating creatures, and additional anthropomorphizing of them. Elephants' trunks were

¹² Vijaya Ramadas Mandala, "The Raj and the Paradoxes of Wildlife Conservation: British Attitudes and Expediencies," *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 1 (2015): 101-102.

¹³ Jamie Lorimer, and Sarah Whatmore, "After the 'King of Beasts': Samuel Baker and the Embodied Historical Geographies of Elephant Hunting in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ceylon," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35, no. 4 (2009): 678.

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¹⁵ Varun Sharma, and Neera Agnimitra, "Making and Unmaking the Endangered in India (1880–Present): Understanding Animal-Criminal Processes," *Conservation and Society* 13, no. 1 (2015): 106.

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¹⁷ Maan Barua, "Bio-Geo-Graphy: Landscape, Dwelling, and the Political Ecology of Human-Elephant Relations," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 32, no. 5 (2014): 928.

¹⁸ Mandala, "The Raj," 103-104.

¹⁹ Sujit Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge: The East India Company's Elephants in India and Britain," *The Historical Journal* 48, no. 1 (2005): 43.

compared to that of human hands, and they were said to be almost as smart as humans.²⁰ When the British saw the value in elephants, their perspective changed to become more positive, only less as divine and more as human like.

This, however, came into conflict when the British began learning how to manage and train elephants. The British for their part had little experience in dealing with these animals, so they had to rely on local practices and networks.²¹ For their part, these were effective, as Indian capabilities were efficient at raising and training elephants. However, British ideas of superiority, ideas that they were so different and above the Indian peoples, came into conflict with this, as the British were now learning from and mimicking Indians.²² They had to try and portray themselves as better than the Indians, lest they might look like illegitimate rulers. For an example of this process, during the late 1800s Great Britain attempted to utilize elephants for economic gain outside of India by transporting them to Africa. However, without the local Indian handlers that knew how to train and use them, these elephants were ineffective. The British were clueless when it came to training them, and the elephants transferred over would pass away.²³ When the British realized they would only be effective by also bringing their Indian handlers over, they became very skeptical about the whole ordeal, finding any way they could to delegitimize the Indian trainer, despite their efficient ways of taming the elephant.²⁴

This was also the case when the British began bringing elephants back to London to show in tours, zoos, circuses, etc. for economic gain. The British struggled to handle these elephants when they did not rely on the methods taught to them by Indians, and eventually the British found they had to rely on them if they wanted to successfully train the elephants.²⁵ However, they could not stand to do such a thing, so instead they went above and beyond to differentiate their methods from that of the Indians. When British hunters captured elephants, they were portrayed as doing so righteously, in a way that did not hurt the elephant.²⁶ This was contrasted with what local Indians did, which was said to be barbaric and caused much unnecessary suffering.²⁷ The British also said that they handled the elephants better, thus were natural owners of them and deserved to use them more than the Indians. This all stood in sharp contrast to the truth, in which British methods of capturing and taming elephants were borrowed from Indian methods and were no more

²⁰ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 44.

²¹ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 36.

²² Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 40-41.

²³ Pushkar Sohoni, "Translocated Colonial Subjects in Collaboration: Animals and Human Knowledge," *Transfers* 8, no. 1 (2018): 5-6.

²⁴ Sohoni, "Translocated Colonial Subjects," 7.

²⁵ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 36.

²⁶ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 41-42.

²⁷ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 40-41.

effective nor merciful towards the elephants then that of the Indians.²⁸ However, this shows the tension that occupied British thought during this time. Now that they were ruling, protecting, and interacting with South Asia, they ran into the uncomfortable fact that the local methods and practices might be just as effective as their own. Faced with this, British insecurities greatly encouraged a desire to see themselves as superior to the locals of India, exaggerating any differences between them.

An interesting effect of this, however, is that this fear of the local that spurred this differentiation discussion, this fear did not manifest itself when it came to elephants. The British went above and beyond to use Indian peoples as little as possible when taking and using elephants abroad, and sought to distance themselves from what they saw as barbaric peoples.²⁹ Yet elephants, despite coming from the same location as Indian peoples and following similar traditions, were given no such exclusion. This shows how the British continued to see elephants as below humans, not worthy of distinction from themselves. While the British began to conserve elephants and seek to protect them, they still viewed them as singular and below them under the Christian hierarchy that influenced British thought. Many studies however have shown that elephants can act very differently depending on geography and community, and that it is impossible to categorize them all under one description.³⁰ Yet this is exactly what the British did.

Finally, as the British continued to control South Asia, they began facing resistance from locals who saw them as illegitimate, and even British citizens in Europe. This can also be seen in the British treatment of elephants. For while the British brought many elephants from India to the British Isles, this growing presence of show animals led to the spread of ideas regarding animal rights and protection, as many saw the treatment of animals as inhumane.³¹ Under the very notion that the animals had human like qualities, which the British propagated to protect them, many questioned whether these animals should be trained by the British and put in cages.³² In one well-known case, Chuny, an Indian elephant that was shown off in the United Kingdom and gained much fame, one day flew into a rage due to harsh treatment and was killed.³³ The elephant received mass sympathy from the British public, who blamed the inhumane treatment of the animal as its reason for going berserk.³⁴ Many began to believe that the British trainers did not have the right to control these animals and take them from their habitat. The very ideals that

²⁸ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 41-42.

²⁹ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 40-41.

³⁰ Lorimer and Whatmore, "After the 'King'," 688-689.

³¹ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 56-57.

³² Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 54.

³³ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 56-57.

³⁴ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 57-58.

informed British perceptions towards elephants, that they were great and human-like, began to be used against them.

Additionally, growing enlightenment thought began to question many commonly held beliefs in British thought, which related to elephants. Many began to question the human-like qualities colonizers had given elephants, and were critical of British attitudes towards them.³⁵ They also questioned the methods the British used to capture and train elephants, both how righteous and merciful they really were, and if they even were better than the Indian methods.³⁶ Some praised keeping the elephants in cages as making them perfect specimens of study for scientific gain.³⁷ Others saw the problem with this, how it hurt elephants and made them inauthentic test subjects.³⁸ Many sought greater care for these elephants, while others began to argue they should not be hunted at all.³⁹ It all suggests that growing enlightenment thinking was beginning to doubt many long held beliefs in British thought. This was also leading to their own insecurities regarding India and the empire, as British ideas such as democracy and rationality began to come into conflict with old ideas of racism, the divine nature of things, etc. These tensions led to growing dislike amongst the Indian population with the British, and also led to the British questioning their own actions, which can be seen in British perspectives of elephants. Now they were not raging monsters to be tamed, nor divine creatures to be revered. Hunters now had to justify their actions through scientific and enlightenment terms, and many began to question their own history with elephants.⁴⁰ It all suggests that this was a period of transition for British thought, and this manifested itself in their descriptions of elephants.

To conclude, the British did not have one single view on elephants, but many. They could be divine creatures sent by God, powerful beasts to be subdued, poor innocent creatures that needed to be protected, resources to be transferred across the empire, and so on. Yet one cannot help but notice through analyzing these perspectives, that they all came from the preconceived British beliefs and biases towards animals and India in general. The actions and views of the elephants themselves had little effect on how the British portrayed them. When the British saw elephants as rare beautiful creatures, they described them as such. When the elephants refused to cooperate with their Christian beliefs on animal submissiveness, the British then viewed them as hostile, monsters that needed to be subdued. When they were known to be a valuable resource, they were portrayed as beautiful yet weak creatures that needed to be protected and cared for by a superior

³⁵ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 46-47.

³⁶ Lorimer and Whatmore, "After the 'King'," 684.

³⁷ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 53.

³⁸ Sivasundaram, "Trading Knowledge," 53-54.

³⁹ Lorimer and Whatmore, "After the 'King'," 684.

⁴⁰ Lorimer and Whatmore, "After the 'King'," 683-685.

nation, allowing the British to do so. These also lined up with beliefs the British propagated to delegitimize local Indians by portraying them as worse than the British, despite this not always being the case. Finally, when the British began to question their own methods, only then did they begin to question the elephants and start to examine what they actually were. Through all these, the British gave elephants no agency nor sought to understand them from any perspective other than their own. In true colonial fashion, as with views on India, the British views of elephants were always dictated first by the needs and desires of the British. They were the sole keeper of the narrative of the elephant and thus used it to ensure they were always in a position of power that allowed them to interact with elephants however it benefitted them at that time. It is a clear example of using language and descriptions to control the narrative and keep the British on top despite the truth suggesting otherwise, one of the core traits of colonialism in India under the British.

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What Did the ‘Day of Infamy’ Sound Like?

Grace Tyne

HIST 4499: The Stench of Cities, the Sounds of Battles
Exploring History Through Our Senses

Dr Kyle Jackson

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2400 dead Americans, 188 planes destroyed, 18 American battleships, cruisers, and destroyers in ruins in less than two hours!¹ What could this possibly have sounded like? Unfortunately, this is something that has not been given much thought. The attack on Pearl Harbor, on December 7th, 1941, will always be remembered as the “day that will live in infamy”. The Japanese plan was to “cripple” the Americans, so that they could enter the resource-rich Dutch East Indies uninterrupted.² The attack is often taught through a wide lens by analyzing its effect on the Pacific War. The attack is also often remembered in a visual-centric way. However, one major area of the attack is often forgotten: the sounds of the attack. What were the sounds of the attack, and how did these sounds shape the American experience of the attack? In this paper, I will prove that *sound* played a substantial role in shaping American perceptions, and that some of the sounds made the difference between life and death. The sounds of the attack are important and should be given more attention.

The majority of the literature on Pearl Harbor has focused on what happened; if a sensory perspective is provided, it is predominantly based on sight. Historian Emily S. Rosenberg’s work is a good example of how sight is the dominant sense discussed in regard to the attack. Rosenberg only uses images as an example of propaganda: she discussed the role of movies to explain the attack (a visual tool), and explained that the veterans *saw* the Japanese pilots smiling in their planes.³ The same theme is apparent in various interview transcripts. Survivors are often asked questions such as, “What did the plane look like? Do you remember what color it was, what markings it had?”⁴ “Could you see the planes?”⁵ “What kind of things could you see?”⁶

¹ Emily Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory* (Durham & London, 2003), 11.

² Alvin Coox, “The Pearl Harbor Raid Revisited,” in W. Hixson, eds., *The American Experience in World War II: Pearl Harbor in History and Memory* (New York, 2003), 2.

³ Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live*, 18.

⁴ Edmund Chappell, “Oral Histories,” quoted in *Pearl Harbor: The Essential Reference Guide*, December 2, 1986, 142.

⁵ John Kuzma, “Oral Histories,” quoted in *Pearl Harbor: The Essential Reference Guide*, December 5, 1984, 163.

⁶ Percy Fulton, “Oral Histories,” quoted in *Pearl Harbor: The Essential Reference Guide*, December 2, 1986, 154.

More discourse needs to be generated on what it was like to experience the attack (through senses other than sight). Sensory history is the perfect tool. Sound did play an important role for the Americans who experienced the attack; sounds should not continue to be kept, analytically, on low volume. Sound surely played a large role for the Japanese as well, but this paper is focused on the American experience. However, I see opportunity for other academics to examine what the Japanese heard during the attack, or how still other senses were involved.

Despite the fact that this war has a multitude of sounds attached to it, it is important to remember that this attack actually began in complete silence.⁷ The Americans were caught completely off guard. When the attack began, sound was actually the first to alert the majority of people, not sight. For instance, in her letter to her parents Beth Singerland (who watched the attack) wrote that her first memory of the attack was the sound of gunfire, but she did not think anything of it at first.⁸ However, she then heard the announcement on the radio that they were under attack.⁹ On the other hand, Claredon Hetrick who was aboard USS *Arizona* was alarmed as soon as he heard the sound of gunfire and explosions because he knew he should not have heard them at that time.¹⁰

George Smith, who was aboard USS *Oklahoma*, remembered the exact phrase that came out of the loudspeaker, demanding everyone go to their battle stations. The next thing that came out of the loudspeaker was, "this is no shit, move it."¹¹ The sheer panic of that announcement stayed with him decades later. Jim Green, who was aboard USS *Arizona*, recalled the sound of men running in telling him that he needed to wake up as they were being attacked by the "Japs."¹²

Robert Johnson gave an interesting account of the sound that he heard because he was below the water line, so it changed the sound of explosions.¹³ Instead of the loud sound generally associated with explosions, he heard the sounds of objects shaking accompanied by a tremendous thud.¹⁴ The next thing he heard was, again, the announcement to man the battle stations.¹⁵ John Kuzma, however, was on land during the explosions; he described the noise of the explosions to be very

⁷ Coox, "The Pearl Harbor Raid Revisited," 7.

⁸ Beth Singerland, "Eyewitness to a 'Day of Infamy': Commemorating Pearl Harbor." quoted in *O Say Can You See? Stories From the Museum*, December 5, 2016, National Museum of American History.

⁹ Singerland, "Eyewitness to a Day of Infamy."

¹⁰ Claredon Hetrick, "Audio Archive," quoted in *Pearl Harbor National Memorial*, December 6, 1985, National Park Service.

¹¹ George Smith, "Audio Archive," quoted in *Pearl Harbor National Memorial*, National Park Service.

¹² Jim Green, "Oral Histories," quoted in *Pearl Harbor: The Essential Reference Guide*, 156.

¹³ Robert Johnson, "Oral Histories," quoted in *Pearl Harbor: The Essential Reference Guide*, December 5, 1984, 158-159.

¹⁴ Johnson, "Oral Histories," 158-159.

¹⁵ Johnson, "Oral Histories," 159.

audible.¹⁶ In sum, it is clear that sound played a large role for the Americans in the beginning of the attack, for it was sound that notified many of them of the attack itself. It is also these distinct sounds that have remained with them for decades.

Not only did sound play a large role in shaping how the Americans first realized that they were being attacked, but it also played a large role throughout the attack itself. For instance, Marine Corporal E.C. Nightingale recalled hearing a lot of machine guns firing during the attack.¹⁷ He also remembered hearing the sound of shrapnel or fragments whistling past him, and the sound of explosions.¹⁸ One interesting sound he explained was talking: he said there was too much of it during the attack.¹⁹ He just wanted silence.²⁰

Beth Slingerland explained that the sound of the guns and the bombs caused her to enter into a nervous state.²¹ In addition, Smith clearly remembered the sound of the torpedo hitting USS *Oklahoma*.²² Furthermore, Edmund R Chappell was aboard USS *Maryland* during the attack, and he clearly recalls how loud the noises were as they fought back (although they did not hit much)²³. Another example of how the veterans remembered the distinct sounds of the attack, was how Jim Green recalled that the planes were making a “buzzing” noise.²⁴ These sounds are so specific to the attack, and the accounts given of these sounds are so clear because these sounds have stayed with these survivors for decades. This shows that sound played a large role in shaping their experience.

Another area of interest were the hospitals; these do not command the same attention as other aspects of the attack, despite the fact that one to two thousand casualties went to Oahu hospitals as a result of the attack.²⁵ These hospitals were busy, frantic places during the attack, and there were many interesting sounds. For instance, Lieutenant Ruth Erickson who was a nurse during the attack stated that because of all of the smoke it was hard to see; therefore, they would have

¹⁶ Kuzma, “Oral Histories,” 163.

¹⁷ E.C. Nightingale. “Aboard the USS *Arizona*,” quoted in *Attack at Pearl Harbor, 1941*, Eyewitness to History.com.

¹⁸ Nightingale, “Aboard the USS *Arizona*.”

¹⁹ Nightingale, “Aboard the USS *Arizona*.”

²⁰ Nightingale, “Aboard the USS *Arizona*.”

²¹ Slingerland, “Eye Witness to a Day of Infamy.”

²² Smith, “Audio Archive.”

²³ Chappell, “Oral Histories, 142.

²⁴ Green, “Oral Histories,” 156.

²⁵ F E Bennetts, “Thiopentone anaesthesia at Pearl Harbor,” *Science Direct* 75, no. 3 (1995): 366.

had to rely on their hearing.²⁶ In her account, she distinctively remembered the patients repeatedly yelling out “Nurse Nurse!” and she would then follow this sound to assist them.²⁷

Sound not only shaped experience here, but also saved lives. If it were not for Erickson’s ability to hear the calls from the patients, she would not have been able to attend to their needs. Like the other accounts, the hospital staff were also first made aware of the attack via sound. For instance, Erickson recalls that she was simply eating breakfast until she heard the sound of roaring planes overhead.²⁸ At first, she thought it was just the American planes until she heard the telephone ring, causing her heart to race.²⁹ She then distinctively remembers hearing the chief nurse saying, “Girls, get into your uniforms at once, this is the real thing.”³⁰ Just like the other accounts, sound largely shaped how the hospital staff remember the events of the attack.

Rarely explored are the experiences of the men and women on board the sinking ships during the attack. Instead, scholars tend to explore other topics to do with the sinking battleships, such as corrosion. For instance, historians Johnson, Deangelis, Medlin, Johnson, Carr, and Conlin focus not what the sailors onboard USS *Arizona* endured, but instead on the corrosion of the metal on the ship.³¹ When explaining the fact that USS *Arizona* endured a “mortal blow” the authors did not explain what this sounded like.³² In fact, none of the senses are explored: the only reference to the sailors themselves (who actually experienced this horror) was that 1117 sailors and marines on board USS *Arizona* died.³³ However, just like many other elements of the attack, sound not only shaped the experience of the survivors, but also saved lives.

The accounts of the sounds on the sinking battleships from the men trapped aboard are extremely humbling and interesting, yet they are often ignored. Edmund R. Chappell was trapped on USS *Maryland*.³⁴ As a result, he could not see anything going on outside. But he could hear. In his interview, he recalled how he heard through word of mouth that USS *Oklahoma* had capsized,

²⁶ Ruth Erickson, “Pearl Harbor Attack, 7 December 1941: Lieutenant Ruth Erickson, NC, USN,” quoted in *Naval Historical Center*, The Ohio State University.

²⁷ Erickson, “Pearl Harbor Attack.”

²⁸ Erickson, “Pearl Harbor Attack.”

²⁹ Erickson, “Pearl Harbor Attack.”

³⁰ Erickson, “Pearl Harbor Attack.”

³¹ Donald Johnson, Robert Deangelis, Dana Medlin, Jon Johnson, James Carr and David Conlin, “The Secant Rate of Corrosion Correlating Observations of the USS *Arizona* submerged in Pearl Harbor,” *JOM*; New York 70, no. 5 (2018): 747.

³² Johnson, Deangelis, Medlin, Johnson, Carr and Conlin, “The Secant Rate,” 747.

³³ Johnson, Deangelis, Medlin, Johnson, Carr and Conlin, “The Secant Rate,” 747.

³⁴ Chappell, “Oral Histories,” 143.

and he heard the sound of USS *Arizona* exploding.³⁵ Being trapped in these ships was extremely traumatizing for many and the sounds have stayed with the survivors.

One striking sensory element of this attack was the sound of the men tapping who were trapped in the sinking ships. The simple sound of tapping saved many lives. Walter Staff was stuck on the overturned USS *Oklahoma*.³⁶ He remembers that the ship was filling up with water, and all he could hear were the guns firing outside.³⁷ He was beginning to lose faith because it was extremely scary, but then he heard tapping. This reassured him that he was not alone.³⁸ The men tapped back and forth for at least an hour to one another to let everyone know that they were not alone in this ship.³⁹ The trapped sailors could hear voices of their rescuers outside of the ship, but could not quite hear exactly what they were saying over the hissing sound of the air going out of the pipes in the ship.⁴⁰ However, at one point they could no longer hear the sound of their rescuers, so Walter Staff's co-sailor decided to drown himself.⁴¹ The rescue team then began to make noise again which reassured everyone that they had not left, saving that sailor's life.⁴² In fact, the only reason that the rescuers even knew that sailors were trapped in the ship was because the sailors were tapping.⁴³ Sound not only shaped the experience for the sailors on board these ships, but was also instrumental in saving many lives.

The sound, style, intent, and delivery of the iconic 'day in infamy' speech have remained in the mind of millions. In fact, the sound of this speech and the words are familiar to many all around the world today. Why did the sound of this speech appeal to millions? The speech begins dramatically, with many pauses "yesterday [pause], December 7th, 1941, [pause] a date which will live in infamy" (emphasized "infamy").⁴⁴ Franklin Roosevelt uses an extremely serious tone, and a very deep pitch. He goes on to say that "the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked."⁴⁵ When one listens to this sentence, Roosevelt emphasizes the words suddenly and deliberately to get the message across. The sound of the speech appealed to almost every American listening to it, not only promoting and justifying the war, but also convincing the

³⁵ Chappell, "Oral Histories," 143.

³⁶ Walter Staff, "Audio Archive", quoted in *Pearl Harbor National Memorial*, December 4, 1986, National Park Service.

³⁷ Staff, "Audio Archive."

³⁸ Staff, "Audio Archive."

³⁹ Staff, "Audio Archive."

⁴⁰ Staff, "Audio Archive."

⁴¹ Staff, "Audio Archive."

⁴² Staff, "Audio Archive."

⁴³ Staff, "Audio Archive."

⁴⁴ Franklin Roosevelt. "A Date Which Will Live in Infamy," played in *This is the Enemy*, The Ohio State University.

⁴⁵ Roosevelt, "A Date Which Will Live in Infamy."

Americans that Germany was also to blame for the attack.⁴⁶ This speech was critical in getting the American public behind the war effort.⁴⁷ As the polls indicated, forty percent of American public now believed that Germany instigated the attack and ninety percent of Americans now wanted to declare war on not only Japan but also Germany.⁴⁸ This clearly demonstrates that hearing this speech shaped American minds, and more importantly, that the speech's particular *sound* also changed lives, as it encouraged the Americans to enter the war.

In conclusion, many elements of this oft-studied attack remain overlooked. One such element is the sounds of the attack, and this paper has analyzed a variety of sounds that Americans actually heard during the attack. This is an important area of study because sound not only shaped the experience of many of these sailors, soldiers, nurses, and civilians, but also—in many cases—*was life altering*. Whether it be the sounds of guns, the tapping in the ships, the calls from patients, or the frantic announcements heard over the loud speaker, these elements all had a significant effect on those who actually experienced the attack.

Often those who study the Pearl Harbor attack look at it in the grand scheme of the Pacific War, or merely just use a visual-centric lens. Even at today's memorial for the USS *Arizona*, a recent visitor survey indicated that the *sights* of the memorial emotionally moved people.⁴⁹ Thus even the memorials to the attack are geared towards presenting the attack in a visual way. Sensory history is a great tool to try to understand how the attack was experienced. But all senses should begin to be explored. When studying events such as the attack on Pearl Harbor it is important to not forget about those who experienced the attack itself by merely approaching the event through only a wide lens. This paper has demonstrated that sound itself affected many soldiers, bystanders, sailors, and nurses during the attack, and that these distinct sounds are important to study.

⁴⁶ John Oddo, "War Legitimation Discourse: Representing 'Us' and 'Them' in four US Presidential Addresses," *Sage* 22, no. 3 (2011): 288-292

⁴⁷ Oddo, "War Legitimation," 288-293.

⁴⁸ Oddo, "War Legitimation," 293.

⁴⁹ Marjorie Kelly, "Enshrining History: The Visitor Experience at Pearl Harbor's USS *Arizona* Memorial, *Anthrosource* 20, no. 3 (1996): 45.

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The War of 1812 – “Loser” Redefined?

King (Ken) Yip

HIST 1113: Cultures in Collision – Canada to 1867

Dr Christopher Hyland

April 2020

While attending a Canadian history class at the local university recently, the term “loser” was briefly broached. In today’s society, the definition of the word “loser” ranges from a neutral description of a failed military objective, to a complete dismissal and disrespect of individuals or groups – i.e. “a bunch of losers”. The contents of the lecture were on the War of 1812, with a particular focus on historians’ interpretations of winners and losers through time¹. Naturally being a Canadian institution, pro-Canadian sentiments were strong; deciding who was the winner felt obvious. Akin to Jennifer Crump’s views in her book *Canada on Fire: the War of 1812*, one perspective was that the victorious Canadians bravely and successfully defended against Americans: “The bravery of some of these civilians helped turn the tide of the war in Canada’s favour. Lieutenant James FitzGibbon was fortunate enough to cross paths with two of these brave Canadians: Billy ‘The Scout’ Green and Laura Secord”². This literature, however, was intended to introduce the war in typical Canadian beliefs to juveniles.

A more mature source on the subject came from professor George Sheppard and his book *Plunder, Profit and Paroles: a Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada*. Sheppard discussed why a favourable version of the war had been created and subsequently shared in Canadian classrooms: “The view that the conflict was a ‘blessing in disguise’ originated with a select group of colonial officials and merchants, but, by the middle of the nineteenth century, it became the accepted version of wartime events. By ignoring the truth, the descendants of the early pioneers created a past that promoted unity and a sense of common purpose”³. In sharp contrast with Crump’s views, Sheppard thought Canadians wrote themselves as winners. While historians could not agree on the winner, the general consensus was the Aboriginal Peoples - whether allied with Canadians or Americans - were the “losers”⁴. Lost in the dozens of encyclopedia entries, manuscripts and propaganda self-written by the Americans, British, Canadians and even a

¹ Christopher Hyland, “Lecture notes – War of 1812” (lecture, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, Richmond, March 3, 2020).

² Jennifer Crump, *Canada on Fire: The War of 1812* (Toronto: 2011), 57.

³ George Sheppard, *Plunder, Profit and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada* (Montreal:1994), 12.

⁴ Walter Borneman, *1812: The War That Forged a Nation* (New York: 2005), 269.

scruple from the Spanish, rarely one could find historical accounts written by the “losers”. Was there a labelling effect in place? Two hundred years after the War of 1812, “winners” continue to write history for their own purposes of fulfilling the moods fancied by the society at the time; “losers” are the by-product of this societal need for fulfillment.

The first group commonly chosen to be “loser” was Indigenous peoples. Perhaps because Indigenous societies were oral tradition based⁵, records of the war written directly by Indigenous peoples were relatively rare to find. One of the more significant quotes attributed to war leader Black Hawk showed that he was disdainful of the war tactics the combatants employed: “I explained to them the manner the British and Americans fought. Instead of stealing upon each other, and taking every advantage to kill the enemy and save their own people, as we do, (which, with us is considered good policy in a war chief), they marched out, in open daylight, and fight, regardless of the number of warriors they may lose! After the battle is over, they retire to feast, and drink wine, as if nothing had happened⁶”. Black Hawk viewed both the Americans and the British as savages, but definitely not as “winners”, let alone considered his own group as “losers”. A late nineteenth-century account on one of the leaders Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha, or Red Jacket by American Reverend John Niles Hubbard reflected the Indigenous desire to “withdraw from a further participation in the war, in case they could prevail on their Canadian brethren to do the same⁷”. Red Jacket supported the Americans during the war⁸, but he urged the stoppage of Iroquois tribes battling each other as allies of foreign empires. It is noteworthy that this account was written by American religious personnel who admired Red Jacket enough to dedicate a book to him and his people.

However, as history progressed, feelings and thoughts of societies changed. As the Americans and Canadians mended their relationship and became close allies against other world powers in the twentieth century, both societies had the desire and to be seen as benevolent and stable entities by other nations. The countries wanted unity from their own people, thus came the need to acknowledge the past; to speak up and sympathize for the “losers”. The rising awareness of the challenges Indigenous peoples had faced⁹ served this societal-feeling fulfillment. As noted above, while accounts of the war from Indigenous peoples and their immediate progenies were hard to find, there are many commentaries from non-matrimonial related Indigenous

⁵ Karl Kroeber, ed., *Native American Storytelling: A Reader of Myths and Legends* (Malden: 2004), 1.

⁶ Carl Benn, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812* (Toronto: 1998), 67.

⁷ John Niles Hubbard, *An account of Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha, or, Red Jacket and his people, 1750- 1830* (Albany: 1886), 267

⁸ James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., “Red-Jacket” in *Appletons’ Cyclopædia of American Biography* (New York: 1900).

⁹ Gloria Galloway, “Public opinion of indigenous people in Canada improving: survey,” *The Globe and Mail*, June 8, 2016, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/public-opinion-of-indigenous-people-in-canada-improving-survey/article30346252/>

descendants in modern society. Whether it be for-profit organizations such as the one run by Indigenous professor¹⁰ Bob Joseph and his online blog *War of 1812 Who won? Undecided. Who lost? Aboriginal Peoples of Canada*¹¹ written in 2012, or the interviews from the 2011 American educational documentary *The War of 1812* on the betrayal and defeat of Indigenous dreams¹², the “loser” sympathy sentiment was strong. Particularly in the American-made media, an interview conducted with Indigenous actor, re-enactor of the war, and interpreter¹³ Wolf Thomas revealed that the [Indigenous] nations had lost their land base and lost their culture in the immediate aftermath of the war¹⁴. It is noteworthy that neither Dr. Bob Joseph nor Mr. Wolf Thomas’ clans were directly related to Tecumseh’s Confederacy. While the retelling of events and the sequences of battles were usually unchanged in most literatures, the interpretations and long-term societal implications and consequences changed over time. At a time of Indigenous protest movements, sympathizing with the past and with the “losing” party fulfilled the “winners” continued desire for societal stability and unity among their own people – Dr. Joseph and Mr. Thomas included. This painted history could look good on the world stage, but not all “losers” were created equally.

One nation that also endured losses in the war was the Spanish. The battle of Pensacola took place in 1814 between the Americans against the Spanish-British-Indigenous Creek Confederacy. The Americans won and Pensacola was neutralized¹⁵ and occupied. A smaller battle by comparison, the Spanish nonetheless was indeed a “loser” in the military objective sense. Mateo González Manrique was the governor of Spanish West Florida at the time¹⁶ and though Spain was officially a neutral country during the war, Manrique had been helping the British via supplies and training¹⁷. A confrontation with the Americans was inevitable, but unfortunately the Spanish was no match against Americans – Manrique surrendered with little resistance¹⁸. Plenty of factual information on the defeat of Spanish at Pensacola are readily available, except when associating the term “loser” with this Spanish loss. Perhaps Spanish involvement in the North American theatre of the War of 1812 was very minimal, but in reality, the British and the Spanish were allies

¹⁰ Bob Joseph, “Bob Joseph Founder & President,” <https://www.ictinc.ca/ict-team/bob-joseph>, accessed March 16, 2020

¹¹ Bob Joseph, “War of 1812 Who won? Undecided. Who lost? Aboriginal Peoples of Canada,” <https://www.ictinc.ca/blog/war-of-1812-who-won-undecided-who-lost-aboriginal-peoples-of-canada>, accessed March 16, 2020

¹² *The War of 1812*, directed by Diane Gary and Lawrence Hott (New York, 2011), documentary.

¹³ “The War of 1812 documentary,” <https://www.canadashistory.ca/education/classroom-resources/the-war-of-1812-documentary>, accessed March 16, 2020

¹⁴ *The War of 1812* documentary.

¹⁵ Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Short History* (Chicago: 2012), 79

¹⁶ “Correspondencia de los gobernadores de Florida Occidental,” <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/58203>, accessed March 16, 2020

¹⁷ Patricia Brady, “A Being So Gentle: The Frontier Love Story of Rachel and Andrew Jackson,” (New York: 2011), 135.

¹⁸ Spencer Tucker, “*The Encyclopedia of the War of 1812: A Political, Social, and Military History*,” (Santa Barbara: 2012), 245

on a different front – battling Napoleonic France in the European Peninsular War¹⁹. The British and the Spanish were united against the French forces on the Iberian Peninsula during the same time frame as the War of 1812; the eventual success of expelling Napoleon out of not only the Spanish territories, but also the French throne served as great victories, garnered pride and honour for the British and the Spanish. For both societies, there was no need to highlight the Spanish and British defeat at Pensacola as they were already “winners” and won the war in mainland Europe, the epicenter of the world at the time. Furthermore, highlighting a major victory from the rebel United States would not bode well with the citizens of these older, more powerful empires. For the British and the Spanish, they would rather emphasize winning in Europe than losing in North America, to continue fulfilling the image of freedom, prestige and strength. Very few accounts of *la Guerra de 1812* could be found written entirely in Spanish by Spanish scholars in general. Instead, there are much more literatures on “transition from absolutism to liberalism in Spain at that moment would have been possible in the absence of war²⁰”. Spain benefited from Britain’s winning ways despite losing all their battles in the War of 1812. This “winner by association” fulfilled its societal desire by underlining its achievements in the Peninsular War and ultimately became a liberal society²¹ - a sentiment American, British and Canadian societies all seemed to have agreed. Spain’s losses in the War of 1812 were too minor to be labelled as “loser”; no need for derogatory name-calling on an existing nation with similar societal values.

Winners write history. In the history the winners wrote, they decide who is the loser and who is not the loser. The loser could be labelled differently to fit the flavour of the society for particular purposes. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill remarked that after the War of 1812 the Americans had earned their right to be an independent state²². Did Churchill concede that the Americans had won the war? In 2018 American President Donald Trump debated, in a telephone call, with Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau on the burning of the White House, among other current issues. Trump: “Didn't you guys burn down the White House?²³”. A question suggesting a Canadian victory and implying Canada as a winner in the Washington battle. Both Churchill and Trump are both world leaders in their respective times, their narrative focused on who was the winner but no mentioning of the loser, and both societies they belong to see themselves as winners on the world stage. Sheppard’s book gave another example of loser, but from an economic point of view, that of a blacksmith profiting from the war: “as a trained

¹⁹ Charles Esdaile. *The Peninsular War*, (London: 2003), 87.

²⁰ Leandro Prados de la Escosura and Carlos Santiago-Caballero, "The Napoleonic Wars: A Watershed in Spanish History?", *European Historical Economic Society Working Papers on Economic History*, no. 130 (2018): 18, 31.

²¹ Prados de la Escosura and Santiago-Caballero, "The Napoleonic Wars: A Watershed in Spanish History?", 2.

²² Winston Churchill, *A History of the English-speaking Peoples volume 3*, (London: 1957), 366.

²³ Z. Byron Wolf, "History according to Trump, War of 1812 edition,"

<https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/06/politics/trump-war-of-1812/index.html>, accessed March 16, 2020.

blacksmith, 'he was much employed during the war and might upon the whole have been a gainer than a loser by it'²⁴'. Loser took on yet another meaning, but this time not a by-product of a winners' autobiography. Winners and losers are merely terms adjustable by local school boards²⁵; labelling the winner and, especially the loser, is self-fulfilling. Rather than a fervent debate on the winners and losers of the War of 1812, one would suggest that there is more to gain from an extraction of knowledge, mistakes, policies, tactics, and wisdom from history.

²⁴ Sheppard, *Plunder, Profit and Paroles: a Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada*, 135.

²⁵ Christopher Hyland, "Lecture notes – War of 1812" (lecture part 2, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, Richmond, March 10, 2020).

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The ESRI StoryMaps platform allows students to recreate moments in history through a combination of text, images, and interactive elements. The two examples that follow show the full richness of the platform when combined with outstanding historical research.

Hitler's Brownshirts

Sydney Kadagies

HIST 4499 Special Topics: Society & Culture in Weimar Germany

Dr Tracey J. Kinney

April 2020



The Weimar Republic is known for many things: a democratic constitution, sexual emancipation and exploration, new art styles, and films. It is also the regime under which the Nazi party rose to power and the Weimar Republic ultimately preceded the Third Reich - a significant portion of German and world history. This StoryMap will examine different aspects of life in the Weimar Republic through their connections to the NSDAP's SA, also known as the Brownshirts. These include the origins of the SA for the Beer Hall Putsch at the Bürgerbräukeller in Munich, the politicized street violence in Berlin, the NSDAP's electoral campaigns, the widespread politicization of the streets through propaganda, and the complicated history of the SA and homosexuality. To access the complete StoryMap [click here](#).

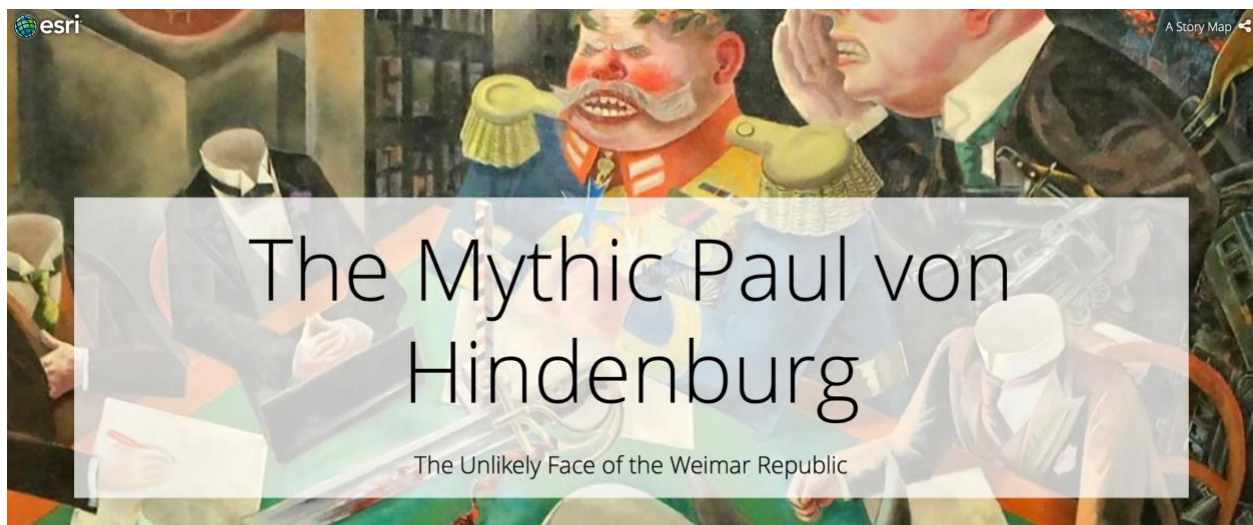
The Mythic Paul von Hindenburg – The Unlikely Face of the Weimar Republic

Ian Lopez

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Dr Tracey J. Kinney

April 2020



In "The Eclipse of the Sun" (above) George Grosz (1926) sought to capture the political and social corruption of the Weimar Republic. Hindenburg, the newly elected president, was living in the past, still wearing his old military uniform and dreaming of glory for the Fatherland

Strangely, one of the most influential men of the Weimar Republic, a man who witnessed its birth and had a direct hand in its death, nearly vanished from the history books over time. Most modern histories of Weimar's rise and fall instead explored the decadent social landscape of Berlin, the economic turmoil of the early and later years, or how Hitler's Brown Shirts gained momentum and public support to become the ruling party of Germany. However, one man, could have stopped this from happening, or at least delayed it for a short while. The man? Paul von Hindenburg, national hero of the Battle of Tannenberg and second President of the Weimar Republic. It was Hindenburg, having already assumed emergency powers and dissolving the Reichstag (German Parliament) twice in 1932, who under pressure appointed Hitler Chancellor of Germany. To access the complete StoryMap [click here](#).