

A Journal by and for Undergraduate History Students at KPU



History at Kwantlen Polytechnic University

Spring/Summer 2024

Volume 11

The Emergent Historian



ISSN 2560-7871

The Emergent Historian is published 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 first-year classes to fourth-year seminars – from the previous academic year.

This year's edition features a broad range of work, from research papers, to role-playing assignments, and finally, creative pieces that showcase both the outstanding research abilities of our students and their ability to present work in non-traditional formats.

Congratulations to everyone whose work is featured in this year's journal!¹ Past issues can be accessed at Library and Archives Canada, via the QR code below.



The Emergent Historian
Volume 11
Spring/Summer 2024
ISSN 2560-7871

¹ This is the 11th and final volume I have had the privilege to assemble. Providing our students with this opportunity to showcase their outstanding work has been an honour and a privilege. As I pass the journal into safe hands, I look forward to seeing what the next generations of students will produce – ed.

Table of Contents

Research Papers & Projects

Edo in a Vacuum: Joseon and Ryukyu envoys in Edo – Exploring Cultural Cross-Cultivation during the Tokugawa Period Lucas Akai	... 1
Matthew Hopkins: The Witchfinder General James Cybulski	... 13
Movie Analysis: <i>Star Wars Episode I – The Phantom Menace</i> Josiah Eijbersen	... 18
A Brief History of Inuit and Dene Nights in Canada: Distinguishing the Night from the Dark Erika Genesisius	... 20
Witchcraft & the Pact with the Devil Thomas Ivey	... 28
Change, Resistance, & the Last Domino: The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 & the Rapid Decline of the Samurai Thomas Komusi	... 39
Letters between Harnam Singh and Gurjit Singh, 1916 Connor Kuznik & Gurmanjot Mangat	... 53
Reclaiming the Colonial Drink: The Development of Tea Culture in India after 1947 Natasha McConnell	... 72
The Travels of Giovanni Tagliatore: A Medieval Travel Research Project Aira McIntyre	... 78
The Travels of Enrico di Venezia: A Medieval Travel Research Project Kabir Nijjar	... 85
Movie Analysis: <i>Come and See</i> Cameron Peacock	... 90
The Malady of a Witch’s Hunger Jenn Rigio	... 92
Flight at Night: Its Origins and Associations Nick Robinson	... 100
The Girls, Gays, and Theys in Early Modern Europe: Examining European Attitudes towards Queer Individuals from 1385 to 1771 Dilpreet Thiara	... 105

Digital and Visual Projects

- Scrapbook: Flapper Culture and the Roaring Twenties: Revolting Against Gender Norms during the Twentieth Century through Canadian Jazz**
Harneet Dhindsa ... 109
- Arc GIS StoryMap: Plague and Prejudice: The Plague and Destruction of Honolulu's Chinatown in 1900**
Kat Golik ... 114
- Research Poster: Music Therapy's Evolution Between the 1950s and 1970s and the Women Who Established it within Canada**
Victoria Haigh ... 118
- ArcGIS StoryMap: The Sanatorium Movement: From Caves to Clinics to Cruelty – How did the sanatorium movement go from tuberculosis treatments to a hospitalized prison?**
Jenna Tidy ... 119

Edo in a Vacuum: Joseon and Ryukyu Envoys in Edo – Exploring Cultural Cross-Cultivation during the Tokugawa Period

Lucas Akai – April 2024
HIST 4470: The Samurai
Professor Jack P. Hayes

1.1 Introduction

Often across popular media, Japan is stereotyped as a country under total isolation until the appearance of Commodore [Matthew] Perry¹. This statement becomes increasingly less true throughout academia, where it becomes clear that Japanese isolationism is misunderstood across much of popular media. Rather, Japan's historical reality throughout its period of so-called isolation is rife with diplomatic contact on an international level – but said contact is centred around Japan and various East Asian states². The lack of Japanese isolation is particularly evidenced by the longstanding diplomatic relations between Japan, Korea (Joseon), and the Ryukyu Kingdom, contact which reached its peak during the Edo Period when a series of Korean envoy missions was established in Japan ostensibly under invitation of the Tokugawa shogunate³. These culminated in a series of “missions” to Edo, sent forth by both the Korean and Ryukyu Kingdoms at the request of the Tokugawa shogunates of the time⁴. Further evidence also points towards similar missions between the Joseon and Ryukyu Kingdoms, highlighting the influence of the Edo missions in shaping regional diplomacy, ultimately suggesting that there was significant cultural cross-cultivation between Japan, Korea, and the Ryukyu Kingdom by way of ambassadors in Edo, leading to a trilateral exchange of culture that provably influenced medicine, and yet did not encompass the whole of art, diplomatic procedure, or ceremony.

1.2 Literature Review

In establishing source context, it should be immediately noted that current academic writing regarding Japanese interactions with either the Joseon or Ryukyu Kingdoms is limited. What English sources do exist are by and large targeted towards the addressing of specific social issues

¹ Mark Ravina, “Tokugawa, Romanov, and Khmer: The Politics of Trade and Diplomacy in Eighteenth-Century East Asia,” *Journal of World History* 26, no. 2 (2015): 271.

² Ravina, “Politics,” 271.

³ James L. McClain and John Whitney Hall, *The Cambridge History of Japan* (Cambridge, 1991), 295.

⁴ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 300.

within a wider historical context (Okinawa, for example). Some volumes such as the *Cambridge History of Japan* or *Sources of East Asian Tradition* do provide some contextual information on interactions but require other articles such as those focused on Tokugawa-Joseon medicine to better inform a full paper. The rest of the literature aside from the rare English-article, is locked behind the Japanese or Korean languages, particularly of the Korean variety, of which more recent articles verge on jingoism and have thus not been included in this research paper. Aside from the above, primary sources have largely come through database sources, including English and Korean documents from the Joseon Annals.

1.3 Author's Note on Translations and Non-English Material

As a brief aside in verifying English articles – I have at times translated to the best of my ability Korean sources, in the case of articles – these have been translated and used to verify claims made in English articles that seemed unclear. In the specific case of the Joseon Annals, quotations have been specifically pulled from the selection of official English translation materials as this paper requires more reliable translation than could necessarily be personally provided. Whereas other aspects of the Annals have been translated purely to confirm evidence in non-English language articles, rather than as direct evidence pieces for this paper.

2.1 Historical Context

Within the broader context of historical diplomacy between Japan, Korea, and Ryukyu, the most significant meetings occurred during the Tokugawa period [1603–1868]. These meetings followed a series of diplomatic and actual conflicts between Hideyoshi's Japan (pre-Tokugawa) and the Joseon Dynasty⁵ which seriously damaged relations between the two countries⁶. This history of conflict is in large part what eventually sets the stage for a major shift in the cross-cultivation and intermingling of culture between these respective Kingdoms, forcing specific events within each Kingdom but particularly Korea and Japan, that see cooperation as a necessity.

2.2 Historical Context: Tokugawa

Precipitating the natural evolution of cultural intermingling through diplomatic ventures, was the need for legitimacy and external stability by the Tokugawa shogunate as it took power after the death of Hideyoshi in 1598⁷. However, initial efforts to repair the Korean-Japanese relationship occurred before Tokugawa involvement, via the Sō of Tsushima⁸. This was largely due to the fact that, while eager to reopen full trade and relations with Korea, the Tokugawa

⁵ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 294

⁶ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 294.

⁷ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 296.

⁸ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 294.

Shogunate itself (specifically Tokugawa Ieyasu) could not send the initial letter requesting a Korean embassy without in essence admitting Japanese defeat during the prior war⁹. As a result, through varying levels of subterfuge, the Sō by way of forged letters both to the Joseon and Tokugawa rulers, managed to establish the first step towards normalization with a Korean envoy traveling to Japan by 1607, only approximately 8 years after the Sō first began normalization efforts ostensibly on behalf of the Tokugawa Shogunate¹⁰. Ultimately, the groundwork created through initial normalization efforts, established the basis and protocols for future Korean envoys, and established the existence of Koreans in Edo not just as prisoners, but as ambassadors and representatives of Joseon culture.

2.3 Historical Context: Joseon

Like the Tokugawa Shogunates, the Joseon Dynasty also had specific interests in maintaining at minimum amicable relations with its Japanese neighbours. As a result, the Korean ambassadors and government was always amicable to working with the Tokugawa regime but required “adherence to what they considered the proper forms of converse between nations”¹¹ with regards to interactions on an official level between the two respective countries¹². This on a larger scale implied a requirement for specific deference in official diplomatic communiques¹³, something which the Tokugawa government was often unwilling to provide on a private, much less public basis¹⁴. This as a result created an increasingly pragmatic environment facilitated by the aforementioned Sō of Tsushima, which ultimately led to a state of interaction which saw Korean embassy officials “state that the imperial court only performed a nominal role for the shogunate”¹⁵ as part of broader efforts by Joseon ambassadors to ingratiate, and build a need within the Tokugawa Shogunate for a cooperative and affirming Joseon neighbour¹⁶. By the time Korean envoys began traveling to both Kyoto and Edo, the efforts of Joseon diplomats had created an environment that permitted the limited sharing of and mixing of Joseon-Japanese culture and to a lesser extent, Ryukyu culture and material¹⁷.

2.4 Historical Context: Ryukyu

⁹ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 295.

¹⁰ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 294.

¹¹ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 296.

¹² Norihito Mizuno, “The Tenno in Early Modern Japanese Policy toward East Asia: The Case of Japanese-Korean Diplomatic Relations,” *Journal of Asian History* 43, no. 1 (2009): 57.

¹³ Mizuno, “Tenno,” 57.

¹⁴ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 296.

¹⁵ Jeong-Mi Lee, “Intrigues for Power: The Tokugawa Shogunate, the Japanese Court, and the Korean Embassy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *Korean Studies* 47, (2023): 357.

¹⁶ Lee, “Intrigue,” 360.

¹⁷ Lee, “Intrigue,” 361.

In many ways, the Ryukyu Kingdom is a complex anomaly within the broader structure of regional diplomacy, as in the aftermath of its conquest in 1609 it had become both a colony of Japan and yet autonomous in its tribute relationship with China¹⁸. The complexity of the Ryukyu Kingdom is amplified further by the fact that it had even as early as 1480, been in regular diplomatic contact with the Joseon Dynasty¹⁹. Additionally, like the Joseon Dynasty, the Ryukyu Kingdom would later make consistent diplomatic missions to Edo²⁰ until its eventual annexation by the Japanese after the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate²¹. This however still leaves a multi-century history of diplomatic missions launched by the Ryukyu Kingdom, to both Edo and the Joseon Dynasty which lends credence to the idea that there was the possibility of significant cultural intermingling and by extension, cross-cultivation between the three Kingdoms.

3.1 Case Studies

In evaluating the level of cultural cross-cultivation and intermingling among Japan, Korea, and the Ryukyu Kingdom – this paper draws most significantly from the recordings of the various Tongsinsa, of which reports exist in the Joseon Annals. This provides a uniquely Korean view on the Tokugawa Shogunate, Edo, and the Ryukyu Kingdom – but also reveals much about the levels of cross-cultivation as the subject can be evaluated outside of the strictly Samurai-centred lens. However, with this in mind – there are three categories which stand out as the most important in evaluating, that being the sharing of medicinal knowledge, the stylization of diplomatic procedures such as gifts, and then contrasting that against the strictly Ryukyu-Korean diplomatic missions in considering the crucial question of origin of said practices.

3.2 Joseon and Tokugawa Shared Medicine Practices

Most Joseon Tongsinsa missions to Japan involved one or more medical experts being sent as part of the broader envoy party²², this included a responsibility of sharing and gaining medical knowledge that could be recorded as part of the diplomatic mission²³. As a result, medical practices are one of the clearest areas of written work that showcase the intermingling, and cross-cultivation of Japanese and Korean culture in specific. The cross-use of medical knowledge was a high-priority for Japanese medical experts of the early Tokugawa²⁴, leading to an environment

¹⁸ Gavan McCormack and Satoko Oka Norimatsu, *Resistant Islands: Okinawa Confronts Japan and the United States* (Plymouth: 2012), 3.

¹⁹ "The second son of the king of Ryukyu presents local products, Year 1418, Month 8 (Veritable Records of Sejong, National Institute of Korean History).

²⁰ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 300.

²¹ McCormack and Norimatsu, *Okinawa*, 4.

²² Daniel Trambaiolo, "Native and Foreign in Tokugawa Medicine," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 39, no.2 (2013):299.

²³ Trambaiolo, "Medicine," 299.

²⁴ Trambaiolo, "Medicine," 303.

that was extremely open to the sharing of information between Korean and Japanese medical writers of the time²⁵. This is encapsulated by the interactions of Japanese physician Noro Genjō and Korean doctor Kim T'amhyōn, who during the 1748 Tongsinisa mission had a conversation sharing medical knowledge - comparing the differing medical experiences in Korea and Japan²⁶.

In expanding the concept of cultural cross-cultivation, and the intermingling of Japanese and Koreans in Edo, we also have the fact that such interactions did not strictly stay to individual interactions. Instead, a large portion of both the Tongsinisa missions, and other interactions between Koreans and Japanese in Edo, came by way of sharing physical copies of written literature on medical topics²⁷. This saw the Tokugawa build up a significant library of medical literature including several significant Korean pieces written in the preceding century²⁸ which has been confirmed as the Tokugawa are reported as often looking to Korean sources for inspiration (as well as Chinese sources – of which Korea also derived much knowledge from)²⁹. Actual physical interactions in Edo, as part of the Tongsinisa missions was nevertheless extremely important in the cross-culturalization of Edo, through the interactions of Koreans and Japanese during the Tokugawa period.

3.3 Diplomatic Envoy-stylization and Transit

From one perspective, the missions of both the Ryukyu and Joseon to Edo, represented a standard and shared understanding of diplomatic rites and procedures – established as part of a broader cultural amalgamation of what was appropriate across all three cultures under analysis. This is best illustrated in primary source depictions of Joseon and Ryukyuan envoys. The first image

²⁵ Trambaiolo, "Medicine," 299.

²⁶ Trambaiolo, "Medicine," 299.

²⁷ Trambaiolo, "Medicine," 301.

²⁸ Trambaiolo, "Medicine," 303.

²⁹ Trambaiolo, "Medicine," 306.



Image #1: Depicting a Ryukyu diplomatic party in transit to Edo, approx. 1832³⁰.

depicts a Ryukyu envoy traveling to Edo in the year 1832, including a series of groups: a procession of musicians leading the group, nobles and other standard bearers, the primary ambassador on a litter, and various other followers (likely scholars, academics, and so on) following in the rear. Alongside these groups, we see Ryukyu-styled colouring and pattern on clothing, identifying the home-location of this envoy group as it approaches Edo. Much of the ritual itself falls heavily in line with Joseon Annal doctrine on procession rites and rituals, including the musicians and position of the nobles³¹.

³⁰ "Ryukyu people procession coloring (1832)," Painting (in Digital Image format), Wikimedia Commons, 2024.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ryukyu_1832.JPG

³¹ "The Ministry of Rites, Year 1418, Month 9 (Veritable Records of Sejong, National Institute of Korean History).



Image #2: A Joseon Envoy sent during the year 1748³²

The second image depicts a Joseon envoy sent to Edo nearly a century earlier, and a pattern becomes clear as to the standard and precedent of diplomacy at the time. Here again similar groups including a musician group, litter, and followers can be seen in the second image, each having specific roles as listed by the Ministry of Rites³³, yet its depiction nearly a century earlier suggests that little change in the envoy-stylization had occurred. The similarities between the Ryukyu and Joseon envoys which ultimately use the same rites recorded in the Joseon Annals (dated to 1418)³⁴, alongside the lack of significant change in the depiction of such envoys to Edo, would suggest that the culture of diplomacy had been established as a shared understanding of propriety between the Tokugawa, Joseon, and Ryukyuan ambassadors. From one perspective, the images further suggest that the cross-cultivation of culture had occurred in somewhat of a

³² Tōei Hanegawa, "Chōsen Tsūshin-shi Raichō-zu (1748)," Painting (in digital image format), Wikimedia Commons. 2024. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ch%C5%8Dsen_Ts%C5%ABshin-shi_Raich%C5%8D-zu.jpg

³³ "Ministry of Rites," Year 1418, Month 9.

³⁴ "Ministry of Rites," Year 1418, Month 9.

vacuum, with Edo acting as the centre of expectation as defined by the Tokugawa but an expectation that was not necessarily birthed in Edo.

3.4 Isolated Ryukyu-Korea Diplomatic Contact

Trends in diplomatic procedure and the depiction of envoys suggests that Edo acted as an important element in the cross-cultural cultivation of Korean, Ryukyuan, and Japanese. Perhaps even more telling however, is in the way Edo under the Tokugawa influenced the bilateral diplomatic contact between the Ryukyu Kingdom and Joseon Dynasty. As translated in the Joseon Annals, one of the most important interactions to the argument of Edo's role in cultural cross-cultivation was an envoy sent by the Ryukyu Kingdom to the Joseon Dynasty in the year 1418 (before the majority of the Tongsin missions had occurred). In said document found within the Joseon Annals, they detail a series of gifts given by the Ryukyu Kingdom, and the response of the Joseon Dynasty which was to send a variety of local products but that the gifts given by the Korean King largely were considered "inadequate" by the Joseon Dynasty and worth of "shame[ing] us [Joseon]"³⁵ suggesting a level of friendliness beyond formal proceedings. The prior example when contrasted against later diplomatic recommendations given to the Joseon King, by returning Korean envoys to Edo, shows significantly different approaches to gift giving between Ryukyu and Japanese (Edo), including the notion that gifts and generosity should be extended to individuals outside of Edo such as the Sö of Tsushima³⁶ but that embassies to Japan (Edo) should be limited and only when absolutely necessary³⁷. These proposals by the Korean diplomat were approved by the Joseon King, affirming the importance of the proposal document itself, and affirming the role Edo played in dictating the cultural aspects of diplomacy. As can be seen by comparing the depiction of both the Ryukyu Kingdom and Sö with that of Edo, diplomacy by the Korean government with those in Edo had a much more formal and increasingly hesitant tone of formality both in the envoys being sent, and their actual gift and cultural presentation.

4.1 Edo as a Vacuum or Hub

While the evidence discussed prior is sufficient in suggesting that Edo had a role in cultural cross-cultivation and the intermingling of Ryukyu, Korean, and Japanese, taking historical context and the perspective of all three main pieces of analysis into account leads to two differing arguments as to the role Edo specifically played insofar as it being central to cultural interactions. One argument would suggest based on the Samurai (Tokugawa) perspective that Edo existed as the

³⁵ "The Second Son of the king of Ryukyu, Year 1418, Month 8 (Veritable Records of Sejong, National Institute of Korean History).

³⁶ "Bak Seosang presents proposals, Year 11 (1429), Month 12 (Veritable Records of Sejong, National Institute of Korean History).

³⁷ "Bak Seosaeng, Year 11 (1429), Month 12.

hub of cultural intermingling, with the Tokugawa acting in a way that would suggest Edo played *the* central role in cultural cross-cultivation. The other argument is one that would suggest Edo as being a vacuum, with its role being largely isolated and no more important in facilitating cultural cross-cultivation as bilateral relations between the respective countries had been.

4.2 The Samurai Perspective for Edo as a Hub

The Samurai, or rather Tokugawa, perspective is one that would suggest Edo was the hub of cultural cross-cultivation and is loosely supported by the way in which the Tokugawa through envoys sent to Edo handled the transfer and sharing of medicinal knowledge. The argument is also supported based on the internal dialogue of Tokugawa shogunates, in the approach taken towards receiving Korean envoys. The Tokugawa Shogunate specifically viewed themselves as responsible for the “dissemination of medical learning”³⁸ and likewise facilitated this through the aforementioned collecting and translating of foreign knowledge (specifically Korean). Additionally, the Tokugawa Shogunate as its capacity as a growing regional power, perceived the Tongsinsa missions and Ryukyu envoys as being done in deference³⁹ to the Tokugawa Shogunate – placing Edo in their eyes as a central hub and gathering ground for the arts, culture, and medicine⁴⁰.

4.3 Edo in a Vacuum, the Korea-Ryukyu Argument

Based on the presented evidence, an alternative to Edo being a hub as perceived by the Tokugawa, is that Edo was in reality a vacuum – with little to no significant relevance or at least any greater influence on the cross-cultivation of culture as bilateral interactions between Korea and Ryukyu had. This is supported by several key factors, one of those being the fact that according to the Joseon Annals, Japan (Edo) was not seen as a desirable place to send embassies⁴¹ going so far as to suggest with Royal ascent, that, “not to send embassies to Japan except when absolutely necessary”⁴². The Joseon Dynasty also did not see Edo as an entity establishing proper diplomatic precedent and procedure, suggesting that instead, “they [Japan] neglect to fulfill their ritual obligations even on such important occasions as the succession of rulership”⁴³ and further attest to Japanese custom as being one that “does not recognize propriety and righteousness”⁴⁴. This is a serious contrast against bilateral Korean-Ryukyu envoys which had been operating under specific procedure (as recorded in the Annals) a decade prior to the report from the Korean

³⁸ Trambaiolo, “Medicine,” 301.

³⁹ McClain and Hall, *Cambridge*, 295.

⁴⁰ De Bary, Gluck, and Tiedemann, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition 1600 to 2000*, part I 1600 to 1868 (New York: 2006), 4.

⁴¹ “Bak Seosaeng, Year 11 (1429), Month 12.

⁴² “Bak Seosaeng, Year 11 (1429), Month 12.

⁴³ “Bak Seosaeng, Year 11 (1429), Month 12.

⁴⁴ “Bak Seosaeng, Year 11 (1429), Month 12.

envoy in Japan⁴⁵. Ultimately suggesting that while Edo was important to some aspects in regard to the cross-cultivation of culture, it was not treated as the centre of cultural intermingling.

4.4 Conclusions; Edo, Ryukyu, and Joseon Korea

Ultimately, the case for Edo as the hub or centre of cultural cross-cultivation between Japan, Ryukyu, and Korea is fraught with inconsistencies in recorded history, particularly between the Joseon and Tokugawa. As a result, a single conclusion remains impossible, with the Tokugawa presentation of Edo being one that is central to the cultivation and dissemination of specific aspects of culture and science – while treating envoys (Korean and Ryukyuan) as if they are coming to gawk at the complex society of Edo. This contrasts significantly against the Joseon written records which verifiably suggest that visitation to Edo was highly undesirable, done only as necessary with sailors paid extra for making such ventures⁴⁶, ultimately painting a picture that suggests the Joseon had little interest in the cross-cultivation of culture that the Tokugawa Shogunates might have otherwise been attempting. This is compounded by the fact that depictions of, and written record of envoys sent by both the Ryukyu and Joseon, depict a very Joseon-styled procession – not necessarily one that is in line with any precedent being established by the Tokugawa. This is furthered by the fact that the Joseon had by this point in the timeline, considered Japan to be unceremonious in its actions⁴⁷, going against what was considered “standard protocol”⁴⁸. As a result, while it could be suggested that Edo and the Tokugawa played a role in facilitating cultural cross-cultivation, they by no means acted as anything more than a locus for limited intermingling, and according to written record, did not play a significant role in establishing or otherwise influencing diplomatic procedure, rites, or ceremony as it relates to the period involving interactions between the Korean, Ryukyuan, and Japanese envoys.

⁴⁵ Second Son, Year 1418, Month 8.

⁴⁶ “Bak Seosaeng, Year 11 (1429), Month 12.

⁴⁷ “Bak Seosaeng, Year 11 (1429), Month 12.

⁴⁸ “Bak Seosaeng, Year 11 (1429), Month 12.

Annotated Bibliography

“Bak Seosaeng presents proposals deemed worthy of execution,” Year 11 (1429), Month 12, Day 3, Entry 5. *The Veritable Records of King Sejong*, National Institute of Korean History, <http://esillok.history.go.kr/>.

- This is one of the primary source documents, taken from the online archive of the Joseon Annals. It has been translated officially and informs a section of this paper in providing a Joseon perspective on Japanese ritual, culture, and ceremony.

De Bary, William Theodore, ed. *Sources of East Asian Tradition*. Volume 2. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

- *The Sources of East Asian Tradition* provides the historical context for the broader paper, addressing both the Korean and Japanese contexts of the time period. It is enhanced by more specific readings and analysis – addressing the Ryukyu, Edo, and other aspects of the paper.

De Bary, William Theodore, Carol Gluck, and Tiedemann, Arthur E., ed. *Sources of Japanese Tradition 1600 to 2000*, Part One: 1600 to 1868. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

- This book forms the other half of the foundation for historical context – specifically addressing the Japanese mentality on “foreigners”, East Asian non-Japanese, and etcetera. This also assists in grounding the paper towards specifically the Samurai – given course requirements.

Hur, Kyung Jin. “Japanese travels of Joseon medicine and the aspects of collections of medical written conversations.” *Korean J Med Hist* 19 (June: 2010): 137-56. eISSN: 2093-5609.

- This journal has been loosely translated, in order to confirm findings in the Trambaiolo article and as a result, has not been officially entered into the paper in terms of citation.

McCormack, Gavan, and Satoko Oka Norimatsu. *Resistant Islands: Okinawa Confronts Japan and the United States*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012

- This book works with giving some outside perspective/additional context on home island and outside island interactions/perceptions. It also works in tandem with *The Cambridge History of Japan* Volume 4 in addressing the Ryukyu context.

Lee, Jeong-Mi. “Intrigues for Power: The Tokugawa Shogunate, the Japanese Court, and the Korean Embassy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.” *Korean Studies* 47 (January 2023): 351–74. doi:10.1353/ks.2023.a90862

- This analytical article reviews the Tokugawa Shogunate and Japanese court and aided in broader research/handling of material from the Cambridge and Traditions books. It also specifically addresses the Korean embassy which itself is academically speaking, rare.

McClain, James L. *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Edited by John Whitney Hall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

- A comprehensive survey of Japanese history which provided some historical context.

Mizuno, Norihito. “The Tenno in Early Modern Japanese Policy toward East Asia: The Case of Japanese- Korean Diplomatic Relations.” *Journal of Asian History* 43, no.1 (2009): 52–72. <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=47605874&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

- This article was used to provide additional information regarding the Tokugawa approach to Korean interactions.

Ravina, Mark. “Tokugawa, Romanov, and Khmer: The Politics of Trade and Diplomacy in Eighteenth-Century East Asia.” *Journal of World History* 26, no. 2 (June 2015): 269–94. <https://search-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=115445930&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

- This article has provided minor paraphrasing and evidence for the Tokugawa policy of interaction and common media perceptions.

“Ryukyu people procession coloring,” Painting (in digital image format), Wikimedia Commons, 2024, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ryukyu_1832.JPG

- This image has been used to provide evidence for Korean-Ryukyuan protocols.

Tōei Hanegawa. “Chōsen Tsūshin-shi Raichō-zu (1748).” Painting (in digital image format). Wikimedia Commons. 2024.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ch%C5%8Dsen_Ts%C5%ABshin-shi_Raich%C5%8D-zu.jpg

- This image has been used to provide evidence for claims made regarding Joseon-Ryukyuan diplomatic precedent, and to be contrasted against the second image of a Ryukyu envoy.

Trambaiolo, Daniel. “Native and Foreign in Tokugawa Medicine.” *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 39, no. 2 (2013): 299–324. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24243135>.

- This article has been added specifically because it addresses instances of Korean cross-over from a cultural perspective in Tokugawa courtly proceedings (medicine). It is an isolated yet powerful example of cultural crossover and serves the broader goals of the paper.

“The Ministry of Rites reports on the protocol for congratulating the King, Year 1418, Month 9, Day 27, Entry 3. The Veritable Records of King Sejong, National Institute of Korean History, <http://esillok.history.go.kr/>.

- This primary source document has been officially translated – and informs a large section of the paper regarding diplomatic culture and precedent.

“The second son of the king of Ryukyu presents local products,” Year 1418, Month 8, Day 14, Entry 3. The Veritable Records of King Sejong, National Institute of Korean History, <http://esillok.history.go.kr/>.

- This primary source document has been officially translated – and informs a section on historical Korean and Ryukyuan interactions.

Matthew Hopkins – The Witchfinder General

James Cybulski – October 2023

HIST 4499: Special Topics – European Witchcraft before 1800

Professor Kari North

Through the ashes of England's brutal Civil War in the 1640s, emerged an ominous figure who became arguably the most infamous witch-hunter in European history. Dressed in a cape, hat, and flanked by his ally, John Stearne, Matthew Hopkins helped stir up a witch panic through East Anglia that led to the execution of more than a hundred people in a year. How did someone from relative obscurity have such an impact on a region and what were his motives? Was Hopkins simply a product of the time? Did Hopkins' motives stem from an elitist group threatened by marginalized women rallying together, or did he simply seize the moment in hopes of gaining prominence during a perfect storm? Several primary sources and accounts from these trials and investigations exist, but there are too many gaps which limits thorough scholarly sourcing.¹ To try and comprehend how the "Witchfinder General" came to be, requires an understanding of the political climate during the time these witch-hunts occurred.

By the 1630s, witchcraft was far from people's minds in England. The government and criminal courts paid little attention to it and convictions involving witchcraft were rare.² In many respects, witchcraft was becoming a dying concern. That all changed when a conflict between the Crown and Parliament erupted into a Civil War which raged throughout most of England during the 1640s. England's King Charles I largely ignored Parliament when it came to governing, and there were also religious divisions with the country largely Protestant, but Charles choosing to marry a Catholic. East Anglia was a Parliamentary stronghold and in the early 1640s, a rise in extreme sectarian Protestantism took hold of the region, and with the country divided in such a violent state, accusations of being aligned with evil forces began to take shape. Parliamentary supporters accused Royalist leaders of working alongside the devil.³

¹ James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England*, (Philadelphia, 1996), 128.

² James Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*, (Essex, 2001), 70.

³ Richard S. Ross, *Before Salem: Witch Hunting in the Connecticut River Valley, 1647-1663*, (Jefferson, NC, 2017), 11.

Hopkins first surfaced in historical records in spring 1645, and two years later, he died of consumption around the age of twenty-seven. Little is known about Hopkins prior to his witch-hunting experiences. His exact birthdate is unknown, although it is believed he was born in 1620 in Manningtree, located in northeastern Essex. His grandfather, William Hopkins was regarded as a noted landowner, and Matthew's father, James Hopkins had attended Cambridge University before being ordained in 1609. James' brother had also entered the clergy and so too did Matthew's oldest brother, which suggests that Matthew was raised in a religious household.

Hopkins entered the public realm in a pamphlet from 1645 where he appeared as a witness for a witch trial in Essex. During the winter of 1644-45, Hopkins was said to have become increasingly concerned with the number of witches living close by and decided to take matters into his own hands. During a series of investigations, 36 individuals were implicated as witches, and 19 were executed in Chelmsford on July 17, 1645. The hunts spread along the region, and while sources from the period are inconsistent, it appears roughly 250 'witches' were investigated during what became known as the "Hopkins Trials," between July-December 1645. It is hard to pin down an exact number of witches executed, but there is enough evidence to say over 100 were killed, while Hopkins' partner John Stearne suggested 200 were hanged.⁴ More than 87 percent of the accused were women, and many of these accusations stemmed from personal grudges, bitterness, or simply the refusal to lend money or goods.⁵

While torture was not allowed in England at the time, Hopkins felt certain methods were essential in extracting proof and confessions from suspected witches. The first tactic Hopkins was known for was 'watching,' which was the practice of keeping suspected witches awake for two to three days straight using roughhousing and leading questions which put intense psychological pressure on the accused.⁶ The swimming test was another one of Hopkins' frequent techniques. This practice saw a rope which tied a suspected witch's left thumb to their right toe, and the same with the opposite limbs. A rope was then placed under the armpits of the accused before they were thrown into a body of water. Using the logic that water was a pure element and would reject anything that might be tainted by the devil, if the suspect floated, they were assumed to be witches, but if the suspect sank, they were likely innocent where it was hoped the accused could be pulled out of the water before drowning occurred.⁷ Hopkins defended this method stating, "when they are tried

⁴ Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, 129.

⁵ Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, 131.

⁶ Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, 128.

⁷ Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, 218.

that way and float, they see the Devil deceives them again and have so been detected due to his treachery.”⁸

Hopkins had his supporters enabling such a massive witch-hunt, but he also had his share of detractors. A Parliamentary journal, *The Moderate Intelligencer* blasted Hopkins’ methods and profiling by writing, “whence is it that the Devils should choose to be conversant with silly women that know not their right hands from their left, is the great wonder. They will meddle with none but poor old women, as appears by what we received this day from Bury.”⁹ Hopkins also faced criticism for taking money during these witch trials but argued that he only went to communities that requested his presence claiming, “he demands but twenty shillings a town and sometimes rides twenty miles for that...and finds there three or four witches, or it be but one—still cheap enough. And this is the great sum he takes to maintain his company with three horses.”¹⁰

While Hopkins never took part in any fighting during the Civil War, Diane Purkiss viewed Hopkins’ methods as a by-product of the volatile climate, noting Hopkins was simply “one voice among others eager to heal or anaesthetise the wounds of the Civil War by the psychic pleasures involved in the witch’s identification and destruction,” adding, “soldiers...were acting on similar psychic orders, desperately trying to maintain their own identities intact and sustain the fiction of masculinity in the face of intolerable pressures.”¹¹ There is credence to this argument as Hopkins died of consumption at a young age, and may have been too frail to enlist, but witch-hunting still allowed him to do his part.

Frances Timbers took the approach of Hopkins belonging to a group of elites who felt threatened by a group of marginalized women who were semi-literate and found strength by gathering for prayer meetings; because they did this without men in attendance, this challenged the social order which made them outsiders, and eventually targets.¹² From his family lineage, Hopkins would have acquired some financial independence, and while women were overwhelmingly the subject of witch-hunts, this argument feels like a reach. Purkiss’ theory plays well alongside this author’s

⁸ Matthew Hopkins, *The Discovery of Witches*, in Montague Summers, *The Discovery of Witches: A Study of Master Matthew Hopkins Commonly Call’d Witch Finder Generall* (1928), quoted in Martha Rampton, ed., *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader* (Toronto, 2018), 447.

⁹ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, 1645 quoted from Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War*. (Cambridge, 2005), 214.

¹⁰ Matthew Hopkins, *The Discovery of Witches*, in Montague Summers, *The Discovery of Witches: A Study of Master Matthew Hopkins Commonly Call’d Witch Finder Generall* (1928), quoted in Martha Rampton, *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader* (Toronto, 2018), 451.

¹¹ Purkiss, *Literature*, 228.

¹² Frances Timbers, “Witches’ Sect or Prayer Meeting?: Matthew Hopkins revisited,” *Women’s History Review*, 17:1 (2008): 22-23.

own belief that Hopkins was simply out to make a name for himself. He would have been well versed in religious studies from his family background, and although too sickly to fight, he could use his skills to fight on a different front—against witchcraft, where his legacy remains contested nearly 400 years later.

Bibliography

- Gaskill, Malcolm. "Witchcraft and Evidence in Early Modern England." *Past & Present* 198, no. 1 (2008): 33-70.
- O'Brien, Sheilagh Ilona. "The Discovery of Witches: Matthew Hopkins's Defense of His Witch-Hunting Methods." *Preternature* 5, no. 1 (2016): 29-58. <https://muse-jhu.edu.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/article/612769/pdf>
- Purkiss, Diane. *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005
- Rampton, Martha, ed. *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Ross, Richard S. *Before Salem: Witch Hunting in the Connecticut River Valley, 1647-1663*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2017.
- Sneddon, Andrew. *Witchcraft and Whigs: The Life of Bishop Francis Hutchinson (1660-1739)*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2008
- Sharpe, James. *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.
- Sharpe, James. *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*. Essex, UK: Pearson Education, 2001.
- Timbers, Frances. "Witches' Sect or Prayer Meeting?: Matthew Hopkins revisited." *Women's History Review* 17, 1 (2008): 21-37.

Movie Analysis: *Star Wars Episode I – The Phantom Menace*¹

Josiah Eijbersen – Spring 2024
HIST 2335: War in the Modern World
Professor Kari North

Star Wars: Episode 1- The Phantom Menace (1999) is a movie that takes place in a science fiction galaxy full of humanoids and aliens. In this movie, a galactic organization called the Trade Federation blockades and later invades the planet Naboo. Two Jedi, Qui-Gon and Obi-Wan, together with the Queen of Naboo and her associates, set out on an adventure to get the galactic community to rally behind them and overthrow the Trade Federation's occupation. Unfortunately, the galactic community is too slow to respond, and so the inhabitants of Naboo have to free their planet themselves. Political warfare is a central theme in this movie, as galactic politics create the conditions that enable and maintain Naboo's blockade and invasion, determine the legitimacy of such an occupation, and slow the galactic response to the occupation; political division which ultimately forces the inhabitants of Naboo to fight for their own liberation.

First, galactic politics created an opportunity for the Trade Federation to blockade and later occupy Naboo. Justifying their barricade of Naboo as a protest against unfair taxation, the Federation initiated this action without suffering serious repercussions. This blockade exemplifies economic warfare, a severe sanction that was designed to pressure the galactic community to submit to the Federation's demands. When the Federation escalated things and invaded Naboo, there was a similar weak reaction to their actions. The feeble galactic response to the Federation's actions served as an encouragement to maintain the status quo, despite it being illegal. During the actual invasion, all Naboo's galactic communications were cut off, a form of information warfare. In the end, this tactic was successful, as Naboo's Queen was not even able to convince the Senate that Naboo was invaded in the first place. Also, the invasion solely by a droid force reflects surrogate warfare, helping the Trade Federation conquer Naboo while minimizing their sentient casualties. As can be seen, the blockade and invasion were able to be conducted and maintained because of a slow galactic response to the Federation's illegal actions.

¹ Students in History 2335 were asked to analyze the depiction of war in their chosen film, focusing on the key themes of the course. Another analysis from the course follows later in this edition – ed.

While the Trade Federation's actions were illegal, they desired to legitimize their military occupation of Naboo. To this end, the Federation repeatedly attempted to sign a treaty with the Queen of Naboo that would justify their occupation. This desire for a treaty indicates the importance of galactic recognition in determining the legitimacy of military actions. Even though the invasion was started with no real justification, the treaty would legalize such military aggression. Since the Queen did not want to sign the treaty, the Federation turned to brutal occupation tactics to force the Queen to capitulate. This reflects how civilians can be targeted to get a sovereign state to give in to an aggressor's demands. All in all, the desire for a treaty and subsequent civilian oppression indicates the importance of political legitimization during war.

While ultimately the Trade Federation failed to legitimize its military occupation, the galactic response to their actions was weak and slow. The Senate was mired in debate about whether the invasion happened at all, and the main characters mentioned that making a case to the Republic's Courts would have an even slower response. Due to a sluggish response, both in the Senate and Courts, the inhabitants of Naboo became frustrated and decided to take matters into their own hands. Much of the subsequent fighting for liberation resembles guerrilla warfare, especially within an urban environment. For example, while the Gungan army engaged the droids in a more classic head-to-head battle, the Naboo army ambushed many droids within the city of Theed, catching them completely off guard. In addition, this movie indicates the importance of winged warfare, especially in space. One of the first things the Naboo army chose to do during their city fighting was to reclaim their spacecraft, which ultimately helped with destroying the planetary blockade and neutralizing the planetary droid army through the destruction of their control centre. As can be seen, due to the slow galactic response to the Federation's actions, the inhabitants of Naboo had to fight for their freedom themselves.

The Phantom Menace effectively represents politics and how they are connected to the movie's warfare. It successfully depicts a completely unproductive Republic that is too indecisive and hesitant to take any meaningful action. In addition to setting the conditions for the blockade and invasion of Naboo, a lack of galactic response forced Naboo's inhabitants to battle against a stronger foe by themselves. An effective galactic response was slowed because of politics, a weakness that could only be demonstrated by either the war on Naboo or another war with a similar galactic response. Overall, this movie suggests that during war individual states must fight for themselves and that they cannot rely on international states for protection. I would definitely recommend this movie, as it offers an intriguing politically-based perspective on war.

A Brief History of Inuit and Dene Nights in Northern Canada: Distinguishing the Night from the Dark

Erika Genesisus – July 2023
HIST 4499: Special Topics – History of Night
Professor Kyle Jackson

Northern Canada is made up of lands that ancestrally belong to various Indigenous peoples.¹ The region experiences extreme temperatures, harsh storms, distinct patterns of sunlight and darkness, and sometimes scarce food sources. Thriving in the Canadian North requires generational teachings that provide critical survival knowledge. While there are many wonders about northern Canada, such as the Northern Lights, the history of the night in this region is often not a focus. For that reason, this book analyzes various sources in an effort to formulate a new narrative that informs readers about the unique history of nighttime in the Canadian North. Chapters are organized according to these themes: the night separate from darkness, the Inuit experience of nighttime, the night sky, Inuit and Dene dreams, and artificial light, as outlined in the following paragraphs.

Often the night is assumed to be synonymous with darkness; it is the norm for many around the world that the night sky is void of sunlight. It is also the norm that for most people daytime is associated with sunlight. For those in Northern Canada, specifically in the Canadian Arctic, lightness and darkness follow a seasonal pattern distinct from the daily phases to which most of the world is used.² The winter months, also called *tauvikjuaq* (the great darkness) by the Inuit, begin with the sun setting in late November and its absence until mid-January.³ While sunlight hours differ across the Arctic regions in Canada, many people and animals are impacted by this seasonal change.⁴ Chapter one, “The Night, Separate from Darkness,” looks at how the night is not solely

¹ The Inuit and Dene peoples of Northern Canada are two of the main Indigenous groups that this book focuses on. This book also acknowledges that it refers to this specific region as the “Canadian North” or “Northern Canada,” yet these lands belong to the traditional peoples who were here prior to colonization and the creation of Canada.

² Jacques Galinier, Aurore Monod Becquelin, Guy Bordin, Laurent Fontaine, Francine Fourmaux, Juliette Rouillet Ponce, Piero Salzarulo, Philippe Simonnot, Michèle Therrien, and Lole Zilli, “Anthropology of the Night: Cross-Disciplinary Investigations,” *Current Anthropology* 51, no. 6 (2010): 831.

³ John MacDonald, *The Arctic Sky: Inuit Astronomy, Star Lore, and Legend*, (Iqaluit, NWT: Nunavut Research Institute, 1998), 101.

⁴ Shelagh D. Grant, *Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet 1923*, (Montreal CA: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 9-10.

connected to the dark; distinct phases of lightness and darkness have historically impacted diurnal and seasonal cultural activities in Northern Canada.

Some of the main points covered in chapter one will relate to generational knowledge and worldviews. Historically, Inuit communities had very specific tasks to complete throughout the year to prepare for the long winter. Spring, summer, and fall were spent hunting, storing food, making warm clothing for the cold months, and visiting others.⁵ Hunting seals and storing the animal's blubber was also important to prepare ahead of winter so families could have light and heat during the cold months with the *Qulliq*.⁶ Hunters would travel far distances during the warmer months where they would acquire food and resources as well as important knowledge about the land; this knowledge would be passed on to younger generations through storytelling during the great darkness.⁷ As well, different senses would be relied upon when anticipating hunters' returning home depending on how light or dark it was outside; if it was dark, the community would actively *listen* for the hunters' return, but when it was light out, they would *look* for their return.⁸ Chapter one encompasses all of these details.

Given that the night in the far north is a time of day not entirely informed by the absence of sunlight, the nighttime was traditionally an Inuit *experience*.⁹ Before dependence on the twenty-four hour clock, the Inuit understood the night through constructions of individual feelings, environmental observations, and social norms.¹⁰ The body signalled when it was night whether the sky was light or dark; in this way, nighttime could not be mistaken for daytime.¹¹ As well, one would make regular observations of the behavior of the sun, the moon, and the stars to help indicate time of day.¹² The Inuit also believed that the night was a time for the body to recover from the day's work,

⁵ Grant, *Arctic...*, 10.

⁶ The *Qulliq* is an Inuit oil lamp made of stone. MacDonald, *The Arctic...*, 198; "The Qulliq – a Life Source," *Proudly Indigenous Crafts & Designs*, (2021), <https://proudlyindigenoucrafts.com/2021/06/25/the-qulliq-a-life-source/#:-:text=Research%20states%20that%20seal%20oil,Qulliq%20being%20one%20of%20them>, accessed 26 July 2023.

⁷ MacDonald, *The Arctic...*, 16; Noah Richler, "The Inuit Watch and Remember," *Despatches*, (2007 – 2008), 52.

⁸ Larry Audlaluk, *What I Remember, What I Know: the Life of a High Arctic Exile*, (Inhabit Media Incorporated, 2020), 1318 or 3844.

⁹ Guy Bordin, "Taarnirmik Unnuangujjuqimmat "Darkness is not the Cause of the Night," An Inuit Perspective from Canadian Eastern Arctic on the Night," *Proceedings 14th Inuit Studies Conference*, (2004): 38.

¹⁰ Bordin, "Taarnirmik..." 38 – 42.

¹¹ Bordin, "Taarnirmik..." 39.

¹² Bordin, "Taarnirmik..." 39.

so, on a societal level, nighttime was indicated by the need for rest.¹³ Consequently, during the summer months when sunlight fills the night sky, nighttime is not confused for daytime because of these other elements.¹⁴ The Arctic night is therefore not defined by darkness; before modern technology, the nighttime existed as an experience indicated by body cues, environmental factors, and social norms, and this is covered in chapter two, “The Inuit Experience of Night.”¹⁵

Traditionally, the Inuit held important knowledge about the stars and phenomena beyond the earth. Chapter three, “The Night Sky,” looks at the deep understandings that northern Indigenous groups have about the dark night sky. The *aqsarniit*, or Northern Lights, for example, appear when the sky is dark. They connect the living and non-living worlds where deceased loved ones communicate with those on earth.¹⁶ Inuit peoples teach proper ways of respecting the dancing spirits and the consequences of whistling to them; some teach the importance of whispering to prevent the ancestors from coming too close to earth where they can take living people into the spirit world.¹⁷ While the northern lights are a fascinating and beautiful sight, many Inuit have grown up to have some fear around them.¹⁸ On rare occasions, the northern lights have been used for navigation, like the stars. It has been observed by the northern Dene people that the northern lights appear as a low arc in an east to northwest direction nearly 100 percent of the time, which means that they can sometimes offer navigational support when landmarks and other directional tools are lacking.¹⁹

In keeping with the theme of “The Night Sky,” chapter three will also look at northern Indigenous knowledges about stars. The stars were once important navigational points of reference before GPS technology; at night when the stars were visible it was sometimes a preferred method of travel.²⁰ Stars also indicated what season it was and what time of night it was by constellation angles and

¹³ Bordin, “*Taarnirmik...*,” 41 – 42.

¹⁴ Bordin, “*Taarnirmik...*,” 42.

¹⁵ Galinier, “*Anthropology...*,” 831.

¹⁶ “Legends of the Aurora,” *Spectacular Northwest Territories*, <https://spectacularnwt.com/story/legends-aurora>, accessed 29 July 2023.

¹⁷ Dale Jarvis, “Whistling at the Northern Lights,” *Saltwire*, 2010, <https://www.saltwire.com/newfoundland-labrador/opinion/whistling-at-the-northern-lights-135097/>, accessed 30 July 2023.

¹⁸ Frédéric B. Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century* no. 58 (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), 23 – 24.

¹⁹ Chris M. Cannon, Paul Herbert, and Fred Sangris, “Yellowknives Dene and Gwich’in Stellar Wayfinding in Large-Scale Subarctic Landscapes,” *Arctic* 75, no. 2 (2022): 194.

²⁰ Dianne Whelan, “This Land,” *NFB*, (2009), https://www-nfb-ca.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/film/this_land/, accessed 25 July 2023.

locations in the sky.²¹ When visible, the constellation *Ullaktut* in a upright position in the sky indicates bedtime; if it is slanted in the sky it is only evening.²² When *Tukturjuik* constellation begins rising in the sky, Inuit understand that morning has arrived.²³ While these teachings and knowledges still circulate today, they are less communicated between generations for various reasons; the increased use of artificial light, for example, ever increasingly pollutes the darkness, hindering northern Indigenous peoples' ability to see the stars.²⁴

Chapter three will continue by looking at the ways that stars have complex relationships with northern Indigenous peoples. The Traveler, for example, is a powerful Dene medicine figure who brought balance to the living world before transforming into a constellation known by the same name.²⁵ This figure created the world to be what the Dene know it as today, and it helps guide Dene people to live off the land sustainably and meaningfully. This origin story explains where Dene peoples come from, it informs the landscapes they live within, and it informs Dene worldviews and more. The Traveler is one example of the ways that the night sky and its constellations are intimately connected to Indigenous ways of living and knowing.

Given the varied knowledges and purposes that stars have for the Dene and Inuit peoples, it is no surprise that stars had great spiritual roles as well. Chapter four, "Inuit and Dene Dreams," looks at the ways that dreams and their connection with stars were important sources of power for traditional shamans/medicine men as well as sources of knowledge for both Inuit and Dene community members.²⁶ Shamans, who were traditional medicine men of the Inuit, navigated their powers through dreams and were capable of reaching places beyond the earth that the average person otherwise would not be able to.²⁷ Dreams co-exist with daytime reality, and they provide knowledge about the future that helps guide the Inuit. As with the Inuit, the Dene people also believe in this connection between worlds that is accessed through dreams, and communication

¹⁸ Laugrand and Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity*, 23 – 24.

¹⁹ Chris M. Cannon, Paul Herbert, and Fred Sangris, "Yellowknives Dene and Gwich'in Stellar Wayfinding in Large-Scale Subarctic Landscapes," *Arctic* 75, no. 2 (2022): 194.

²⁰ Dianne Whelan, "This Land," *NFB*, (2009), https://www-nfb-ca.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/film/this_land/, accessed 25 July 2023.

²¹ MacDonald, *The Arctic...*, 40.

²² Bordin, *Taarnirmik...*, 40.

²³ Bordin, *Taarnirmik...*, 40.

²⁴ MacDonald, *The Arctic...*, 7.

²⁵ Chris M. Cannon, *Northern Dene Astronomical and Sky-Related Knowledge: A Comparative Anthropological Study*, (University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2021): iii; 39 – 40.

²⁶ Peter M. Gardner, *Journeys to the Edge: In the Footsteps of an Anthropologist*, (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2013), 141; MacDonald, *The Arctic...*, 40.

²⁷ MacDonald, *The Arctic...*, 40.

between both worlds is common.²⁸

Dene medicine men also gain great powers from dreams, such as being able to predict future events, and important connections are established between Dene people and other spirits on earth through dreams.²⁹ These connections become life-long relationships that offer protection and inform how a Dene person walks through the world.³⁰ Each Dene person, including medicine men, traditionally receive a song in their dreams; for the average Dene person, their song would be kept private for their entire lives.³¹ For a Dene medicine man, his song would be shared publicly with the community for distinct purposes.³² Since dreams often happen at nighttime when one is sleeping, chapter four helps explain some of the ways that elements of the night intersect with elements of the day; this chapter looks at these meaningful realities that are accessed through dreams that inform life in the living world.

Chapter four will additionally cover how the Inuit and Dene distinguish between different kinds of dreams. *Sinaktuumaniq* is the term used by the Inuit to describe dreams that take place during the night, but there are also types of dreams and visions that happen during the day.³³ The Dene also acknowledge that there are dreams that happen at night as well as those that occur in altered states of consciousness.³⁴ At nighttime it is common for the Inuit to dream of those who have passed away because death and sleep are allied.³⁵ Elders' roles included deciphering the significance of these different kinds of dreams; sometimes deceased people would communicate to loved ones through nocturnal dreams to allow those grieving to move forward with life.³⁶ Other times, frequent visits from deceased loved ones in dreams indicated an unhealthy situation for both the deceased spirit and the living person.³⁷ While dreams were traditionally a part of life that was routinely talked about with parents and Elders, today dreams are communicated less.³⁸

²⁸ Graham Watson and Jean-Guy A. Goutlet, "Gold in; Gold out: The Objectification of Dene Tha Accounts of Dreams and Visions," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 48, no. 3 (1992), 217.

²⁹ Beaudry, "The Language...", 74.

³⁰ Beaudry, "The Language...", 74.

³¹ Beaudry, "The Language...", 82 – 83.

³² Beaudry, "The Language...", 86.

³³ Laugrand and Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism...*, 222.

³⁴ Gardner, *Journey to...*, 141.

³⁵ Laugrand and Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism...*, 225.

³⁶ Laugrand and Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism...*, 227.

³⁷ Laugrand and Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism...*, 227.

³⁸ Laugrand and Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism...*, 221.

There has been a generational change in attitude towards the importance of dreams and their value to one's life, but they still exist as an element that connects the living world with the spirit world.³⁹

The lives of many Indigenous peoples in Northern Canada have drastically changed since the mid-twentieth century as modern technological advancements became more and more commonly used.⁴⁰ Today, many northern communities have access to artificial light, which enables homes to remain lit up during periods of darkness.⁴¹ Even in the far Canadian arctic where some Inuit were forcefully relocated by the Canadian government, homes had electric lighting by the 1970s and streets were lit up with electric street lamps.⁴² At any time during the day or night when natural darkness enveloped the region there was suddenly access to constant light.⁴³ Chapter five, "Artificial Light and the *Qulliq*," looks at the different ways that Inuit have brought light into their lives artificially. Aside from the modern forms of electric lighting that the Inuit have had access to for decades, they also have a very long history of using their own form of artificial light. Originally, their light source was created by a deeply meaningful and culturally informed practice that utilized seal blubber and cotton wicks.

The *Qulliq* is an Inuit stone oil lamp that has been used for over 3000 years.⁴⁴ Seal blubber would be used to keep the wick lit, and the lamp would provide light and heat.⁴⁵ During the dark winter months it could become very cold, so sources of heat were essential to survival. The *Qulliq* also served as a tool for cooking food.⁴⁶ Outside of its practical purposes, the *Qulliq* also had very important cultural teachings behind it. The skills of making and lighting the *Qulliq* have been taught

³⁹ Laugrand and Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism...*, 201.

⁴⁰ Colonization here encompasses the increased government control and consequent forced relocation of many northern Inuit people that severely impacted them culturally and individually. Michael J. Kral, "Postcolonial Suicide Among Inuit in Arctic Canada," *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 36, no. 2 (2012), 312.

⁴¹ Audlaluk, *What I Remember...*, 1855 of 3844.

⁴² Audlaluk, *What I Remember...*, 1855 of 3844.

⁴³ Audlaluk, *What I Remember...*, 1855 of 3844.

⁴⁴ Rita Pigalak, "Healing Through the *Qulliq*," *The Canadian Press* (2020),

<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2400656764?parentSessionId=6kLXWPLgVuqsg%2FczYCpO%2BHVq1I5p7HMbe7Ok4eD0hD8%3D&pq-origsite=summon&accountid=35875>, accessed 30 July 2023; "The *Qulliq*..."

⁴⁵ Grant, *Arctic...*, 10.

⁴⁶ "The *Qulliq*..."

to successive generations, and this is traditionally a woman's responsibility.⁴⁷ A husband is responsible for gifting his wife with the hook that is used to tend to the *Qulliq's* flame.⁴⁸ The *Qulliq* is clearly gendered, but both men and women are connected to it in distinct ways. Caring for the *Qulliq* requires constant attention and enables a family to survive through harsh winter times, so it is symbolic of an Inuit woman's role as a life giver and caretaker.⁴⁹ Babies are born under the light and heat of the *Qulliq*, and they are then nurtured to grow under the very same light and heat source.⁵⁰ The *Qulliq* is thus an important element of Inuit culture that is interconnected to life itself.

The five themes throughout this book are mainly focused on traditional nighttime practices and beliefs of the Inuit and Dene peoples of northern Canada. Survival was critically important, especially during the dark and cold winter months, but generational knowledge and cultural worldviews kept Inuit and Dene peoples alive and thriving. Today, many of the themes discussed throughout this book are no longer passed on as often or with as much meaning as they once were, but there are many Indigenous peoples throughout North America who are actively working at reclaiming traditional practices and knowledges that colonization took away from them – so the story continues.⁵¹

⁴⁷ "The Qulliq..."

⁴⁸ "The Qulliq..."

⁴⁹ "The Qulliq..."

⁵⁰ "The Qulliq..."

⁵¹ Students in HIST 4499 were asked to write the preface to a theoretical book examining the history of nighttime in a particular region – ed.

Bibliography

- Audlaluk, Larry. *What I Remember, What I Know: the Life of a High Arctic Exile*. Iqaluit, NT: Inhabit Media Incorporated, 2020.
- Beaudry, Nicole. "The Language of Dreams: Songs of the Dene Indians (Canada)." *The World of Music* 34, no. 2 (1992): 72 – 90.
- Billson, Janet Mancini. "Inuit Dreams, Inuit Realities: Shattering the Bonds of Dependency." *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 31, no. 1-2 (2001): 283 – 299.
- Bordin, Guy. "Taarnirmik Unnuangujjuqanngimmat "Darkness is not the Cause of the Night," An Inuit Perspective from Canadian Eastern Arctic on the Night." *Proceedings 14th Inuit Studies Conference* (2004): 37 – 45.
- Cannon, Chris M. *Northern Dene Astronomical and Sky-Related Knowledge: A Comparative Anthropological Study*. Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2021.
- Cannon, Chris M., Paul Herbert, and Fred Sangris. "Yellowknives Dene and Gwich'in Stellar Wayfinding in Large-Scale Subarctic Landscapes." *Arctic* 75, no. 2 (2022): 180 – 197.
- Galinier, Jacques, Aurore Monod Becquelin, Guy Bordin, Laurent Fontaine, Francine Fourmaux, Juliette Roulet Ponce, Piero Salzarulo, Philippe Simonnot, Michéle Therrien, and Lole Zilli. "Anthropology of the Night: Cross-Disciplinary Investigations." *Current Anthropology* 51, no. 6 (2010): 819 – 847.
- Gardner, Peter M. *Journeys to the Edge: In the Footsteps of an Anthropologist*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2013.
- Grant, Shelagh D. *Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet 1923*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.
- Jarvis, Dale. "Whistling at the Northern Lights." *Saltwire*. 2010. <https://www.saltwire.com/newfoundland-labrador/opinion/whistling-at-the-northern-lights-135097/>. Accessed 30 July 2023.
- Kral, Michael J. "Postcolonial Suicide Among Inuit in Arctic Canada." *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 36, no. 2 (2012): 306 - 325.
- Laugrand, Frédéric B. and Jarich G. Oosten. *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- "Legends of the Aurora." Spectacular Northwest Territories. <https://spectacularnwt.com/story/legends-aurora>. Accessed 29 July 2023.
- MacDonald, John. *The Arctic Sky: Inuit Astronomy, Star Lore, and Legend*. Iqaluit, NWT: Nunavut Research Institute, 1998.
- Pigalak, Rita. "Healing Through the Qulliq." The Canadian Press. 2020. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2400656764?parentSessionId=6kLXWPLgVuqsg%2FczYCPQ%2BHVq1I5p7HMbe7Ok4eD0hD8%3D&pq-origsite=summon&accountid=35875>. Accessed 30 July 2023.
- Richler, Noah. "The Inuit Watch and Remember." *Despatches*. 2007 – 2008. "The Qulliq – a Life Source." Proudly Indigenous Crafts & Designs. (2021). <https://proudlyindigenoucrafts.com/2021/06/25/the-qulliq-a-life-source>. Accessed 26 July 2023.
- Watson, Graham, and Jean-Guy A. Goutlet. "Gold in; Gold out: The Objectification of Dene Tha Accounts of Dreams and Visions." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 48, no. 3 (1992): 215 – 230.
- Whelan, Dianne. "This Land." NFB. 2009. https://www-nfb-ca.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/film/this_land/. Accessed 25 July 2023.

Witchcraft and the Pact with the Devil

Thomas Ivey – October 2023

HIST 4499: Special Topics – European Witchcraft before 1800

Professor Kari North

The devil has struck fear among believers in God since time immemorial.¹ He is the enemy that opposes all things holy, and also one of the biggest threats to someone living in the name of God.² Making a pact with him is unthinkable to most, because it is a wicked act.³ Witchcraft is also associated with devil pacts, because witches gain powers from it.⁴ This invokes fear in a religious society that evil witches are among them, which leads to accusations being thrown around about villagers being witches.⁵ In the later Seventeenth Century, the General Council and Lower Court authorities of Brunswick were in charge of exploring these cases.⁶ Tempel Anneke was convicted and received the harshest punishment – execution – from local authorities, because she was suspected of being in league with the devil due to the large number of accusations she received, and her resistance to confessing her guilt until after torture was applied.⁷ Meanwhile, Elizabeth Lorentz received a less severe punishment – banishment – from the village authorities who viewed her as a victim of the devil, because she confessed right away and suffered from *Anfechtungen*, meaning the devil had pursued her.⁸ The stories of these two women are quite different from one another.

Historians have written much about pacts with the devil and the details of these pacts are debated. According to Michael Bailey, the first devil's pact on record is from *Errores Gazariorum*,

¹ Julian Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, (London/New York: Routledge, 2016), 127.

² Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 127.

³ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 127.

⁴ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 133.

⁵ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 17.

⁶ Peter Alan Morton, ed. *The Trial of Tempel Anneke: Records of a Witchcraft Trial in Brunswick, Germany, 1663*, trans. Barbara Dähms, 2nd ed. (North York, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2017), xlv.

⁷ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke: Records of a Witchcraft Trial in Brunswick, Germany, 1663*, ed. Peter Alan Morton and trans. Barbara Dähms, 2nd ed. (North York, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 90, 119. Anneke's actual name was Anna Roleffes or Roleff or Rolloffs; "Tempel Anneke" was a local nickname [ed.].

⁸ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, ed. Peter Alan Morton and trans. Barbara Dähms (North York, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2018), xxxviii, 34, 48.

which was composed in the early 1400s.⁹ Kristof Ildiko, however, believes it came from sermons in the 1600s.¹⁰ Alan Orr's research into pacts in the *Malleus Maleficarum* details that pacts can be done without both sides agreeing outright, which explains Lorentz's pact and why her case more closely resembles a demonic possession instead, which would cause her much fear according to Brian Levack.¹¹ Meanwhile, the historian Helen Parish describes a pact as a means to give a physical form to demons, which can be used to create familiars.¹² Pacts take on many different forms, but the intent is usually ill natured according to Brendan Walsh and Julian Goodare.¹³ Pacts were motivated by malice and a desire to bring retribution to enemies that had wronged them according to Charlotte-Rose Millar.¹⁴ All of these historians' sources are well researched, which is helpful to understand what constitutes a pact with the devil, making Anneke and Lorentz's stories more digestible.

Both Anneke and Lorentz had had difficulties in their past that caused suspicion among the local authorities, but Anneke had far more grievances against her. Anneke was known for her medical treatments and her ability to heal both people and animals, but this could unfortunately end in accusations of witchcraft.¹⁵ Her trial lasted from June 25th 1663 to December 30th 1663, when she was beheaded, then afterwards her head and body were set ablaze.¹⁶ She had originally been accused one year earlier of witchcraft, which she shrugged off, but then the accusations became insurmountable a year later with a multitude of allegations coming in.¹⁷ Based on the number of accusations hurled Anneke's way, it is clear that she was not well received in the village and became an easy target for much of the village. She was an elderly woman, her husband had already passed away, and she was living in Brunswick in the Holy Roman Empire during this time.¹⁸ Another strike against her was the belief that women without husbands did not have a

⁹ Michael David Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Pub, 2007), 117.

¹⁰ Ildiko Sz. Kristof, "'Charming Sorcerers' Or 'Soldiers of Satan'? Witchcraft and Magic in the Eyes of Protestant/Calvinist Preachers in Early Modern Hungary," *Religions* 10, no. 5 (2019): 328, 9.

¹¹ Alan D. Orr, "God's Hangman: James VI, the Divine Right of Kings, and the Devil," *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 18, no. 2 (2016): 140; *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 13-14; Brian P. Levack, "The Horrors of Witchcraft and Demonic Possession," *Social Research* 81, no. 4 (2014): 924-925.

¹² Helen Parish, "'Paltie Vermin, Cats, Mice, Toads, and Weasils': Witches, Familiars, and Human-Animal Interactions in the English Witch Trials," *Religions* 10, no. 2 (2019): 134, 1-2.

¹³ Brendan C. Walsh, "'The Boy of Tocutt' and the Demonic Covenant in Seventeenth-Century New England Demonology," *Preternature* 12, no. 2 (2023): 123-124; Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 127.

¹⁴ Charlotte-Rose Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2017), 89.

¹⁵ Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, lxxix; *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 5.

¹⁶ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 4, 119.

¹⁷ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 1, 4, 6-8.

¹⁸ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 1, 4, 10.

strong defence against sin.¹⁹ Lorenz was also not married at this point, but she was far younger than Anneke, had a previous prison sentence in Sangerhausen, and was only in the employment of the Strombek family for a couple of weeks.²⁰ She was held from December 20th 1667 to March 12th 1668, before ultimately being banished from the town of Brunswick.²¹ Women were also viewed as fragile, and thus more susceptible to the devil's forcefulness, which made women the majority suspected for making these dealings.²² With all of these beliefs stacked against them, it is natural that authorities thoroughly scrutinized every aspect of their testimony and were persistent in their questioning, starting with the pact making.

Elizabeth Lorentz maintained that she did not enter a pact with the devil, but Tempel Anneke eventually confessed to making dealings with the devil.²³ Anneke had emphasized several times that she never entered an agreement with the devil throughout her interrogations.²⁴ Inquisitors were convinced that she was guilty though, because they kept prodding her nonstop on the topic, and Anneke changed her story after torture was used against her.²⁵ In addition, her story was incredibly detailed on the inner workings of the ritual to seal the pact, which was of great interest to those inquiring.²⁶ The details were vast and specific, such as the ritual taking place on a moonlit evening, using a cloth to soak up the blood from a self-inflicted puncture wound on her hand, the process happening on her son's property, and all of this while standing in a black ring while this pact advanced.²⁷ Furthermore, the devil proclaimed to now have ownership of Anneke and she vowed to uphold the pact, but despite this she still acknowledged that God has more power than the devil.²⁸ In Lorentz's case, only two parts of her story constituted forming a pact. The first was when she and the devil cut her nails to give to him, but Lorentz claimed to not have sworn an oath of any kind at the time, and the other is when the devil claimed to have ownership over her for eating a loaf of bread she found.²⁹ If scrutinized enough, these can be viewed as an informal pact making.³⁰ Being around the devil, who claims that you now live for him, brought on Lorentz's feelings of melancholy and *Anfechtungen*.³¹

¹⁹ Morton, *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, xxxiii.

²⁰ Morton, *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, xvii, xxxi; *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz* 12-13, 19.

²¹ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 4, 48.

²² Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, lxvi; Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe*, 131.

²³ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 84, 119.

²⁴ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 74.

²⁵ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 84.

²⁶ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 93.

²⁷ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 93.

²⁸ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 93-94.

²⁹ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 13, 37.

³⁰ Orr, "God's Hangman," 140.

³¹ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 20-21; Morton, *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, xxxviii.

Elizabeth Lorentz was believed to be suffering from melancholy and this is one of the reasons for her lighter sentence of banishment when compared to Anneke's execution.³² She was conscious of having this condition, but did not mention it to most people.³³ She believed that this manifested from having a lapse in judgment by turning to the devil for help, rather than awaiting her release from authorities, or trusting that God would see her out of jail eventually.³⁴ However, when she was given a medical examination, the doctor was not as convinced that she was suffering from melancholy.³⁵ In addition, she was thought to be beseeched by *Anfechtungen*, because she fell for the devil's temptation when her need was greatest.³⁶ This condition serves as a way for the devil to continually torment Lorentz for her missteps.³⁷ The way to rid herself of this is to seek God's compassion.³⁸ The authorities took pity on her for these conditions by thinking that she was not responsible for her actions, because her case falls more closely under a possession than a pact. This is because demonic possessions leave the mind and body unstable, and the devil guides your consciousness.³⁹ While the devil brought *Anfechtungen* upon Lorentz, there were benefits that came from making a deal with the devil.

Making a deal with the devil is not worthwhile if it is done for free, so authorities assumed that something of value was gained in return for entering a pact. Two common dealings involved the recipient receiving mystical abilities or an item that had value associated with it.⁴⁰ Both witches and sorcerers were thought to have received their powers from the devil.⁴¹ Anneke claimed that she learned sorcery from Martensche of Wenden about a decade ago, rather than through the devil though.⁴² Many of the questions asked of Anneke were about sorcery and other magic-related related questions.⁴³ Anneke was accused of bewitching a boy who had called her a derogatory term.⁴⁴ Anneke claimed this was done by directing her power into his leg with the phrase, "Fly in

³² *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 48; *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 119.

³³ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 21.

³⁴ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 20.

³⁵ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 32.

³⁶ Morton, *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, xxxviii.

³⁷ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 58.

³⁸ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 55.

³⁹ Levack, "The Horrors of Witchcraft," 924.

⁴⁰ Walsh, "The Boy of Tocutt," 116.

⁴¹ Kristof, "Charming Sorcerers," 12.

⁴² *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 81.

⁴³ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 78.

⁴⁴ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 86.

there.”⁴⁵ She was accused of bewitching cows as well.⁴⁶ Anneke also testified to placing potent concoction in pots that were in proximity of her targets, which were responsible for murdering animals and degrading a villager’s intellect.⁴⁷ Lorentz testified to only being offered money from the devil as incentive to commit heinous deeds, and did not receive any powers from him, but was allegedly given kernels that granted her immunity suspicion when these were sewn into clothing.⁴⁸ Another difference between Anneke and Lorentz that led to different outcomes in their cases is the amount of accusations sent their way.

Anneke initially received a staggering number of accusations from many residents around the village compared to Lorentz.⁴⁹ These accusations covered a wide range of claims from killing sheep, to divination, to ruining crops, to lowering someone's intelligence, and even as severe as having intercourse with the devil.⁵⁰ Surprisingly though, Anneke’s accusations were focused on using spells, but none indicated that this was from dealings with the devil.⁵¹ With a sizable portion of Brunswick’s community accusing her, authorities were naturally persistent in their questioning and is the reason why she was asked endlessly to answer for these crimes, despite standing by her denial of them until torture was applied.⁵² On the other hand, Lorentz is a strange case where she did not have any accusations against her, and she only ended up in custody due to her own confession.⁵³ In fact, harsher speculation only appeared later on from the authorities to build on Lorentz’s story from earlier.⁵⁴ If she had not confessed, she would not have ever appeared in court. Another reason why authorities felt the need to investigate thoroughly is because people had absolute fear of the devil in this time period and what a relationship with him entails.

Fear of the devil is commonplace among many religious folks and Lorentz was incredibly terrified of him, making her more sympathetic in the eyes of the authorities.⁵⁵ The devil tormented

⁴⁵ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 86.

⁴⁶ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 46.

⁴⁷ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 119-120.

⁴⁸ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 38.

⁴⁹ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 6-8.

⁵⁰ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 6-8.

⁵¹ Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, xxxv.

⁵² *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 74-77.

⁵³ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 38.

⁵⁴ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 33-34.

⁵⁵ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 40.

and stalked Elizabeth many times to keep her in line.⁵⁶ When she was stalling on the orders the devil gave her, she was threatened that a terrible occurrence would befall her if she did not follow through.⁵⁷ Even the skirt that was infused with kernels provided by the devil had Lorentz so hysterical that she had trouble laying eyes on and touching the skirt.⁵⁸ This was because of the devil's threat that he would snap her neck for assisting the authorities.⁵⁹ The dialogue of the inquisitors in both books avoids calling him the devil and Satan as well.⁶⁰ Some of the nicknames refer to the wickedness of the devil when authorities refer to him variations of names using evil⁶¹ This indicates that the authorities are afraid to even utter his name and title from their mouths. Anneke mentioned feeling petrified with fear in the devil's presence, sickness washing over her, and the thought that he would also take her neck and snap it.⁶² She also mentioned how grateful she was to be out of his clutches and that she would seek God's protection, even if she was destined to move onto the next life for these sins.⁶³ However, people were not only fearful of the devil, but also fearful of God.

God stood above all in the world and was the embodiment of all that is good, but these religious societies were also fearful of him.⁶⁴ Many religious communities used the utmost caution to avoid invoking the rage of God.⁶⁵ This is why Lorentz was initially put into the hands of people that attempted to save her.⁶⁶ She called on God for his forgiveness when she was surrounded by the devil.⁶⁷ She speculated that the devil would murder her, and that God would permit this, because her words were incapable of reaching him.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Lorentz was reprimanded by authorities when she failed to ask for a Bible, or acknowledge that spreading the word of God can keep her safe in her time of need.⁶⁹ However, Anneke had a more positive spin on her situation by believing that God would forgive her and refused to fall into hopelessness at the end.⁷⁰ She was a

⁵⁶ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 40.

⁵⁷ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 36.

⁵⁸ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 32.

⁵⁹ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 39.

⁶⁰ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 33; *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 78.

⁶¹ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 78, *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 33.

⁶² *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 88.

⁶³ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 100.

⁶⁴ Morton, *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, xxxiii; *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 46.

⁶⁵ Morton, *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, xxvii.

⁶⁶ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 46.

⁶⁷ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 20.

⁶⁸ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 41.

⁶⁹ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 41.

⁷⁰ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 99.

was a strong woman, even when facing death, but communities were fearful and tended to blame events on witches.

Those who were able to use magic were believed to have received their wicked powers from the devil, and protecting Brunswick from these perceived threats was a top priority.⁷¹ Loss of life, loss of crops, or harm befalling people were usually blamed on sorcery by witches.⁷² In addition, they were suspected of committing petty crimes such as thievery as well.⁷³ Furthermore, witches were thought to be capable of manipulating their appearance to resemble animals and had demons following them in these forms as well.⁷⁴ Residents of these villages were not happy if authorities sat idle when witches were suspected to be involved, meaning someone must take the fall for these events.⁷⁵ Witches were viewed as superstitious and drifters from the light of God when these trials were taking place, so they were naturally one of the biggest threats.⁷⁶ With deep seeded roots in religion, women being primarily targeted, and the atmosphere of neighbours accusing each other, it was inevitable that Anneke became a target, because she was a woman who had not attended church in such a long time.⁷⁷ She would have held strong, but torture pushed her to the breaking point, forcing her to confess to these crimes. The 1530 *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* permitted the use of torture to obtain testimony from suspected witches⁷⁸ This was a crucial part of many trials.⁷⁹ Torture was viewed as a valuable way to obtain confessions from witches and other magic users, but only Anneke was subjected to this.⁸⁰ Anneke maintained her innocence until she was tortured on October 22nd, 1663, at which point she changed her story.⁸¹ This was done by digging screws tightly into her legs, and when the executioner was not satisfied with Anneke's answers, he used this technique to force her to switch them quickly.⁸² After this torture session, the authorities had the answers they wanted. In Anneke's case, the authorities must have assured themselves of her guilt from the start.

⁷¹ Kristof, "Charming Sorcerers," 12.

⁷² Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, xxxiii.

⁷³ Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England*, 87.

⁷⁴ Parish, "Paltrie Vermin, Cats, Mice, Toads, and Weasils," 2-3.

⁷⁵ Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, lxxiv.

⁷⁶ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 341.

⁷⁷ Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, lxvi; *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 5.

⁷⁸ Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 86; *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 80-81; *Bedevelopment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 43.

⁷⁹ Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, xxxviii.

⁸⁰ Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, xl. The *Carolina* was agreed to by Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. It defined capital crimes and authorized the use of torture to extract confessions in such cases [ed.].

⁸¹ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 79-86.

⁸² *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 80-81.

Meanwhile, Lorentz was threatened with torture, but was never subjected to it.⁸³ She is a rare case because she confessed her relation with the devil from the start, although she portrayed herself as a victim of the devil.⁸⁴ There is a high possibility that this led authorities to having more leniency on her, when compared to the terrible treatment that was given to Anneke. Torture went unused in Lorentz's case, because she gave the answers they were seeking right away.⁸⁵ Torture was thus key in Anneke's trial, but incidental to that of Lorentz.⁸⁶

Another way to confirm if a person has entered a pact with the devil involves scouring the person's body for a mark that Satan branded them with for accepting his dealings.⁸⁷ The devil's mark was believed to be the preferred method Satan has to claim he has ownership of those he deals with and also marks that person as a witch, hence why it is also referred to as the witch's mark at times.⁸⁸ In Lorentz's case, she is unaware of receiving any form of marking from the devil, but agreed to be held liable if she was mistaken.⁸⁹ Meanwhile, Anneke claimed that she was originally supposed to have the mark of the devil appear below her face by Satan's request, but she refused him that placement and negotiated to have it placed on her left knee instead.⁹⁰ According to the executioner however, there is reason to hold skepticism to this claim, because this mark had the appearance of an old injury that has healed over.⁹¹ Regardless, Anneke held strong that this claim was true and they will not find another.⁹² Inquisitors needed to confirm her pact, so they brought in a barber to verify, and gathered mixed results using a pain test.⁹³ It is believed that pressing objects into a true mark would elicit no response.⁹⁴ Finally, this mark is viewed as a symbol that a person has decided to walk away from the path of God, and instead decided to walk a life of wickedness with the devil.⁹⁵ The devil and the witches under him were

⁸³ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 43.

⁸⁴ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 20.

⁸⁵ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 34-41.

⁸⁶ Morton, *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 34.

⁸⁷ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 199.

⁸⁸ Kristof, "Charming Sorcerers," 12; Walsh, "The Boy of Tocutt," 116-117.

⁸⁹ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 37-38.

⁹⁰ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 95.

⁹¹ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 96.

⁹² *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 96.

⁹³ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 102-103.

⁹⁴ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 199.

⁹⁵ Kristof, "Charming Sorcerers," 12.

partners, which is why the authorities were so thorough in their investigations.⁹⁶ One of the most feared things about the devil was the terms of the agreement with him.

When a deal with the devil was made, naturally he was going to want his end of the bargain fulfilled. In an astounding turn of events though, both of these women claimed they had resisted enacting the most heinous part of the devil's commands. According to Anneke's testimony, each individual witch received secret instructions at a dance, and had to fulfill those commands before the next dance was conducted.⁹⁷ Anneke and many others were brought yearly to these dances by traveling on a goat.⁹⁸ The devil wanted her to commit murder, but her good conscience and faith in God, kept her from fulfilling these orders.⁹⁹ In fact, murder was a fairly common theme in both Anneke's and Lorentz's contracts.¹⁰⁰ Lorentz's orders were to bring about three fatalities, with one of her own choosing, another being a fellow maid that she worked alongside, and her master's youngest child.¹⁰¹ The devil was furious with her for not going through with it, and mocked her of the ill fate that she brought upon herself.¹⁰² The devil also anticipated sexual relations from both Lorentz and Anneke, with the former stopping him at the lips, while the latter confessing to capitulating to this request.¹⁰³ Elizabeth's words point to her greatest strength being noncommittal language that gave her some degree of control, but the devil did eventually accuse her of deceiving him, leaving her in an unfavourable position after this.¹⁰⁴ The devil had many more tricks up his sleeve though, and one of his favourites was to change how the human eye perceives him.¹⁰⁵

The devil is known for trickery, and is capable of changing his form to suit his needs.¹⁰⁶ In Lorentz's testimony, he often appeared before her as a young man that wears various clothing of high quality.¹⁰⁷ He snuck into jails to converse with her about his dealings without being noticed by others.¹⁰⁸ While the reason is unknown to Lorentz, the devil has also shown himself as a cat to her on many occasions, which is clearly an attempt by the devil to keep Lorentz under

⁹⁶ Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England*, 2.

⁹⁷ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 100.

⁹⁸ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 96.

⁹⁹ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 100.

¹⁰⁰ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 96; *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 21.

¹⁰¹ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 37.

¹⁰² *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 37.

¹⁰³ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 38; *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 91.

¹⁰⁴ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 36.

¹⁰⁵ Millar. *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England*, 29.

¹⁰⁶ Millar. *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England*, 29.

¹⁰⁷ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 13.

¹⁰⁸ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 13.

his control and instill fear in her.¹⁰⁹ In addition, dogs were sed as well to pull on her bindings in captivity, but no authorities present at the time attested to a dog being present, making her look deranged.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Anneke attested that a black haired and black dressed, yet ordinary looking man was the form the devil took for her.¹¹¹ Both of these women repented their ways for teaming up with the devil in the first place.

While in custody, both women displayed their regret for conversing with the devil. Brunswick had Lutheran beliefs during the timeline of both trials, which held the devil as the assessor of a person's faith by tempting their desires.¹¹² Anneke admonished herself for falling for the devil's trickery, and was in tears while giving her confession.¹¹³ She expressed that she repents her actions, regardless of the outcome and is thankful to be away from the devil.¹¹⁴ Lorentz also cried on multiple occasions, but apparently her regrets were not enough for the authorities, because they prescribed her to do: "true penance" in her sentencing out of the town.¹¹⁵ In addition, she was able to recite the Second Commandment in her earlier questioning, which gave authorities hope that will be to turn her life around after banishment.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, Anneke had not attended church for two decades, which reflects poorly on her in the eyes of any judge in a religious society.¹¹⁷ The judges must have viewed both of these women as failing the tests that were brought upon them by falling for the devil's dealings. The authorities must have felt it in their best interest to preserve the safety of the village.

A pact with the devil was a very complicated process. This pact brought about fear, because it stood in direct opposition to God.¹¹⁸ Lorentz's pact with the devil was presented in a way that portrayed her as a victim who was tricked into the pact, while Anneke's pact sounded like a conscious decision to the authorities.¹¹⁹ In addition, many differences were present in this case, such as Anneke having a devil's mark, Anneke's reputation in the village, the timing of their confessions, Lorentz's lack of powers, and her being pursued by the devil.¹²⁰ A pact with the devil is a scary prospect, which led to authorities taking one life and banishing another.¹²¹

¹⁰⁹ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 40.

¹¹⁰ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 40.

¹¹¹ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 40.

¹¹² Morton, *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, xxx, xxviii; Morton, *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, xxxii.

¹¹³ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 99.

¹¹⁴ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 100.

¹¹⁵ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 43, 48.

¹¹⁶ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 19.

¹¹⁷ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 5.

¹¹⁸ Kristof, "Charming Sorcerers," 12.

¹¹⁹ *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 13; *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 84.

¹²⁰ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 1, 4, 6-8, 79-86, 95; *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 6, 20, 38, 55.

¹²¹ *The Trial of Tempel Anneke*, 119; *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*, 48.

Bibliography

- Bailey, Michael David. *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Pub, 2007.
- Goodare, Julian. *The European Witch-Hunt*. London/New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Kristof, Ildiko Sz. "'Charming Sorcerers' Or 'Soldiers of Satan'? Witchcraft and Magic in the Eyes of Protestant/Calvinist Preachers in Early Modern Hungary." *Religions* 10, no. 5 (2019): 328.
- Levack, Brian P. "The Horrors of Witchcraft and Demonic Possession." *Social Research* 81, no. 4 (2014): 921-939.
- Millar, Charlotte-Rose. *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England*. First ed. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Morton, Peter Alan, ed. *The Bedevilment of Elizabeth Lorentz*. Translated by Barbara Dähms. North York, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Morton, Peter Alan, ed. *The Trial of Tempel Anneke: Records of a Witchcraft Trial in Brunswick, Germany, 1663*. Translated by Barbara Dähms. Second edition. North York, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2017.
- Orr, D. Alan. "'God's Hangman': James VI, the Divine Right of Kings, and the Devil." *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 18, no. 2 (2016): 137-154.
- Parish, Helen. "'Paltrie Vermin, Cats, Mice, Toads, and Weasils': Witches, Familiars, and Human-Animal Interactions in the English Witch Trials." *Religions* 10, no. 2 (2019): 134.
- Walsh, Brendan C. "'The Boy of Tocutt' and the Demonic Covenant in Seventeenth-Century New England Demonology." *Preternature* 12, no. 2 (2023): 107-135.

Change, Resistance, and the Last Domino: The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 and the Rapid Decline of the Samurai

Thomas Komusi – April 2024

HIST 4470: The Samurai

Professor Jack P. Hayes

Few topics regarding the history of Japan seem to bring greater notoriety and revisionism than the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 (The Seinan War), which took place amidst a series of critical changes to Japan's military, sociopolitical, and economic structures, and culminated in the elimination of the samurai, a social caste that had dominated those spheres for several centuries. It was the last, and most impactful of five different rebellions that took place between 1873-1877, and was a result of tensions and outrage brought on by numerous revolutionary changes to Japan's status quo.¹ In fact, there are very few examples in any nation's history of bringing about such sweeping and dramatic changes to its sociopolitical infrastructure within such a brief timeframe, as Japan during and after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, and this had drastic consequences for the former samurai and their long hegemony over the country.² To gain a better understanding of the issues this topic raises, numerous factors must be analyzed at length, and placed within the wider context and history behind it. The core of this work will centre around the discussion of the samurai's very existence and purpose coming into question under both the Tokugawa bakufu, as well as the new modern state; the Meiji reforms from 1868-1876 that directly challenged the social standing and status of the samurai; and, the radical measures with which the samurai responded, and why they did so. It is through this discussion that this work will analyze how and why the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 became the final act of a dying social caste that had long outlived its usefulness amidst the advent of modern Japan – a desperate, belated reaction to changes that the samurai themselves had done so much to bring about.

Before delving into the wider issues or the direct and indirect causes, it is fundamentally important to set the stage for the analysis by discussing some of the basic historical context that preceded both the turbulent rebellion, as well as the Meiji Restoration of 1868. For this, it is pivotal to turn to the Edo Period from 1600 onwards amidst the years of the Tokugawa bakufu. Although

¹ Colin D. Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier: Remaking Military Service in Nineteenth Century-Japan* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2016), 132.

² Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 7.

many of those who discuss the decline of the samurai and the Satsuma rebellion seem to focus their respective analyses on the early Meiji government as well as the reforms they enacted, many of the antecedents behind these issues had deep roots going back nearly two centuries. With this in mind, it is important to explore the changing role of the samurai following the end of the Sengoku Period by 1600, and the difficulties faced by the new Tokugawa Shogunate in confronting the problematic warrior caste. It was extremely difficult for the bakufu to exert extensive control and influence over a country in which a neo-feudal sect of people existed that held strong attitudes of autonomy and fierce independence, and this was the dilemma faced by the shogunate in reshaping aggressive warriors into peaceful members of society. Throughout this transformation, the samurai were no longer soldiers, and had been reshaped into aristocrats and administrators, and this came from the bakufu's attempts to redefine their roles and essentially pacify, if not domesticate them.³

This fundamental change to the samurai and their subjugation to the Shogunate was what historian Eiko Ikegami refers to in her work *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism & the Making of Modern Japan*, as an "...organizational mechanism..." that relied solely by operating through securing the common interests of the samurai.⁴ As Danny Orbach quotes in his book, *Curse on This Country: The Rebellious Army of Imperial Japan*, the Chinese Confucian philosopher, Mencius once stated that "The administration of government is not difficult: it consists of not offending the great families," and this is equally applicable to the problem that the Tokugawa administration was faced with in confronting the samurai.⁵ Thus, many of the problems that the samurai caused in the years following 1868 to reshape this demographic of Japanese society while maintaining a delicate balancing act mirrored problems faced previously by the Tokugawa bakufu from 1600-onwards.⁶ As much as they had reshaped the samurai, they did not, however, tackle the root problem, that being the very existence of the samurai themselves as an ongoing challenge to their power, or any hopes for cohesive political consolidation for the future.

One can only alter something so many times before it becomes unrecognizable from its original shape, and it is here when the samurai underwent yet another critical transformation in their history, one in which their caste as they knew it, did not survive. The samurai themselves were the proverbial 'thorn' lodged in the side of both the premodern and modern Japanese administrations, and it was only once the Meiji Restoration occurs, when this problem became

³ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism & the Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 153.

⁴ Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai*, 184.

⁵ Danny Orbach, *Curse on this Country: The Rebellious Army of Imperial Japan* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2017), 29.

⁶ Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai*, 154-156.

greatly exacerbated that further revealed the longstanding problems and tensions that the samurai caused for the state authorities in trying to forge a unified national identity and administration. Like its' premodern context, the samurai posed a unique administrative and social problem for the Meiji government; how does a polity forge and consolidate a unified national body that has strong central authority, while a sect of former warriors exists simultaneously outside the periphery of that very authority? Japan was undergoing immense military and sociopolitical reconstruction during this period, and like an unwanted guest, the samurai had overstayed their welcome, emphasizing that they were obsolete and outdated.⁷ Their caste was symbolic of a bygone era, and while they had ultimately served their purpose by reinstalling the emperor to the throne in overtaking the Shogunate, their services were no longer needed. They were indeed now blocking the road to progress. Many samurai searched for meaning and purpose in this new modern world, such as with the proposed *seikanron* debates regarding the invasion of the Korean Peninsula, which would ultimately give the samurai an important opportunity to emphasize that their caste still had a practical place and role in society. However, it did not come to fruition, further highlighting that the modern world was not one in which the samurai could realistically or practically remain intact.⁸

Before discussing the actual rebellion in 1877, there are a number of outlying factors that continue to raise additional questions, of which do not only pertain to the rebellion itself but involve the events preceding it as well. For example, why did the samurai overthrow the Tokugawa bakufu; a regime that largely accommodated the samurai caste? For this, it is important to discuss the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry when he presented Japan with an ultimatum in 1853, an indescribably significant event for 19th century Japan.⁹ The intense threat of foreign domination that this expedition posed to the outdated and antiquated nation cannot be understated, and it highlighted the inabilities of the bakufu to protect Japan from its enemies; the sole justification for its very existence. Therefore, the samurai needed to provide change, and most importantly, modernization, otherwise, Japan and everything they knew would disappear. However, the Satsuma samurai could not have possibly foreseen that reestablishing the emperor to achieve this would cause a domino effect for their class and way of life. Charles Yates writes that both Saigō Takamori and the samurai alike, "...lacked the imagination to understand the implications such change would have for the traditional world..." and that "...many of these men began to realize

⁷ Charles Yates, "Saigō Takamori in the Emergence of Meiji Japan" *Modern Asian Studies* 28, no. 3 (1994): 454.

⁸ Noriko Berlinguez-Kono, "How Did Saigō Takamori Become a National Hero After His Death? The Political Use of Saigō's Figure and the Interpretation of Seikanron," in Sven Saaler and Wolfgang Schwentker, *The Power of Memory in Modern Japan*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 225.

⁹ John Murphy, "The Satsuma Rebellion." <https://search.credoreference.com/articles/Om9va0FydGlibGU6NTc5MDg3> Accessed January 24th, 2024.

too late that they had done away with more than they were willing to do without.¹⁰ Although the outcome of the Satsuma Rebellion was indeed the final killing blow, perhaps the coup de grace of the samurai caste, the initial mortal wound of the samurai was ultimately delivered in 1866, when they had, in the words of Yates, "...joined forces to destroy the only institutional order in which the samurai had any functional meaning."¹¹ As for other motivations for overthrowing the bakufu, many lower class samurai saw this as an opportunity to break through the class distinctions and restraints of the Tokugawa institutions, which had given little opportunity for social mobility.¹²

To get to the heart of how the Meiji government attempted to resolve the issues posed by the samurai, it is critical to discuss the Meiji reforms from 1868-1876. This will help highlight how they directly confronted the national obstacle of the samurai, and additionally, how these reforms affected and openly challenged their fierce autonomy and elite status. As John Hall and Marius Jansen note in their work *The History of Japan Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century*, "The Meiji leaders realized that the Tokugawa political order, based on parcelized sovereignty, was fundamentally incompatible..." with their renewed national vision of modern political power amidst a harshly competitive international environment, and the samurai were at the core of that problem.¹³ Thus, by attempting to pass reforms that directly targeted their former allies and the privileges which they had enjoyed for centuries, the government was, as Orbach regards, "...walking on a tight rope."¹⁴

Beginning in 1868, immediately following the Meiji Restoration, the new government began to gradually and systematically dismantle the old order that had defined Japan's previous administrations, including the removal of nearly every class privilege enjoyed by the samurai.¹⁵ These sweeping changes were largely spurred by the aforementioned external threat of foreigners with extraordinary modern technology that signaled to Japan just how archaic its institutions of tradition were. And at the heart of that crisis, was the proverbial 'elephant in the room,' the samurai.¹⁶ The isolationism that had defined Japan's almost nonexistent foreign policy for nearly two centuries had come back to bite them. Between 1868-1876, to create a new modern nation, the

¹⁰ Yates, "Saigō Takamori in the Emergence of Meiji Japan," 458-463.

¹¹ Yates, "Saigō Takamori in the Emergence of Meiji Japan," 449.

¹² Mark Cohen, "The Political Process of Revolutionary Samurai: A Comparative Reconsideration of Japan's Meiji Restoration" in *Theory and Society* 43, no. 2 (2014): 160.

¹³ John Hall and Marius B. Jansen, *Cambridge History of Japan Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 384.

¹⁴ Orbach, *Curse on this Country*, 33.

¹⁵ Murphy, "Satsuma Rebellion" <https://search.credoreference.com/articles/Om9va0FydGJlbGU6NTc5MDg3> (Accessed January 24th, 2024).

¹⁶ Yates, "Saigō Takamori in the Emergence of Meiji Japan," 457.

class hierarchy was completely dismantled, the practice of wearing swords was outlawed, as were traditional topknots, feudal domains were eradicated, and critically, as Hall and Jansen note, commoners no longer had to perform the longstanding tradition of "...public acts of deference toward samurai..."¹⁷

Further confounding matters for the former warriors, was that the title of samurai itself was totally abolished,¹⁸ giving rise to the *shizoku* class, (although the term samurai will still be used in this work for the sake of consistency).¹⁹ Augustus Mounsey utilizes a quote from a dissenting samurai manifesto in his work *The Satsuma Rebellion: An Episode of Japanese History*, which reads "...diabolical spirits now prevailing are bent on abolishing customs which have been cherished and observed from the time of the gods, and on making our people imitate foreigners."²⁰ This reveals just how much outrage many samurai felt in response to these reforms, which systematically destroyed everything they had valued. Additionally, universal conscription was enacted as part of wider attempts at military reform. This meant that Japan's new modern army largely consisted of peasants serving alongside former samurai, not beneath.²¹ From the perspective of the samurai, this would have been beyond insulting.

Clearly, the samurai bore the brunt of Japan's rapid modernization policies as they became increasingly alienated through these seemingly punitive measures.²² Although these reforms had slowly chipped away at the samurai's privileges, one piece of legislation did so much more overtly, that being the abolishment of government stipends to the former warriors, a measure designed as a form of financial compensation for the loss of those privileges.²³ The abrupt end of these stipends in 1876 resulted in mass outrage, and further worsened matters by creating scores of impoverished, destitute, and purposeless samurai.²⁴ Although all of these reforms were largely unpopular among former samurai, the removal of government stipends was, simply put, the straw that broke the camels' back. What followed was a seedbed of resentment and disillusionment among samurai with their new government, and as Saigō Takamori, the eventual

¹⁷ Hall and Jansen, *Cambridge History of Japan*, 383.

¹⁸ Orbach, *Curse on this Country*, 33.

¹⁹ Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 136.

²⁰ Augustus H. Mounsey, *The Satsuma Rebellion: An Episode of Modern Japanese History* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1879), 92.

²¹ Murphy, "Satsuma Rebellion." <https://search.credoreference.com/articles/Om9va0FydGlibGU6NTc5MDg3> (Accessed January 24th, 2024).

²² Hall and Jansen, *Cambridge History of Japan*, 382.

²³ Ivan Morris, *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan* (New York: Holt, Reinhart, & Winston, 1975), 248.

²⁴ Romulus Hillsborough, *Samurai Revolution: The Dawn of Modern Japan Seen Through the Eyes of the Shogun's Last Samurai* (Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2014), 560.

leader of the Satsuma Rebellion would warn his colleagues, the Meiji government was "...sleeping on a powder keg."²⁵ Initially, the reaction of the dissenting samurai took the form of sporadic rebellions, and between 1873-1876, there were four across the Saga, Kumamoto, Akizuki, and Hagi prefectures and domains. It is critical to recognize that all but one of these revolts took place in Kyushu, the home of the Satsuma domain.²⁶ However, these first four rebellions, later known as the *shizoku revolts* were notably small and localized affairs, often crushed by Imperial forces within days.²⁷ But as small and disorganized these revolts were, they greatly foreshadowed what followed. Before actually touching upon the Satsuma Rebellion itself, it is critical to discuss the regional significance of the Satsuma domain, as well as how crucial it was in establishing both the emperor to the throne, and the Meiji government to prominence.

If the samurai as a whole were the thorn in the government's side, then Satsuma; the southernmost province in Kyushu, was the dagger in their foot. No domain in Japan had a more colourful history of fierce independence and staunch autonomy than the Satsuma domain, as it existed outside the periphery of both the Tokugawa bakufu's authority, as well as the Meiji states, largely due to its regional decentralization and isolation from the mainland.²⁸ Its' role in overthrowing the shogunate and restoring the emperor was not only important, it was foundational, as the Satsuma-Choshu Alliance was a pivotal military coalition that played a crucial role in the Boshin War of 1868-1869 and the subsequent Meiji Restoration²⁹ This is why many former samurai in this region were so outraged by the reforms that seemed to directly target them. Not only did they feel a deep sense of betrayal by their government considering the services they provided during the Boshin War and the Restoration, but their regional traditions of independence and autonomy were directly challenged.

This fierce autonomy did not end following the passing of the reforms, and many samurai, particularly in Satsuma, continued to practice their old ways. They still carried their swords, encouraged private military academies that taught old world Japanese-Chinese Confucian and martial values, and largely rejected the Western-style norms that had become commonplace elsewhere.³⁰ It is also important to note that approximately 40% of the population in Satsuma were samurai, even further, they made up 70% of the population in Kagoshima prefecture.³¹ Thus,

²⁵ Hall and Jansen, *Cambridge History of Japan*, 388.

²⁶ Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 132.

²⁷ Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 132.

²⁸ Marius B. Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 185.

²⁹ Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryoma*, 185.

³⁰ James H. Buck, "The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877: From Kagoshima Through the Siege of Kumamoto Castle," *Monumenta Nipponica* 28, no. 4 (1973): 429.

³¹ Morris, *Nobility of Failure*, 227.

if a mass rebellion was to occur anywhere, it would be in Satsuma. The Meiji government showed a great deal of suspicion and distrust toward their formerly loyal warriors, as they had completely ignored the laws and reforms, providing a significant challenge to their authority and control over Japan.³² Here lies the foundation for what was the largest and most important of the shizoku revolts, the Satsuma Rebellion. The vast changes to the role of the samurai in a new modern society, including the punitive reforms that directly targeted the samurai that upended the privileges and elite status that they had enjoyed for centuries would have drastic consequences. The autonomy and independence that had defined the Satsuma domain, and the resentment of alienated and disenfranchised samurai against their government would all come to a head. The so-called 'powder keg' that Saigō Takamori had alluded to was a foreboding reality, and it would launch Japan into a stage of turmoil that it had not seen since the Sengoku Period.³³

The latent tensions that had been culminating, but had not yet boiled over, had been lying largely dormant within the domain of Satsuma amidst the early weeks of 1877. The deep suspicion that the government had towards the Satsuma domain reached its zenith when Imperial authorities sent officials to investigate troubling reports of insurgent attitudes in the region.³⁴ Their forces additionally attempted to seize a large stockpile of weapons at the Kagoshima arsenal in order to preemptively tackle what they saw as a blatant threat.³⁵ This served as the spark that exacerbated tensions, and would bring the animosity between the samurai and the Meiji authorities to a crescendo. This seeming invasion of Satsuma lands by the Imperial authorities was not only a blatant challenge to their autonomy and independence, but also seen as an immense overstepping of the governments' authority. Further, when a supposed assassination plot was 'discovered' targeting Saigō Takamori, a well-respected figure which largely embodied the resentment of the Meiji government, further created greater outrage among hot-headed Satsuma samurai.³⁶

The aforementioned military academies scattered across the region also significantly worsened the potential for mass rebellion. It ensured that the region was filled with young men who had been instructed in military training and instilled with old world values. This meant that any rebellion would be on an immense scale, the likes of which would be far more costly and lethal than either the Boshin War, or the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895.³⁷ The reaction of the Satsuma samurai to the measures of the Meiji authorities highlighted, perhaps far too late, that despite the formal abolishment of domains, "...they still existed as political units and powerful sources of

³² Morris, *Nobility of Failure*, 429.

³³ Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 132.

³⁴ Buck, "The Satsuma Rebellion," 429.

³⁵ Buck, "The Satsuma Rebellion," 429.

³⁶ Hillsborough, *Samurai Revolution*, 562.

³⁷ Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 132.

identity.”³⁸ Although the outbreak of the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 was an event for which the government was, in fact, prepared for, it nonetheless worried them greatly, as it confirmed their worst fears about the region and was precisely what they had been working to prevent since the beginning of their reign in 1868. By attempting to eliminate the possibility of rebellion by seizing their weapons, they had unwittingly ignited one.

The formal beginning of the rebellion began when Saigō Takamori, who had been encouraged and pressured to command the rebels, led his forces northward from Kagoshima toward Kumamoto castle between the 15th and 19th of February 1877.³⁹ One aspect of the Satsuma Rebellion that greatly separated it from the other shizoku revolts, is the professional military leadership it had under Saigō Takamori, a man with a commanding presence and history of military experience. Additionally, the Satsuma forces had organized their army in a fashion reminiscent of the western-trained Imperial armies, composing itself of regiments and companies, and also utilizing western-imported rifles.⁴⁰ This was not the ragtag coalition of disorganized and miscellaneous rebels that had characterized the previous four rebellions. For all intents and purposes, this was a professional military force in structure, composition, organization, and leadership. Rebel and Imperial forces finally exchanged fire on the 21st, and within a day, the rebels had managed to force an Imperial withdrawal to the confines of Kumamoto castle.⁴¹ Following an unsuccessful siege lasting until the 14th of April, Saigō’s forces in the subsequent months, faced numerous defeats in various engagements in the following months, maneuvering strategically and evading capture or encirclement until they were finally cornered near Kagoshima. It was there they made their fateful last stand on the hills of Shiroyama in September of the same year.⁴² John Capen Hubbard, a foreign worker for the Mitsubishi company witnessed the aftermath of the fateful Battle of Shiroyama, and he notes in his diary that some 700 samurai had been taken captive immediately following their defeat to Imperial forces, and in the days following, another 5, 200 were captured.⁴³ This is important evidence that helps dispel the ‘fight to the death’ legacy that often characterizes this event, along with the romantic implications that accompany it.

By the rebellion’s end, Saigō Takamori was dead, with Hubbard writing that he saw his beheaded corpse lying on the ground with scores of others, thus bringing an end to the Satsuma Rebellion,

³⁸ Orbach, *Curse on this Country*, 33.

³⁹ Buck, “The Satsuma Rebellion,” 433.

⁴⁰ Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 132.

⁴¹ Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 433.

⁴² Buck, “The Satsuma Rebellion,” 445.

⁴³ Elizabeth Tripler Nock, “The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877: Letters of John Capen Hubbard,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (1948): 371.

and with it, the entire social caste of the samurai, concluding an important period in the nation's history.⁴⁴ Despite the overwhelming odds faced by the samurai, including the numerical and logistical superiority of Imperial troops, it should be noted that the rebellion filled Meiji authorities with dread throughout. In the diary of Kidō Takayoshi, a prominent Restoration figure in the government, he highlights that despite these advantages, he and his colleagues kept close attention on the events of the rebellion, as they were highly concerned regarding the potential outcome. Although with the power of hindsight, it would be easy to say the rebellion was perhaps 'doomed from the outset,' Kidō Takayoshi wrote on the 2nd of April that if the Kumamoto garrison were to fall, "...it is difficult to know how the situation in the nation may change."⁴⁵ This quote highlights just how critical the outcome of the rebellion was for the then-current situation in Japan, as well as the nation's future. Although, as concerned as Meiji authorities may have been at the time, this quote emphasizes that the government failed to recognize just how advantageous this rebellion really was. It gave them an opportunity to formally crush their political and social opponents, further allowing them to close that tumultuous chapter in the nation's history. Colin Jaundrill reinforces this by stating, "The government's victory over the rebel forces secured the long-term success..." of their reforms, and their hegemony over the new modern nation by crushing the prospect of any future rebellions.⁴⁶

Of course, before concluding this work, and providing some supplementary final thoughts, one aspect of the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 that requires consideration is that of the motivations of the rebellious samurai. The question does beg; what precisely were the samurai aiming to do by revolting? Did they seek to overthrow what they had just previously helped to establish? To answer this, it is necessary to revisit why they chose to overthrow the Tokugawa bakufu in the first place. The immediate threat of foreign colonization meant that many in Japan had to face some difficult dilemmas, including the samurai as well. The revolutionary reforms that they hoped would save Japan from such a fate, meant that they were required to relinquish certain privileges. Many samurai, indeed, did recognize that the relinquishment of certain traditions would affect them directly, but they did so simply to keep Japan as, what Mark Cohen refers to in his article *The Political Process of Revolutionary Samurai: A Comparative Reconsideration*, "...an independent political entity..."⁴⁷ Therefore, it is crucial to determine that although the samurai did understand that their original way of being would need to change for Japan to survive, they had greatly underestimated just how much change would occur for this to happen.⁴⁸ Thus, the

⁴⁴ Tripler Nock, "The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877," 374.

⁴⁵ Kidō Takayoshi, "Selections from the Diary of Kidō Takayoshi," in Thomas Donald Conlan, *Samurai and the Warrior Culture of Japan, 471-1877: A Sourcebook* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2022), 305.

⁴⁶ Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 132.

⁴⁷ Cohen, "The Political Process of Revolutionary Samurai," 142.

⁴⁸ Cohen, "The Political Process of Revolutionary Samurai," 145.

rebellion was in many ways, a very belated response to what they had seen as simply too much change.

As for why they rebelled once faced with this difficult reality, it is because they had ultimately realized far too late, that such change and modernization would result in their caste's entire liquidation from sociopolitical existence. Although they did not, in fact, wish to overthrow the emperor, they did hope to remove the hegemonic control of the Meiji government by oligarchic aristocrats, who in their eyes, were the true problematic cause for the legislative policies working against the samurai.⁴⁹ The aforementioned and supposed assassination plot on Saigō Takamori had also acted as a further catalyst in motivating the samurai to take action against the forces within the government that were revoking everything they held dear, including their respected and revered local figure.⁵⁰ They had ultimately felt that the true power in deciding the fate and future of the nation belonged to their divine sovereign, not a privileged minority of wealthy politicians, who they felt were giving their revered emperor inadequate council.⁵¹ Much of this distrust between the Satsuma samurai and the Meiji government is reflected in Saigō Takamori, who, before his resignation from government, had already begun to show deep resentment towards his colleagues in the administration. Ultimately, although both parties agreed that change was required, it was a debate of just how much change was really necessary, and the ultimate direction of the country. Much of the modernization efforts implemented by the Meiji government were tolerated by the samurai, but the removal of government stipends, the prospect of an uncertain future amidst contention for the direction of the country, dwindling control and influence, as well as their weapon arsenals being confiscated, was all but too much for them to accept. Faced with this overwhelming tide of change that had all but destroyed their old sociopolitical order, the Satsuma samurai propelled the island of Kyushu into turmoil and violence in a desperate attempt to save what little was left of their caste.

It becomes increasingly clear with each piece of evidence, that the Satsuma Rebellion was the suicide charge of a dying social caste that had long outlived its usefulness to the new modern state, and that the aggressively violent reaction of the samurai by rebelling, was indeed, a delayed reaction to changes they themselves had set in motion. It was a predictable byproduct as a result of rapid change to a country that had resisted it for centuries. The rebellion was what Charles Yates refers to as "...an impulse to fend off the unknown and the threateningly unfamiliar by

⁴⁹ Berlinguez-Kono, "How Did Saigō Takamori Become a National Hero After His Death?" in Saaler and Schwentker, *The Power of Memory*, 230.

⁵⁰ Buck, "The Satsuma Rebellion," 430.

⁵¹ Berlinguez-Kono, "How Did Saigō Takamori Become a National Hero After His Death?" in Saaler and Schwentker, 230.

protecting and preserving the known and the comfortingly familiar.”⁵² The pivotal series of events had been spurred by calls for change amidst a terrifying foreign threat, change that required modernization, and that modernization demanded immense change. All of this required the destruction of a pervasive and parasitical caste and an antiquated way of life that acted as an obstacle for a government in forging a renewed national identity and cohesive polity. While they might not have realized it at the time, the samurai soon learned that they had unknowingly set off a chain reaction of events; a line of dominos that would reach its end with their destruction. The rebellion was then a desperate attempt to belatedly fix the events that they had mistakenly set in motion.

The indirect causes behind the rebellion had been building over years, starting with the evolving role of the samurai and their loss of martial identity. Then came the government’s attempts to slowly chip away at their elite status and privilege. The final straw was the abolition of stipends, and finally, their weapons – the final symbol of domanial and samurai autonomy being seized – thus, the samurai launched their fateful rebellion. Costing the Imperial government around 42 million yen,⁵³ some 7000 killed, and an additional 9000 wounded,⁵⁴ the Satsuma Rebellion was over by September of 1877, and with its bloody and cataclysmic finale, the samurai caste along with its way of life, died a colourful and remarkable death. They had fought to preserve a way of life that had long since been outdated, and their decline and fall was a necessary step in forging a modern nation that had evolved without them. They had called for change and modernity to save the country, and fatefully failed to recognize precisely what it would cost them. It was the last rebellion in Japan of its kind, and it gave the Meiji authorities the victory it needed to move forward, the thorn in its side plucked. This doomed fight of the rebels was perhaps an appropriate end given their history, and yet another example of what occurs when one stands in the way of change. As if attempting to halt an avalanche by holding out the palm of one’s hand, the end result has fateful consequences. The samurai were a circular peg, and Japan became a square hole; when it came to the scheme of a modern nation-state, they simply did not fit.

⁵² Yates, “Saigō Takamori in the Emergence of Meiji Japan,” 470.

⁵³ Hugh Borton, *Japan’s Modern Century: From Perry to 1970* (New York: Ronald Press, 1970), 115.

⁵⁴ Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldier*, 132.

Annotated Bibliography

Berlinguez-Kono, Noriko. "How Did Saigō Takamori Become a National Hero After His Death? The Political Use of Saigō's Figure and the Interpretation of Seikanron" in *The Power of Memory in Modern Japan*, edited by Sven Saaler and Wolfgang Schwentker, Leiden: Brill, 2008.

- This source contains valuable information regarding the infamous character of Saigō Takamori, and his military career/history, as well as his role in the seikanron debates. It also discusses the importance of his legacy in Japanese history and culture, as well as how his story and role in the rebellion has been romanticized to support various national narratives throughout subsequent years.

Borton, Hugh. *Japan's Modern Century: From Perry to 1970* 2nd ed. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1970.

- This source discusses a lot of pertinent details regarding the political issues preceding the rebellion, as well as how the dissenting samurai and their leaders reacted to them. It also includes various analytical data regarding the economic concerns facing the samurai at the time, as well as Japanese government.

Buck, James H. "The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877: From Kagoshima Through the Siege of Kumamoto Castle." *Monumenta Nipponica* 28, no. 4 (1973): 427-446.

- This document includes a plethora of indispensable information about the chronology of the rebellion, as well as other important details such as troop numbers, strategic and tactical concerns, and other various information regarding specific battles and engagements during the rebellion and how that affected the outcome of it.

Hall, John, and Marius B. Jansen. *The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

- This valuable source contains a lot of important information about the Shizoku revolts preceding the Satsuma rebellion by comparing and contrasting them. It also includes information about specific aspects of the Meiji reforms and how those directly affected the samurai, and notably, how they reacted to them.

Hillsborough, Romulus. *Samurai Revolution: The Dawn of Modern Japan Seen Through the Eyes of The Shogun's Last Samurai*, Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2014.

- This document is important in discerning the nature of relationships between Saigō Takamori and the Meiji government, as well as the emperor. It also contains other information regarding various other important political figures and their respective roles in the events preceding and including the Satsuma rebellion.

Ikegami, Eiko. *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

- In Chapters 7 and 8, Ikegami discusses the early-Tokugawa State formation and how the status quo was altered, as well as exploring the fundamental changes to the samurai and their socio-political structure. This was particularly useful in comparing and contrasting this with the early Meiji reforms and the similar changes that affected the samurai.

Jansen, Marius. *Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

- Although this source was certainly not a huge focus within this paper, there was some important information regarding the Satsuma and Choshu domains, and how essential their alliance was in overthrowing the Tokugawa bakufu, as well as the regional significance of Satsuma in the years following.

Jaundrill, Colin D. *Samurai to Soldier: Remaking Military Service in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, New York: Cornell University Press, 2016.

- This very useful book was instrumental in discerning how significant the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 was in testing the effectiveness of the military reforms during the early Meiji period, as well as providing some excellent information regarding the birth of the shizoku class and exploring the various revolts. It also additionally provided valuable data about the former samurai demographics in the Satsuma domain.

Kidō, Takayoshi. "Selections from the Diary of Kidō Takayoshi" in *Samurai and the Warrior Culture of Japan, 471-1877: A Sourcebook*, edited and translated by Thomas Donald Conlan, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 2022.

- This primary source from Kidō Takayoshi provides very useful insights into the mind and personality of a Meiji government figure from his personal diary regarding the Satsuma Rebellion. Among his notes include his thoughts and concerns, as well as other valuable information pertaining to various battles and skirmishes as they unfolded during the revolt.

Mounsey, Augustus H. *The Satsuma Rebellion: An Episode of Modern Japanese History*, London: William Clowes & Sons, 1879.

- This source is critical in explaining a lot of the key features of the Satsuma domain, as well as the conservative tendencies of samurai among the various provinces on the island of Kyushu. These details are imperative in determining how these attitudes attributed to the outbreak of the rebellion (as well as others). It also serves as an interesting primary source perspective from the west in viewing the unfolding events in Japan from within the period.

Morris, Ivan. *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan*, New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, 1975.

- In Chapter 9 of Morris' work, *The Apotheosis of Saigō the Great*, he discusses the character and legacy of Saigō Takamori, although the pertinence to this essay was aided primarily through the discussion of the Satsuma domain, and how many of the reforms targeting the samurai's class and status privileges were largely ignored, as well as his exploration of the abolishment of the government stipends to former samurai.

Murphy, John F. "Satsuma Rebellion" in *World History: A Comprehensive Reference Set*, edited by Facts on File, <https://search.credoreference.com/articles/Qm9va0FydG1jbGU6NTc5MDg3> Accessed January 24th, 2024.

- This brief, but very useful article helps in elaborating upon a lot of the primary geo-political concerns facing not only the samurai class, but the whole of the country on the national stage. It also highlights how a lot of the Meiji era reforms would become significant in creating growing tensions, especially among the Satsuma and Choshu domains.

Orbach, Danny. *Curse on this Country: The Rebellious Army of Imperial Japan*, New York: Cornell University Press, 2017.

- This was a helpful source in discussing the balancing act of trying to keep the samurai appeased and calm, while simultaneously undermining their interests and removing their former privileges and elite status, such as the formal abolition of the title of samurai itself.

Nock, Tripler Elizabeth. "The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877: Letters of John Capen Hubbard." *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (1948): 368-375.

- This useful primary source within an academic secondary article contains a very interesting account from an American naval merchant living in Japan at the time of the Satsuma rebellion. He personally witnessed a lot of important events, including witnessing the Battle of Shiroyama and its aftermath. This was an interesting contrast to the mainstream narrative of the Satsuma samurai fighting to the death.

Yates, Charles L. "Saigō Takamori in the Emergence of Meiji Japan." *Modern Asian Studies* 28, no. 3 (1994): 449-474.

- This document reflects upon how the character of Saigō Takamori in many ways embodies both the samurai character and legacy, but also how his rebellion exemplifies the dying struggle of a feigning social caste amidst an important episode in Japanese history. It also contains various other pertinent information about Saigō's motivations, as well as how many aspects of him are contradictory and paradoxical.

Letters between Harnam Singh and Gurjit Singh¹

Connor Kuznik and Gurmanjot Mangat – Fall 2023

HIST 1130: Empires in Arms – The Twentieth Century World 1900–1945

Professor Kyle Jackson

Connor, Letter 1 prompt:

You are a Panjabi recruit—a devout Sikh. You are stationed near the river Somme. Along with seemingly countless other soldiers and labourers, you are preparing the Somme battlefield. It is early June 1916 (Connor: Note that, in the moment your character is writing, the actual fighting has not yet begun). Still, you have much to report...and to worry about...

Gurman, Letter 2 prompt:

You are a devout Sikh man living with your extended family in [Gurman: You can choose which specific town, city, or village of Panjab your character is from]. Your best friend, Harnam, is abroad in France. You are not very healthy at the moment, though you're trying your best to recover. You've had thoughts of joining Harnam of late, and even strange dreams of saving his life...

It has been many sleepless nights since you last heard from Harnam. The attached letter from him arrives in late July 1916. You'd heard rumours about a terrible battle and hope to God that Harnam hasn't been involved. Was that the battle he mentions in this letter— the battle for which he'd been preparing?

¹ Editor's Note: This was a semester-long project whereby two anonymized students used prompts (above) provided by the instructor to research and write a series of letters. Students were either assigned the role of a soldier or labourer conscripted from South Asia to serve British forces abroad during World War One, or that of a friend or family member back home in India. They were instructed, "to write an exchange of short, but well-researched letters, set firmly in their time periods and cultural contexts.... The instructor will serve the role of the military postal service, ferrying letters back and forth from South Asia to the Middle East or Europe at specific times (due dates) during the semester. As postal censor, I might redact certain elements from letter! And while dispatching letters between participants, I may also reveal unfolding ethical scenarios – dilemmas that faced real-world combatants and non-combatants – or other original documents to which you will also need to respond in your letter." KJ, assignment instructions, HIST 1130: War Correspondence Project. Fall 2023. The final letters appear here exactly as submitted by Connor and Gurman, minus their title pages. The bibliographies have been consolidated for ease of reference.

Connor, Letter 2 prompt:

You have much to report. Your political leanings in the first letter were mostly muted. But the battle conditions and losses at the Somme were so astonishing that you've since become bolder, increasingly interested in the rumours about some of the radically anti-imperial movements back home. How fortuitous, then, that your friend has written of some of these organizations, including Ghadr/Ghadar in your home region of Panjab! Try to get more information on Ghadr, or any other political news that might appeal to you (e.g., your friend writes of the "Komagata Maru" in where? A called "British Columbia"?). But do be careful with your wording, using code where necessary to avoid getting yourself or him in trouble.

Finally, without a "Vest Pocket Kodak" camera at your disposal, you decide to scribble a quick sketch of your memories, or some other visual, of the Somme for your friend, Gurjit. A very rough, quick sketch is all you have time to include in this letter—but you know he'll be interested, though it's difficult for you to revisit the memories. You also need to decide whether you will encourage your friend to enlist (in his last letter, he noted that he is "thinking of joining you once [he] recover[s] [his] full health") or to discourage him with the ferocity of a lion...

Gurman, Letter 2 prompt:

You have become even more enraged and anti-British since your last letter. The Komagata Maru insult has come to greater light. You must decide between throwing your allegiance behind the Ghadr movement or one of the other, more radical political movements—even those that might advocate violence. (Gurman: Use research to decide upon a course of action that your character might take in this moment...but do be careful with your wording in your reply, using code if necessary, to avoid getting yourself or your hospitalized friend in trouble).

You decide to reciprocate Harnam's sketch—to thank him—with some quick, original sketch of your own, whether related to the anti-nationalist movement (say, a political cartoon of sorts) or simply the local landscape to remind him of home. (Gurman: Don't worry about your artistic talents; here, it's the thought that counts, and any rough sketch will do!). Finally, have one other decision to make: Your friend is discouraging you from enlisting in the war. You'd originally thought of enlistment as helping your friend, not the British. Is there now more important work to do at home?

Harnam Singh¹

Raian, Punjab Province

Sowar, Deccan Horse Regiment

June, 1916

Dear Friend,

Ki haal aa?² I hope all is well. It has been quite some time since we last spoke, and I have much to share.

It has been nearly two years since I arrived in France. My regiment, the 20th Deccan Horse is part of the 2nd Indian Cavalry Division. We were sent to France as part of Indian Expeditionary Force A³. When we arrived, the regiment consisted of 4 squadrons: I was in a squadron with my fellow Sikhs, there was one for Jats, and two for Deccani muslims⁴. Many of my comrades from other squadrons do not speak Punjabi, however most of us speak Urdu as our second language, so we are able to communicate⁵. While the majority of us are volunteers, we all have vastly different reasons for enlisting. Some men come from military families, a few are seeking fame and prestige in the form of *izzat*, while others have simply been enticed by the promise of a uniform, rifle, consistent pay, and rations⁶. Recently, I have heard rumours that distinguished soldiers will be awarded land when they return home⁷.

When I first arrived in Europe, I longed for my mother's cooking. I have since gotten used to the food rations. Some rations include meat, while others are vegetarian. You may be surprised to learn that I have adopted a vegetarian diet since joining the army. Back home I ate meat, however I am not sure the animal

¹ UK Punjab Heritage Association, "Punjab and World War One", <http://punjabww1.com/>, accessed 24,09-2023

² "How are you/What's up" in Punjabi

³ Rob Clark, "20th Deccan Horse", <https://www.researchingww1.co.uk/20th-deccan-horse>, accessed 19-09-2023

⁴ The IEF was a very diverse military institution. It was common for men in the same regiment to be from a multitude of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Clark, "20th Deccan Horse", <https://www.researchingww1.co.uk/20th-deccan-horse> [accessed 19-09-2023]

⁵ Many individuals from northwest India would have been fluent in both Punjab and Urdu. Santanu Das, *India, Empire, and First World War Culture* (Cambridge, 2018), 78.

⁶ Das, *India, Empire, and First World War Culture*, 84

⁷ Das, *India, Empire, and First World War Culture*, 86

products in these rations have been butchered in accordance with jhatka⁸. A typical meal for me includes rice, dal⁹, some vegetables, and chapatis¹⁰. Although the food is bland and repetitive, we are, in some ways, better off than the civilians here. At least we get to eat on a consistent basis. We once marched through a shelled village close to the front. There was a woman with a small child begging for food. As I looked at that woman, I was reminded of a quote from the Guru Granth Sahib: "If thou desirest thy good, O Man, perform virtuous deeds and be humble"¹¹. I got off my horse, dug through my kit, and gave her that day's ration.

My regiment has seen some of the best and worst the war has had to offer^{12,13}. In many ways, this conflict has shattered my entire conception of war¹⁴. I recall that in December of 1914, my regiment suffered heavy casualties at Givenchy¹⁵. The Deccan Horse fought alongside Indian infantry to relieve pressure from the French at Arras. The attack against the Germans initially went well. We fought bravely and captured several lines of German trenches. The next day I witnessed a sight which I will never forget. The sky erupted with a flash of explosions as the Germans bombarded our position. I couldn't find my horse, and I soon found myself frozen in fear. My mind was drawn to the tale of the late Guru Arjan¹⁶, and I wondered if this was the fate Waheguru had planned for me. The next thing I knew,

⁸ Jhatka is a process of butchering meat. It involves a single strike from a blade that severs an animal's head. It is thought to be instant and painless. As a devout Sikh, Harnam Singh stays away from meat that cannot be confirmed to be jhatka. Sandeep Singh Brar, "Misconceptions About Eating Meat", <https://www.sikhs.org/meat.htm>, accessed on 24-09-2023

⁹ A legume similar to a lentil.

¹⁰ Emmanuelle Cronier, "Food and Nutrition", https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/food_and_nutrition, accessed on 22-09-2023

¹¹ Sikhs believe in the notion of karma. By doing a good deed, Harnam Singh hopes to accumulate positive karma. Sikh Religious Text – Guru Granth Sahib, 465

¹² The Deccan Horse was often thrust into battle, but also enjoyed long periods of rest away from the frontlines.

¹³ In November of 1914 Sowars from the 20th Deccan Horse were not provided with warm clothing despite snowy conditions. Kaushik Roy, *Indian Army and the First World War: 1914-18*, (Oxford Academic Books, 2018). 82.

¹⁴ "The immediate shock of mechanized warfare did prove too much for the freshly drafted Indian troops" Santanu Das, *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies* (Brill, 2011), 81.

¹⁵ Clark, "20th Deccan Horse", <https://www.researchingww1.co.uk/20th-deccan-horse> [accessed 22-09-2023]

¹⁶ Guru Arjan, the fifth Sikh Guru, was sentenced to death by the Mughal authorities. Despite being tortured, his faith allowed him to endure intense suffering. He was quoted as saying, "All is happening, O Waheguru, according to Thy Will. Thy Will is ever sweet to me." SikhiWiki Staff, "Martyrdom of Guru Arjan", https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Martyrdom_of_Guru_Arjan, accessed on 22-09-2023

I was hoisted onto the back of a horse by the hands of my platoon's Duffadar¹⁷. I am almost certain that if he didn't help me, I would have died that day...

My regiment has not seen much fighting after the disaster at Givenchy. For much of 1915, we were kept well away from the front. The only real action we have been apart of involved digging trenches near Albert¹⁸. I have come to the conclusion that the life of a cavalryman is often quite dull¹⁹. While I am happy to be safe and healthy, having such long gaps between fighting does promote a sense of boredom. This boredom often attracts trouble. Once, there was a Lance Duffadar²⁰ who came back to the barracks drunk. I heard that, after an altercation with an officer, he was demoted and assigned labour duties²¹.

I guess that brings me to the present. My regiment has arrived at a river called 'the Somme'. Over the past few weeks, we have engaged in extensive cavalry drills and maneuvers²². Every day, thousands more French and English troops arrive. There is a certain tension in the air - even the officers seem nervous. If fighting does break out, I pray that it is not another Givenchy...

¹⁷ Indian Cavalry Sergeant. Empire, Faith, and War Team, "A Guide to Indian Army Ranks", <http://www.empirefaithwar.com/tell-their-story/research-your-soldier/helpful-guides/indian-army-ranks#:~:text=Sowar%20The%20lowest%20enlisted%20rank.subadars%20for%20each%20infantry%20regiment>, accessed on 24-09-2023

¹⁸ Clark, "20th Deccan Horse", <https://www.researchingww1.co.uk/20th-deccan-horse> [accessed 24-09-2023]

¹⁹ National Army Museum Editorial Staff, "Cavalry on the Western Front", <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/cavalry-western-front>, accessed on 19-09-2023

²⁰ Lance Corporal. Empire, Faith, and War Editorial Staff, "A Guide to Indian Army Ranks", <http://www.empirefaithwar.com/tell-their-story/research-your-soldier/helpful-guides/indian-army-ranks#:~:text=Sowar%20The%20lowest%20enlisted%20rank.subadars%20for%20each%20infantry%20regiment>, [accessed on 24-09-2023]

²¹ Canadian War Museum Editorial Staff, "Discipline and Punishment", <https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/life-at-the-front/trench-conditions/discipline-and-punishment/#:~:text=Punishment%3A%20Imprisonment%2C%20Fines%2C%20Loss.in%20rank%20were%20customary%20punishments.>, accessed on 19-09-2023

²² Joana Legg, David Legg, Graham Parker, "Preparations for the Battle of the Somme 1916", <http://www.greatwar.co.uk/battles/somme-1916/prelude/somme-prelude.htm>, accessed on 22-09-2023

My Dearest Harnam,

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ,ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਿ ਫਤਹਿ .¹

I hope this letter finds you well, although my heart is heavy as I am worried for your safety. Your letter reached me in late July 1916, and it brought both relief and concern as I learned of your experiences in France. I am relieved that you are safe and sound but also anxious, listening to the news coming from the war front.

Firstly, I must express my gratitude to the Almighty Waheguru² that you are alive and relatively well despite the challenging circumstances, but I must also admit that my health is not in good shape. These sleepless nights and anxiety for your well-being are making it harder for me to do my daily chores. It has indeed been a long and stressful wait since we last heard from you. I am having these strange dreams of war where I'm trying to save you from gunshots and bombs but end up being wounded myself and in one instance, we both were back in Punjab enjoying our daily lives. All these weird dreams are making me more worried about you my friend and I pray for your wellbeing in my daily Ardaas³. I miss those days when we enjoyed your Favorite Dish Saag in the foggy days of winter. ⁴ The rumors of a terrible battle had reached us here in Raian, Punjab, and we were haunted by the thought that you might have been involved, in this man-eating conflict of firangis.⁵

Your detailed account of your regiment, the 20th Deccan Horse, and your experiences in Europe paints a vivid picture of your life there. It is heartwarming to hear that despite the vast cultural diversity within your regiment, you all manage to communicate through Urdu. Your decision to adopt a vegetarian diet, even though you were accustomed to meat back home, speaks to your unwavering commitment to Sikh principles. I must say, your act of sharing rations with the starving woman in the shelled village reflects the true spirit of Seva, embodying the teachings of our Gurus.⁶

¹ Greeting in Sikhism means “ the Khalsa is God’s, the victory is God’s.”

² God in sikhism

³ Sikh Daily Prayers

⁴ Saag is a Punjabi winter delicacy made with boiled Mustard leaves and spinach along with spices and herbs.

Syal, Muskan. “Punjab : Importance of Sarson Ka Saag and Makki Ki Roti.”

<https://www.themonktravel.com/importance-of-sarson-ka-saag-in-punjab/>. (accessed 03-10-2023)

⁵ Foreigners particularly Europeans are called Firangis in Punjabi

⁶ “Seva - SikhiWiki, Free Sikh Encyclopedia.”

<https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Seva>.(accessed 03-10-2023)

The mention of the battle at Givenchy in December 1914 and the subsequent bombardment that left you frozen with fear is deeply concerning. I can only imagine the trauma you must have endured. Your reference to Guru Arjan's faith and acceptance of Waheguru's will in times of suffering is a powerful reminder of our faith's resilience and strength. I pray that you are kept safe from such horrors in the future. But remember you are Guru's Khalsa, you must fight bravely and protect the defenseless as the Guru is with you all the time.⁷

The monotony of trench digging near Albert and the boredom it brings are undoubtedly challenging. It is natural for the idle mind to attract trouble, as exemplified by the incident involving Lance Duffadar. I commend your resolve to stay disciplined and focused despite the dull routine.

. I pray with all my heart that you and your comrades remain safe if any fighting does break out. I cannot help but reference the conditions here in Punjab during 1914-15. The region faced its own struggles, with the effects of the war reaching even our peaceful villages. Families worried about their loved ones serving far from home, and the uncertainty weighed heavily on us all. The political scenario in Punjab is divided between those who support the war efforts and the ones opposing it. The Britishers are trying everything to win the support of the public offering land for military service in the Newly colonized Baar colonies of West Punjab⁸. The Indian Home Rule Movement is in full swing under the leadership of Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak calling for a dominion status for India within the British Empire.⁹ A more radical movement called 'Ghadar' was initiated by some Punjabis in North America to overthrow the British government in India and support Germany and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰ I have heard that they sent secret envoys to Punjab to incite a revolution in the military barracks of Lahore and Ferozepur. However, the English violently quelled the movement, and most of the leaders of the movement

⁷ Nesbitt, Eleanor. *Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford , 2005) 58

⁸ Ali, Imran. *The Punjab Under Imperialism, 1885-1947*. (Princeton,1988) 110

⁹ Prep, Byju's Exam. 2023. "Home Rule Movement: Objectives, Home Rule League UPSC."

<https://byjusexamprep.com/upsc-exam/home-rule-movement#:~:text=Similar%20to%20the%20Ghadar%20movement%2C%20the%20Home%20Rule,through%20her%20newspapers%2C%20conferences%2C%20meetings%2C%20and%20public%20gatherings>. (Accessed 03-10-2023)

¹⁰ Sakshi. "Ghadar Movement, History, Objective, Ghadar Party Founder".

<https://www.studyiq.com/articles/ghadar-movement/>.(accessed 02-10-2023)

including the young Kartar Singh Sarabha from our district were arrested and executed in the Lahore Central Jail last year.¹¹ The bravery of the 19-year-old Sarabha when he proudly embraced death has sparked a spirit of anti-British feelings in Punjab. The English have since then legislated a new law called the Defense of India Act under which anyone who is deemed to be opposing British war efforts or is found to be sympathizing with the Germans is to be arrested without trial.¹²

The news of the Deportation of Punjabis on board of the ship Komagata Maru, a tongue twisting name, isn't it? from Canada and the subsequent riots in Bengal's Budge Budge have also reached us.¹³ This has fueled some anti-British sentiments in the villagers but hasn't deterred the recruitment of the soldiers in the Army. What do you think of the intentions of the British? Are They just using the Punjabis Because of our Martial Heritage or they don't want to waste English Youth in the war?

Nevertheless, our whole village is proud of you as you have carried on the legacy of Khalsa of fighting Bravely and helping the needy. Granthi sahib¹⁴ was delighted after hearing that you upheld the values of Sikhism even in warfare. The Gurudwara stands tall and serves langar to the needy daily and your family has initiated Akhand Paath Sahib for your safety and well-being.¹⁵ You will be happy to know that I have taken Amrit Sanchar¹⁶ and am thinking of joining you once I recover my full health.

Don't be afraid my friend and recount the shaheedis of our Sikh Gurus, the four Sahibzaades and fight bravely as a true Khalsa.¹⁷ I eagerly await your next letter, dear friend, with the hope that it

¹¹ Indian Culture , “ Kartar Singh Sarabha” <https://indianculture.gov.in/node/2797800>. (accessed 03-10-2023)

¹² The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. “Defense of India Act | Indian Rebellion, Martial Law & Emergency Powers.” <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Defence-of-India-Act>.(accessed 03-10-2023)

¹³ Das, Santanu. ” *India, Empire, and First World War Culture: Writings, Images, and Songs*” (Cambridge, 2018) 43

¹⁴ Sikh Priest

¹⁵ The Sikh rituals of langar (free food) and Akhand Paath or continuous reading of Shree Guru Granth Sahib in one sitting often done on special occasions.

¹⁶ The Sikh ritual of Baptizing is called Amrit Sanchar.

Nesbitt “*Sikhism*” 57

¹⁷ The Four Sons of Guru Gobind Singh were martyred by the Mughals. Since then, martyrdom has been celebrated in the Sikh philosophy.

Nesbitt “ *Sikhism* ” 60

brings news of your continued well-being. Until then, know that you are always in my prayers, and I am here for you in spirit, no matter the distance that separates us.

With warm regards and unwavering faith,
Yours Gurjit Singh

Harnam Singh

Raian, Punjab Province

Sowar, Deccan Horse Regiment

September, 1916

ਹੈਲੋ ਮੇਰੇ ਦੇਸਤ¹

Sat sri akaal²! Thank you for your letter, Gurjit. It could not have arrived at a better time. I write this to you while I recover in a hospital in England³. I am weary from combat, and reading your words has lifted my spirits immensely.

As you know, fighting broke out at the Somme in early July. Leading up to the conflict, many of the regiments of the 2nd Indian Cavalry received new equipment. The men of my regiment were quite exuberant when we received 16 new pack-mounted machine guns⁴. Also attached to the Deccan Horse were 2 armoured cars⁵. Suffice to say, we were feeling quite formidable with all our new equipment. We were a sight to behold! Even the cavaliers of the great Khalsa army of old would be impressed⁶.

On July 14th, the 20th Deccan horse was ordered to advance towards German Trenches⁷. We were accompanied by another cavalry regiment, the 7th Dragoons, and soon arrived at a corn field. There was a large number of German troops seeking refuge in the field, but we quickly subdued them, taking dozens of them prisoners⁸. It was almost an angelic scene: we rode, lances glittering and ribbons flowing, through a field of golden corn. It was a surreal feeling. In those

¹ "Hello, my friend" in Punjabi.

² A greeting used by Punjabi Sikhs, roughly translating to "true is the name of God" or "God is truth".

Gurinder Singh Sacha, "Sat Sri Akal: meaning and misconceptions", <https://www.sikhmissionarysociety.org/sms/smsarticles/advisorypanel/gurindersinghsacha/satsriakalmeaningsandmisconceptions/>, accessed on 28-10-2023

³ Wounded Indian troops were often evacuated to hospitals in England. **Erica Wald**, "Total war, shortages and British hospitals: Sepoy experiences in World War", <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/southasia/2014/10/29/total-war-shortages-and-british-hospitals-sepoy-experiences-in-world-war-i/> accessed on 01-11-2023

⁴ Each regiment of the 2nd Indian Cavalry were given 16 Hotchkiss machine guns that could be carried by horse. **Kaushik Roy**, *The Indian Army in the Two World Wars* (Brill, 2011), page 40.

⁵ On the eve of the attack on Bazentin Ridge, 2 two (of 9) Rolls-Royce armoured cars were assigned to the 20th Deccan Horse. **Kaushik Roy**, *The Indian Army*, page 50.

⁶ The Sikh Khalsa Army was the military force of the Sikh Empire from 1790-1849. **Priya Atwal**, *Royals and Rebels: The Rise and Fall of the Sikh Empire* (C. Hurst & Co., 2020), pages 121-122.

⁷ **Kaushik Roy**, *The Indian Army*, page 54.

⁸ German troops had inhabited various shell holes and craters in the field. **Kaushik Roy**, *The Indian Army*, page 55.

moments, the words of Guru Nanak came to me: “the world is a drama, staged in a dream⁹”...

As we approached the German trenches, we were halted by a flurry of machine gun fire¹⁰. I was struck by a bullet in my shoulder, and it knocked me from my mount. My right leg was stuck in the stirrup, and was dragged a dozen or so meters before being shaken free. In the process, my knee was twisted, and one of the bones in my lower leg was broken.

I am in southern England now being treated for my injuries. The doctors tell me that I will surely never ride a horse again, and that I may need to use a cane from now on. They have no more use for me on the front, so I will be sent back to India soon. It is regretful to learn about your ailments, and it pains me to know that I have inflicted undue stress upon you. However, I want to reassure you that I will be alright. I will be home soon – perhaps my arrival will precede this letter¹¹!

You mentioned having very vivid dreams, and sometimes I have dreams of my own. It is the strangest phenomenon. They wake me from my sleep, but plague me during my days as well. These ‘waking dreams’ as I call them, take me back to moments I would otherwise like to forget¹². When I close my eyes, it is as though I am reliving the bombardment at Givenchy, or the cavalry charge at Bazentin Ridge. Sometimes I swear I can feel the ground rumbling from the impact of artillery. I raised these concerns with a doctor, although he was quick to tell me that they were merely symptoms of a concussion¹³.

⁹ Quote from Sikh Religious Text, the Guru Granth Sahib. There is an idea in the Sikh religion that when we are born, we are temporarily separated from the true nature of reality. Only upon death we are reunited with Waheguru (and by extension, the truth). As we live our lives, it is important not to get caught up in the ‘illusions’ that unfold around us. LearnSikhi Writers, “Sikhi And Our True Identity”, <https://www.sikhnet.com/news/sikhi-and-our-true-identity-who-are-we-really#:~:text=The%20Guru%20tells%20us%20%E2%80%9CThe.dreams%20we%20experience%20at%20night>, accessed on 01-11-2023.

¹⁰ Machine Guns were incredibly effective at immobilizing cavalry. The introduction of these weapons led Captain Roly Grimshaw of the 34th Poona Horse to write: “I believe that cavalry must become an extinct arm for warfare in civilized countries”. Kaushik Roy, *The Indian Army*, page 192.

¹¹ Mail from distant British Dominions often took very long to arrive. Harnam Singh is making light of this situation by claiming that he might return to India before his letter does. Martha Hanna, “War Letters: Communication between Front and Home Front”, https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/war_letters_communication_between_front_and_home_front, accessed on 28-10-2023.

¹² Harnam Singh is describing his experience with shell-shock.

¹³ Doctors were hesitant to give a shell-shock diagnosis, often they blamed symptoms of shell-shock on concussions, exhaustion, epilepsy, insanity, etc. Tracey Loughran, *Shell-Shock and Medical Culture in First World War Britain* (Cambridge, 2017), page 52.

Gurjit, thank you for informing me about the political state back home. Indian soldiers have fought side by side with the English and French. The way I see it, we are brothers, not slaves¹⁴. It is a shame that we are not treated with the respect we deserve. The British even refuse to call India a dominion!¹⁵ Perhaps it is time that the circus elephant breaks free from the ringleader's chains¹⁶. The longer I stay in Europe, the more I believe that the affairs of firangis¹⁷ are of no concern to Punjab.

The incident regarding the ship "Komagata Maru" is particularly concerning to me. I have spoken with other patients in the hospital in an effort to learn more. It was shocking to learn about the treatment of the passengers. These were dignified men¹⁸, and they were met with disrespect and callousness. I was told that conditions were dire upon the ship, and authorities refused to supply the ship with food and water on numerous occasions¹⁹. India has an allegiance to the Crown. We are, for that reason, considered Subjects of the British Empire²⁰. Why then, are we denied entry into a British dominion? Canada has no right to exclude British Subjects²¹. This debacle further reinforces the notion that as Indians, we are treated as second-class citizens.

In your letter, you mentioned potentially joining me in Europe. I must advise against this. Guru Gobind Singh once said "Shed not recklessly the blood of

¹⁴ An allusion to a speech by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, where he said: "The Indian soldiers have saved the lives of the British soldiers on the French battlefield and have shown bravery. Those who once considered us as slaves have begun now to call us brothers." Santanu Das, *India, Empire, and First World War Culture* (Cambridge, 2018), page 57.

¹⁵ The British Empire "from military and economic points alone did not want to devolve real power to the Indians." Christopher Lee, "INDIA: DOMINION OR NOT DOMINION", https://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/empire/episodes/episode_86.shtml#:~:text=And%20although%20the%20British%20Crown,wanted%20nothing%20less%20than%20independence., accessed on 01-11-2023.

¹⁶ Coded/figurative language: Harnam Singh is suggesting that India should fight for its independence due to unfair treatment from Britain.

¹⁷ Firangi: A slang term originating in India used to describe foreigners, but particularly Europeans.

¹⁸ Nearly all the passengers on board the Komagata Maru came from elite, landowning families. Hugh Johnston, "Komagata Maru: *The Canadian Encyclopedia*", <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/komagata-maru>, accessed on 01-11-2023.

¹⁹ Johnston, "Komagata Maru: *The Canadian Encyclopedia*", <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/komagata-maru> [accessed on 01-11-2023]

²⁰ "[a] person became a British subject by being born within the allegiance of the Crown and that the usual source of this allegiance was birth within His Majesty's dominions." Daniel C. Turack, "FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH," *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 1, no. 3 (1968): 477

²¹ Argument used by J. Edward Bird, lawyer acting on behalf of the passengers of the Komagata Maru. Hugh Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar, Expanded and Fully Revised Edition* (UBC Press, 2014), page 99.

another with thy sword, Lest the Sword on High falls upon thy neck"²². This war has taken so much from so many. I believe that it is a conflict without a purpose. Do not burden yourself with the affairs of Europeans. It is a reckless war, and in many ways, I am blessed that I no longer have to participate in it...

Yours truly,
Harnam Singh

P.S. I have included a sketch of my exploits for you to have.



²² Harnam Singh believes that his actions have contributed to unnecessary bloodshed, and discourages Gurjit from doing the same.

Gurjit Singh

Raian, Punjab Province

Novemeber, 1916

Dearest Harnam,

ਜੇ ਬੋਲੇ ਸੇ ਨਿਹਾਲ ,ਸਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ¹

I wish you a happy Diwali and Bandi Chhor Diwas.²

Since you are not with us on this Diwali too, we miss you my dear friend. I lit up diyas at your home, praying to Akaal Purkh³ of your safe return to your homeland, your Punjab. Your letter arrived just as I was beginning to worry about your well-being. I am relieved to hear from you, though saddened to learn of the trials you have faced on the battlefield. Your resilience in the face of such adversity is truly commendable, a true testament to the sikh philosophy of Chardi kala.⁴

I'm sorry to hear about your injuries, and it pains me to know that you may never ride a horse again. The image of you leading the charge through the golden corn fields is etched in my mind, a testament to the valor of the true Khalsa. Your mention of the angelic scene, juxtaposed with the harsh reality of machine gun fire, paints a vivid picture of the brutality of war.

The news of your recovery in England gives me hope, and I pray for your swift healing. It's disheartening to think that you might never return to the life you knew before the war. The "waking dreams" you describe are undoubtedly the haunting echoes of the battles you've faced. I hope time and the care of the doctors will bring some relief to your troubled mind.

Your reflections on the political state back home resonate deeply with me. The treatment of the passengers on the "Komagata Maru" is indeed a stain on the ideals of justice and fairness. I have heard that the owner of the ship Gurdit Singh and his fellows were shot when they were praying before Guru Granth Sahib peacefully.⁵ There is a rumor that Gurdit Singh escaped to Punjab and is hiding somewhere near Nankana Sahib⁶. It is appalling that fellow British subjects faced such

¹ Sikh war cry or "jai kara" translating to "whoever utters shall be fulfilled, the true name of god"

² Bandi chhor diwas is a sikh festival celebrated on the same day as diwali. The day marks the return of the sixth sikh guru Hargobind from the prison in Gwalior to Amritsar.

Vaishali Dar "Diwali 2019: Sikhs Celebrate this Day as Bandi Chhor Diwas." *Financial Express*, Oct 27, 2019.

³ One of the many names of god in sikhism, means "The timeless one".

⁴ In sikh philosophy, Chardi Kala translates to ascending energy. Sikhs believe in always remaining optimistic and believing in god even in your lowest times.

S. S. Sodhi, "Psychological State Called Chardi Kala (Sikh Cultural Universal)." *The Sikh Courier International*, (2017): 19-20.

⁵ The passengers were shot when they refused to be arrested and were praying before Guru Granth Sahib. Anjali Roy. *Imperialism and Sikh Migration*. (London, 2017), 2.

⁶ Roy, *Imperialism and Sikh Migration*, 2.

cruelty. The allegiance to the crown seems to be a one-sided affair, and it's disheartening to see Indians treated as second-class citizens.

I am not assuming your reaction to this, but I have a confession to make. I met a member from the group Gadari Baabe.⁷ I would refrain from mentioning his name as he is still hiding from the Gori Sarkaar⁸. He told me about the adversities and discrimination that the Punjabis must suffer in the United States and Canada. They are called filthy people and have to bear the hostility from the whites there, they are not allowed to bring their family along.⁹ How is it justified when the British themselves have their whole families in India, enjoying the summers in the cool hills of Shimla and Mussoorie in our native land but bar us from settling as law-abiding citizens in the new colonies? We are treated as disposable laborers only. During our conversation, he reminded me of the time when we had a powerful empire under Maharaja Ranjit Singh's rule. He mentioned that Europeans from France and Italy used to work for the Khalsa Army. However, things changed when the Firangis arrived, looted our treasures, overtook our hard-built Empire, and dethroned our Maharani Jind Kaur and Emperor Duleep Singh.¹⁰ His words ignited a new Fire in me. Do you think fighting for the Angrez would break the Zanzeer ?¹¹

Your caution against my potential journey to Europe echoes the sentiments of many Punjabis. We are fed up now, supplying our sons to Europe, when our fields are crying for their caretakers. The government is doing everything it to encourage, or I would say force our sons to go to war. Many irrigation canals are running dry now as they cut off the water supply and enforced heavy fines on villages that refuse to go to war¹². I appreciate your concern and will carefully consider your advice. The war has undoubtedly had an impact on those involved, and your perspective is invaluable. However, the actions of the rulers display their blackened hearts and demonic souls.

I agree with your point that it is time for the circus elephant to break free. Whenever I think of the atrocities committed by the British, I can't help but recall the words of Guru Gobind Singh from Zafar Nama. "When all other means have failed, it is just to resort to the sword."¹³

Regarding your discouragement to enlist in the war, I share your sentiments about the futility of this conflict. The recent events, especially the Komagata Maru incident had made me question my loyalty. I find myself in a dilemma, should I support movements that advocate for Swaraj

⁷ The members of the Gadar Party were called "Gadari Baabe" in Punjabi.

Ajmer Singh, *ਗਦਰੀ ਬਾਬੇ ਕੌਣ ਸਨ?*[Who were the Gadari Baabe?] (Amritsar,2014),1.

⁸ Translates to "White Government" in Punjabi, here referring to the colonial government.

⁹ The first political organizations among Punjabi laborers in North America arose in the context of anti-immigrant racism.

Gajendra Singh, "The Ghadar Movement and the Anti-Colonial Deviant in the Anglo-American Imagination", *Past & Present, Volume 245, Issue 1*, (2019)

¹⁰ The last maharaja of the sikh empire, Duleep Singh was taken as a political exile to England.

Priya Atwal, *Royals and Rebels: The Rise and Fall of the Sikh Empire* (London,2020) ,205.

¹¹ Codified Language: Gurjit is referring to Britishers as Angrez, a Punjabi word for Englishmen, and if fighting for the English would break the chains (Zanzeer) of colonial oppression.

¹² Santanu Das, "India, Empire, and First World War Culture: Writings, Images, and Songs" (Cambridge,2018), 89.

¹³ Guru Gobind Singh's Zafarnama – "letter of victory" i.e. ultimate victory of right over wrong, to Emperor Aurungzeb.

Gurmukh Singh. "Heritage of The Sikhs"

[Heritage of the Sikhs - The Sikh Martial Tradition \(sikhmissionarysociety.org\)](https://www.sikhmissionarysociety.org/) accessed November 17,2023.

¹⁴or be a lapdog, though I must tread carefully in every step as the hawk is keeping an eye on everyone.¹⁵ Either way, I would not like to be called a traitor. I wish our Sone di Chidi be free again.¹⁶

In response to your sketch, I am humbled by your artistic gesture. I, too, lack artistic talent, but I have attempted a rough sketch of the village and the Gurudwara. ¹⁷I hope it brings a semblance of home and comfort during your recovery.

Wishing you strength and a speedy recovery, my dear friend. I look forward to celebrating Vaisakhi¹⁸ with you and eagerly await your return to our homeland.

ਜਲਦੀ ਮਿਲਾਂਗੇ¹⁹

Yours Loving friend and well-wisher,

Gurjit Singh



¹⁴ Hindi term for Independence.

¹⁵ Code language: Gurjit is referring to the British as the hawk as he is critical if he is being spied.

¹⁶ Code language: Gurjit is referring to Punjab as (Sone di Chidi) or golden sparrow in Punjabi.

¹⁷ Sikh temple

¹⁸ the festival to commemorate the birth of Khalsa.

¹⁹ See you soon in punjabi.

Consolidated Bibliography – Connor Kuznik

- Atwal, Priya. *Royals and Rebels: The Rise and Fall of the Sikh Empire*. Oxford Scholarship Online. Oxford, UK: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 2020.
- Brar, Sandeep Singh. "Misconceptions About Eating Meat". <https://www.sikhs.org/meat.htm>. [accessed 24-09-2023]
- Clark, Rob. "20th Deccan Horse". <https://www.researchingww1.co.uk/20th-deccan-horse> [accessed 24-09-2023]
- Cronier, Emmanuelle. "Food and Nutrition". https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/food_and_nutrition. [accessed 22-09-2023]
- Das, Santanu. *India, Empire, and First World War Culture*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Das, Santanu. *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies*. Leiden, NL: Brill Publishers, 2011.
- Editorial Staff, Canadian War Museum. "Discipline and Punishment". <https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/life-at-the-front/trench-conditions/discipline-andpunishment#:~:text=Punishment%3A%20Imprisonment%2C%20Fines%2C%20Loss,in%20rank%20were%20customary%20punishments>. [accessed 19-09-2023]
- Editorial Staff, Empire, Faith, and War. "A Guide to Indian Army Ranks". <http://www.empirefaithwar.com/tell-their-story/research-your-soldier/helpful-guides/indian-army-ranks#:~:text=Sowar%20The%20lowest%20enlisted%20rank.subadars%20for%20each%20infantry%20regiment>. [accessed on 24-09-2023]
- Editorial Staff, National Army Museum. "Cavalry on the Western Front". <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/cavalry-western-front>. [accessed 19-09-2023]
- Hanna, Martha. "War Letters: Communication between Front and Home Front". https://encyclopedia.1914-1918online.net/articlewar_letters_communication_between_front_and_home_front [accessed on 28-10-2023]
- Johnston, Hugh. "Komagata Maru: The Canadian Encyclopedia". <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/komagata-maru> [accessed on 01-11-2023]
- Johnston, Hugh J. M. *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar*. Expanded and Fully Revised Edition. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2014.
- Legg, Joana, David Legg, and Graham Parker. "Preparations for the Battle of the Somme 1916". <http://www.greatwar.co.uk/battles/somme-1916/prelude/somme-prelude.htm>. [accessed 22-09-2023]
- LearnSikhi Writers. "Sikhi And Our True Identity: Who Are We Really?". <https://www.sikhnet.com/news/sikhi-and-our-true-identity-who-are-we-really#:~:text=The%20Guru%20tells%20us%20%E2%80%9CThe,dreams%20we%20experience%20at%20night>. [accessed 28-10-2023]
- Lee, Christopher. "India: Dominion or Not Dominion". https://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/empire/episodes/episode_86.shtml [accessed 01-11-2023]
- David Legg, and Graham Parker. "Preparations for the Battle of the Somme 1916". <http://www.greatwar.co.uk/battles/somme-1916/prelude/somme-prelude.htm>. [accessed 22-09-2023]

- Loughran, Tracey. *Shell-Shock and Medical Culture in First World War Britain. Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Roy, Kaushik. *Indian Army and the First World War: 1914-18*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Academic Books, 2018.
- Roy, Kaushik. *The Indian Army in the Two World Wars. History of Warfare*. Volume 70. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2011.
- Sacha, Gurinder Singh. "Sat Sri Akal: meaning and misconceptions".
<https://www.sikhmissionarysociety.org/sms/smsarticles/advisorypanel/gurindersinghsacha/satsriakalmeaningsandmisconceptions/> [accessed 28-10-2023]
- SikhiWiki Staff. "Martyrdom of Guru Arjan".
https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Martyrdom_of_Guru_Arjan. [accessed 22-09-2023]
- Turack, Daniel, C. "Freedom Movement within the British Commonwealth." *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 1, no. 3 (1968):476–84.
- UK Punjab Heritage Association. "Punjab and World War One". <http://punjabww1.com>. [accessed 24-09-2023]
- Wald, Erica. "Total war, shortages and British hospitals: Sepoy experiences in World War I"
<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/southasia/2014/10/29/total-war-shortages-and-british-hospitals-sepoy-experiences-in-world-war-i/> [accessed 01-11-2023]

Consolidated Bibliography – Gurmanjot Mangat

- Ali, Imran. *The Punjab Under Imperialism, 1885-1947*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988
- Atwal, Priya. *Royals and Rebels: The Rise and Fall of the Sikh Empire*. London: C. Hurst & Co., 2020.
- Dar, Vaishali "Diwali 2019: Sikhs Celebrate this Day as Bandi Chhor Diwas." *Financial Express*, Oct 27, 2019.
- Das, Santanu. *India, Empire, and First World War Culture: Writings, Images, and Songs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Indian Culture "Kartar Singh Sarabha" <https://indianculture.gov.in/node/2797800>. [accessed 03-10-2023].
- Nesbitt, Eleanor. *Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005
- Byju's Exam Prep. 2023. "Home Rule Movement: Objectives, Home Rule League UPSC."
<https://byjusexamprep.com/upsc-exam/home-rulemovement#:~:text=Similar%20to%20the%20Ghadar%20movement%2C%20the%20Home%20Rule,through%20her%20newspapers%2C%20conferences%2C%20meetings%2C%20and%20public%20gatherings>. [accessed 03-10-2023].
- Roy, Anjali. *Imperialism and Sikh Migration*. London, UK: Routledge, 2017.
- Sakshi. "Ghadar Movement, History, Objective, Ghadar Party Founder".
<https://www.studyiq.com/articles/ghadar-movement/> [accessed 03-10-2023].
- Sikh Wiki "Seva" <https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Seva>. [accessed 03-10-2023].
- Singh, Ajmer *ਬਾਬੇ ਵੇਣ ਸਿ ? [Who were the Gadari Baabe?]* Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2014.

- Singh, Gajendra, "The Ghadar Movement and the Anti-Colonial Deviant in the Anglo-American Imagination," *Past & Present*, Volume 245, Issue 1, 2019.
- Singh, Gurmukh. "Heritage of The Sikhs" Heritage of the Sikhs - The Sikh Martial Tradition (sikhmissionarysociety.org) [accessed November 17,2023]
- Sodhi, S. S. "Psychological State Called Chardi Kala (Sikh Cultural Universal)." *The Sikh Courier International*, 2017: 19-20.
- Syal, Muskan. "Punjab: Importance of Sarson Ka Saag and Makki Ki Roti."<https://www.themonktravel.com/importance-of-sarson-ka-saag-in-punjab/>. [accessed 03-10-2023].
- The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica "Defense of India Act | Indian Rebellion, Martial Law & Emergency Powers." <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Defence-of-India-Act>. [accessed 03-10-2023].

Reclaiming the Colonial Drink: The Development of Tea Culture in India after 1947

Natasha McConnell – November 2023
HIST 3361: The Indian Subcontinent since 1947
Professor Robert Menzies

In 1838, the first shipment of Chinese tea grown in India was shipped to London.¹ This represented the beginning of a major industry in India, and further, the beginning of a unique and vibrant culture based around tea. This latter development is somewhat unusual, since the rise of Indian tea culture took place alongside the political and social impacts of Indian independence and tea was very much a British commodity.² Given the historical social and economic implications of the tea industry in India, the very idea that it could become known as the country's national drink borders on ludicrous.³ Yet, through a sustained and intentional effort, that was the result. This paper will present the argument that, alongside the economic reasons, the very nature of tea as a notably British drink was a key reason for the establishment of Indian tea culture.

To understand fully the enormous shift that took place in the development of Indian tea culture, it is essential to understand the development of the tea industry in India. Tea was first brought to Europe from China in the 17th century.⁴ The type of tea grown in China, *camellia sinensis*, was initially used medicinally in Europe, though it would not be long until tea became popular among the upper class as a non-medicinal drink.⁵ In England, tea's popularity was slow to establish itself, but by 1721 the drink was so popular that the British East India Company (BEIC) could obtain a very profitable monopoly on the trade of tea.⁶ From a marketing perspective, the BEIC was in for smooth sailing, with complete control over a highly desired product. The proverbial storm in the proceedings, however, was the source of tea. China under the Qing dynasty was experiencing what might be considered a complicated relationship with the West.

¹ Helen Saberi, *Tea: A Global History* (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 2010), 128.

² Peter Lutgendorf, "Making Tea in India: Chai, capitalism, culture," *Thesis Eleven* 113, no. 1 (2012), 13-14.

³ Lutgendorf, "Making tea in India," 11.

⁴ Saberi, *Tea*, 85.

⁵ Saberi, *Tea*, 85, 87.

⁶ Saberi, *Tea*, 91, 94

While China acknowledged the value in engaging in trade with the West, not only the economic benefits, but also the educational and social benefits, they still had to maintain their superiority over the West.⁷ Unsurprisingly this extended to trade relations with the BEIC and the export of tea, resulting in a seller's market for China. This relationship deteriorated further when, to gain ground against the Chinese control of the tea market, the British began to sell opium to China, eventually leading to out and out war between Britain and China.⁸ This, naturally, made it much more difficult for Britain to obtain "the green gold."⁹ Given these challenging market issues, the BEIC began working to circumvent the Chinese monopoly. To do this, they began smuggling tea plants out of China, experimenting with growth methods in British controlled areas beyond the Himalayas as early as 1774.¹⁰ The *camellia sinensis* plant did not fare well in the new climate, so experiments were largely futile until the discovery of the plant *camellia assamica*, a variety of the tea plant native to Northeast India, in 1823.¹¹ With this new varietal growing easily in British controlled India, the BEIC began intensive tea production.

Tea production in India is largely concentrated in the Assam region, being one of the regions where *camellia assamica* grows naturally. The region was bountiful in land and rich in initial capital to establish tea farms, building off secretly stolen knowledge of Chinese tea farms, but there was one thing that the region definitively lacked: labour.¹² Specifically, low cost, highly invested labour. Most Assam locals sought high wages from the British farm owners, and they rarely invested much of their attention or devotion to their work if they were not paid accordingly.¹² Given that the BEIC had specifically begun to grow tea in India to avoid paying the high prices demanded by the Chinese, this was unacceptable. To counter this, British tea farmers began to look outside of Assam for labour sources.¹³ Imported workers would have very little social support in their new homes, thus leaving them to the mercy of their employer with regards to pay and accommodation. Imported labourers were general recruited with a five-year contract which guaranteed food, housing, clothing, a set wage, and return passage at the end of the contract period, though the quality of the provided goods was not notable not

⁷ Catherine Jami, "The emperor and his astronomer (1668-1688)," in *The Emperor's New Mathematics: Western Learning and Imperial Authority During the Kangxi Reign (1662-1722)* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011), 77.

⁸ Clement Tong, "China and Western Learning," (lecture, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, Richmond, November 27, 2023).

⁹ Geetashree Singh, "Journey to the Garden: History of Tea, Labour and Recruitment Policies in Colonial Assam," *Studies in People's History* 9, no.2 (2022), 166.

¹⁰ Lutgendorf, "Making Tea in India," 12.

¹¹ Lutgendorf, "Making Tea in India," 12.

¹² Singh, "Journey to the Garden," 169.

¹² Singh, "Journey to the Garden," 170-171.

¹³ Singh, "Journey to the Garden," 169-170.

specified.¹⁴ Unsurprisingly, the actual provisions for workers were generally poor, and the pay for tea plantation workers was pitiful.¹⁵ Under the colonial system, the vast majority of tea grown in India was exported, and the domestic use of tea was generally restricted to British officers and high officials.¹⁶ This can be clearly seen in advertisements for tea in British India, where the tea drinkers were universally depicted to be British citizens in India being served by Indian servants.¹⁷ Altogether, this means that Indian concepts of tea as a drink were indelibly tied to the British, and the production of tea inextricably linked to the exploitation of Indians. Which leads, of course, to the strange phenomena that was the rise of tea culture in India.

The development of tea culture was a clearly intentional effort, as evidenced by published materials related to tea. The Indian Tea Market Expansion Board (ITMEB), who in 1953 would become the Tea Board of India, a branch of the Indian government, was the largest organized body pushing for domestic tea market.¹⁸ To achieve this goal, they organized the publication of a spate of different advertisements to be published, marketing tea directly to Indians. As previously stated, tea advertisements under British colonial rule depicted British drinkers and Indian labourers almost exclusively. Near the end of the British Raj, and during the early years of independence on the other hand, advertisements began to depict Indian drinkers, particularly middle-class Indian women.¹⁹ Additionally, advertisements tried to appeal to both the traditional and the modern, depicting both Indian nobility and Indian film stars enjoying tea.²⁰ All together, these advertisements prove that there was a dedicated push to fully integrate tea into Indian culture.

The motives for this integration are two-fold. Firstly, the economic motive. The BEIC was successful in making Indian tea production a large-scale industry; one that was incredibly prolific by the 1930s, with 882,000,000 pounds of tea being produced between 1934 and 1936.²¹ Even up unto 1947, the majority of that produce was being exported to a lucrative foreign market.²² However, that market was not immune to the effects of the great depression. This left tea producers and peddlers with large amounts of produce to sell to an ever-dwindling market.

¹⁴ Singh, "Journey to the Garden," 173.

¹⁵ Singh, "Journey to the Garden," 176.

¹⁶ Lutgendorf, "Making Tea in India," 13-14.

¹⁷ Shobna Nijhawan, "Nationalizing the Consumption of Tea for the Hindi Reader," *Modern Asian Studies* 51, no. 5 (2017), 1234-1235.

¹⁸ Lutgendorf, "Making Tea in India," 18.

¹⁹ Nijhawan, "Nationalizing the Consumption," 1230.

²⁰ Nijhawan, "Nationalizing the Consumption," 1242-1243, 1247.

²¹ E. A. Watson, "The Tea Industry in India," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 84, no. 4346 (1936), 447.

²² Lutgendorf, "Making Tea in India," 17.

The natural reaction, then, would be to focus on the domestic market for tea and begin to sell Indian tea to Indians. The economic motive behind the development of India's tea culture is clearly displayed in several ways. For example, advertisements that gave instruction on the correct way to make tea were very common, often directing people to use large amounts of tea in each steep.²³ This, combined with the general preference for the lower grade teas that provided a quicker brewing time and stronger taste, would allow tea producers to increase their profits without setting prices too high.²⁴ All these strategies allowed the tea industry to maximize their market reach, but these strategies had the potential to fail spectacularly. Fortunately for the tea industry, they did not, and instead they managed to tap into a truly massive market. Indications of this success are visible in the make up of the tea industry. Unlike the typical Western conception of a successful economy headed by a small number of massive corporations, the tea industry was not a monolith overseen by the hulking regulatory monolith of the ITMEB. Rather, since the ITMEB was funded through taxes placed on tea growers, not vendors, the organization was permissive of the proliferation of smaller tea shops and family businesses that may sell less individually than large organizations, resulting in a majority of the domestic market being covered by small local stores rather than the massive industries.²⁵ Though the proliferation of these small stores does not necessarily lead to a unified industry, it does prove the massive economic potential present in the domestic Indian market for tea, highlighting the reason why there was such a massive push to introduce tea into Indian culture. Once a product is firmly ensconced into a cultural staple, the market is assured regardless of industry innovation, market competition, or individual purchaser preference.

Of course, economics are not the only reason behind the development of Indian tea culture. Another reason is, arguably, because tea was so inextricably linked to British culture. Returning to India under colonization, Indian publications that referenced tea would do so in a way to highlight the exploitation of Indians to produce the tea.²⁶ Unlike later advertisements that shone the spotlight on the consumer, these early discussions of tea focussed on the producer. Given that the exploitation of Indian workers was a product of British colonialism, by shifting the focus onto Indians as the consumers of tea highlights them in a newfound position of power. In a way, the shift in advertising styles was a reclamation of Indian nationhood independent from Britain. This shift extends also into who was being depicted, and the implications of that depiction. As noted previously, middle-class Indian women were often the subject of these ads. The wordings of the advertisements would urge women to make tea a part of their family tradition,

²³ Nijhawan, "Nationalizing the Consumption," 1234.

²⁴ Lutgendorf, "Making Tea in India," 20-21.

²⁵ Lutgendorf, "Making Tea in India," 27-28.

²⁶ Nijhawan, "Nationalizing the Consumption," 1229-1230.

and to invigorate and restore health to their families by drinking tea.²⁷ In doing this, the advertisements placed both the power and the responsibility of tea culture into the hands of these middle-class women. In doing so, the advertisements are subtly implying that the same power that was previously held by the British in India could now be wielded by every Indian family.

The economics of tea also served to highlight this nationalist idea. Indian-owned companies like Wagh Bakri and A. Tosh and Sons were able to capitalize on feelings of national identity by urging consumers to ““Be Indian, Buy Indian.””²⁸ This gave them a foothold in a market that would otherwise have been dominated by foreign owned companies, like Lipton. Social change was another part of the nationalizing of tea. The ITMEB pushed for legislation that would give workers regular tea breaks.³⁰ While this would undoubtedly have an economic impact, as it would increase tea consumption, it is important to note how closely this practice parallels the English practice of teatime, a practice that was featured prominently in advertisements under the colonial system, as well as a practice most Indians would be familiar with.²⁹ Again, the replication of this behaviour is subtly reclaiming power, in this case power over scheduling practices, from the British.

The development of tea culture in India is a fascinating societal development. An almost entirely artificial process, the decision to make tea a centre piece of Indian culture was made consciously and wholeheartedly. Tea advertisements, industry make up, and social changes all indicate two key driving motives behind the development of tea culture. Firstly, the economic potential of a previously untapped domestic market in the face of a dwindling foreign customer based plagued by economic crisis. Secondly, the national, though possibly subconscious, desire to reclaim power from the newly departed British colonizers, through circumventing or warping the British methods in marketing and consuming tea.

²⁷ Nijhawan, “Nationalizing the Consumption,” 1230-1231, 1234.

²⁸ Lutgendorf, “Making Tea in India,” 27.

³⁰ Saberi, *Tea*, 132.

²⁹ Lutgendorf, “Making Tea in India,” 14.

Bibliography

- Jami, Catherine. "The Emperor and his Astronomer (1668-1688)." In *The Emperor's New Mathematics: Western Learning and Imperial Authority During the Kangxi Reign (1662-1722)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Lutgendorf, Peter. "Making Tea in India: Chai, capitalism, culture." *Thesis Eleven* 113, no. 1 (2012), 11-31.
- Nijhawan, Shobna. "Nationalizing the Consumption of Tea for the Hindi Reader." *Modern Asian Studies* 51, no. 5 (2017), 1229-1252.
- Saberi, Helen. *Tea: A Global History*. London: Reaktion Books, 2010.
- Singh, Geetashree. "Journey to the Garden: History of Tea, Labour and Recruitment Policies in Colonial Assam." *Studies in People's History* 9, no. 2 (2022), 166-179.
- Tong, Clement. "China and Western Learning." HIST 2351 Lecture, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, Richmond, BC, November 27, 2023.
- Watson, E.A. "The Tea Industry in India." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 84, no. 4346 (1936), 445-465.

The Travels of Giovanni Tagliatore: A Medieval Travel Research Project¹

Aira McIntyre – December 2023
 HIST 2101: Europe in the Middle Ages
 Professor Kari North

Part I: Who Am I?

Giovanni Tagliatore² was born in Genoa in 1171 on January 5th and grew up in a wealthy household. His father was a merchant: his family has been merchants in Genoa since the Republic of Genoa was formed in the sixth century.³ They trade frequently with the Middle East and Byzantium. He received a normal education, and excelled in geometry and astronomy so his father bought him an astrolabe⁴ when he was nine years old. He was apprenticed to be a merchant at 10 years of age,⁵ and was sent to the house of his fathers' friend (as fathers could not have their own sons as apprentices)⁶ and his apprenticeship education was paid for handsomely. He trained under the guidance of a merchant master who was an intermediary between the fairs of Champagne in France and various Mediterranean ports (like Alberto Scotto)⁷, and so learned that particular routine. He was a studious and skilled subordinate, and at the age of 18 he rose to the rank of Journeyman and began to take trips to the Champagne fairs and back by caravan⁸ without his master. He traded in numerous kinds of goods, namely

¹ This was a three-part project whereby students researched and then created a fictional traveller during the Middle Ages, followed their journey, and created an original map of their travels – ed.

² I got this last name from this source: Merav Mack, "The Merchant of Genoa: The Crusades, the Genoese and the Latin East, 1187-1220s," PhD Dissertation, *University of Cambridge*, (2003): 65.

³ Ross Balzaretto. "Early Medieval Genoa," in *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 72.

⁴ Astrolabes were used for geometrical and astronomical purposes. Sara Schechner, *Astrolabes and Medieval Travel*, 184

⁵ Children were usually made apprentices from 7-9, but I did a year later: "Renaissance Guilds," *Guild Hall*, <https://ed.fnal.gov/lincon/f97/projects/guildhall/guilds/guildinfo.html>.

⁶ "Renaissance Guilds."

⁷ Alberto Scotto was an intermediary between Champagne fairs and Mediterranean ports: Michel Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," *Cambridge World History*, 259.

⁸ Caravan merchants went between the fairs of Champagne and Mediterranean ports, and traded in many different goods: R. D. Face, "The Vectarii in the Overland Commerce Between Champagne and Southern Europe," *The Economic History Review* 12, no. 2 (1959): 239.

silks, woolen products, various spices, metallurgy, dyes,⁹ wine,¹⁰ and linen.¹¹ He would receive exotic eastern goods from the Mediterranean ports and sell them in the Champagne fairs, then he would bring goods from the North and West to his Mediterranean port contacts, who would then sail to numerous other trading ports bordering the Mediterranean Sea and sell these products. Giovanni very much enjoyed the thrill of adventure these journeys across great lands brought him, but he soon became tired of doing the same thing repeatedly. He longed for adventure. He longed for an adventure on the sea and thirsted for the taste of saltwater spray on his tongue. He pondered his life and courted the idea of becoming an overseas merchant and experiencing life on turbulent waters. He heard of the great mixing of cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean and wants to experience it, and dreams especially of going to Acre¹² because he has heard that it is a place of wondrous culture. This desire for adventure is what causes him to request a place on the voyage that his merchant contacts in Genoa are taking come Autumn time. However, due to the third crusade and the siege of Acre,¹³ him and his fellow merchants are not travelling there as was planned, but are instead heading towards Alexandria.¹⁴ His adventurous spirit also causes him to become a pirate¹⁵ (in addition to his disdain for Venetians).¹⁶

Part II: Where Am I Going

May 4,¹⁷ 1191¹⁸

⁹ These products are mentioned in this source: Robert L. Reynolds, "Merchants of Arras and the Overland Trade with Genoa Twelfth Century," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 9, no. 2 (1930): 501.

¹⁰ Wine is mentioned numerous times in this source: Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," 273.

¹¹ Linen was produced and sold in the Champagne region. Robert L. Reynolds, "The Market for Northern Textiles in Genoa: 1179-1200," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 8 no. 3 (1929): 839.

¹² Acre is a place in Syria where Christian merchants trade and reside in: Emilie Amt and S. J. Allen, *The Crusades: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 106.

¹³ Mark Cartwright, "The Seige of Acre, 1189-91 CE," *World History Encyclopedia*, August 29, 2018, <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1263/the-siege-of-acre-1189-91-ce/>.

¹⁴ Alexandria was a main trade city: Nick Routley, "A Fascinating Map of Medieval Trade Routes," *Visual Capitalist*, May 24, 2018, <https://www.visualcapitalist.com/medieval-trade-route-map/>. It was frequented by Genoese merchants: Mack, "The Merchant of Genoa: The Crusades, the Genoese and the Latin East, 1187-1220s," 61.

¹⁵ I got the idea of him becoming a pirate from this source, where I read of a Genoese pirate named Guglielmo Grasso: Mack, "The Merchant of Genoa: The Crusades, the Genoese and the Latin East, 1187-1220s," 75.

¹⁶ Genoese and Venetian merchants were rivals: Mack, "The Merchant of Genoa: The Crusades, the Genoese and the Latin East, 1187-1220s," 94.

¹⁷ The fairs could last for 51-59 days: R. D. Face, "Techniques of Business in the Trade between the Fairs of Champagne and the South of Europe in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *The Economic History Review* 10, no. 3 (1958): 435.

¹⁸ In 1191, the fair in Bar-sur-aube began on March 19: R. D. Face, "The Vectarii in the Overland Commerce between Champagne and Southern Europe," *The Economic History Review* 12, no. 2 (1959): 243.

I just left the Champagne fair in Bar-Sur-Aube yesterday. I sold the silks and spices¹⁹ I had brought from my contacts in Genoa and bought many things that will be good to sell: Flemish woolen cloth²⁰ particularly, as well as cloth from Arras²¹ (from my usual contact²²), and silver works. These will sell quite well in Alexandria, I believe. I am not in the habit of taking unnecessary risks. The road has been tiring, but my caravan has so far travelled unhindered by highwaymen. Although I do not know how long this will last. We will have to cross the alps, and the terrain and environment will be unpredictable. We should take a break soon. I will suggest it to the group.

June 3,²³ 1191

Our caravan²⁴ arrived in Genoa just this afternoon. It is so good to be home. I will get in touch with my contact here in Genoa and collect my pay from him in exchange for the goods I brought, as is according to our *lettera di vettura*.²⁵ I have decided to travel with the merchants that sail from Genoa to Messina, then onto Alexandria.²⁶ They usually travel to Acre but have not been doing that for the past few years because of the third crusade and the siege of Acre.²⁷ I want to get a taste of what I am missing on the sea and look into becoming an overseas merchant. I already had my notary draw up a contract for borrowing capital with Guglielmo Lombard in Asti²⁸ when we stopped there, so inquiring about an extra spot on the ship is the last thing to do. But I have a lot of time to straighten that out, because they do not sail until October.²⁹ When we do, we will be using a long ship for transporting our merchandise.³⁰

¹⁹ Italian traders sold silks and spices at the Champagne fairs. Jérôme Sgard, "Global economic governance during the Middle Ages: The jurisdiction of the champagne fairs," *International Review of Law and Economics* 42, (June 2015): 174.

²⁰ Flemish woolen cloth was sold at Fairs in Champagne. Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade," 282.

²¹ The Genoese bought cloth from Arras in Champagne fairs. Robert. L. Reynolds, "The Market for Northern Textiles in Genoa: 1179-1200," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 8 no. 3 (1929): 837.

²² Genoese merchants often dealt with Arras merchants. Reynolds, "Merchants of Arras and the Overland Trade with Genoa," 513.

²³ It could take about 32 days to reach Genoa from a Champagne fair: Face, "Techniques of Business in the Trade," 429.

²⁴ Giovanni is a caravan merchant, and an intermediary between Champagne fairs and Genoa: Face, "The Vectarii in the Overland Commerce," 239.

²⁵ Caravan merchants used consignment letters for contracts. This is the Italian name: Face, "The Vectarii in the Overland," 239.

²⁶ Alexandria was frequented by Genoese merchants: Merav Mack, "The Merchant of Genoa: The Crusades, the Genoese and the Latin East, 1187-1220s," PhD Dissertation, *University of Cambridge*, (2003): 61.

²⁷ Mark Cartwright, "The Seige of Acre, 1189-91 CE," *World History Encyclopedia*, August 29, 2018, <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1263/the-siege-of-acre-1189-91-ce/>.

²⁸ The Lombards of Asti were bankers and money lenders: Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," 259.

²⁹ He is speaking of the late season sailings in the fall: Reynolds, "Merchants of Arras," 515.

³⁰ Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," 268.

October 7, 1191

We docked in Pisa this morning to pick up supplies, and I bought Tuscan wool cloth.³¹ It is very well made, and I am told that it's a hot commodity down in the East. Maybe it will be my foothold into overseas trading. It is also less expensive as that Flemish cloth from the fair in Bar-sur-Aube, as this Tuscan cloth is locally made. We also pick up Tuscan wine³² as it is profitable to sell in Thessalonica³³ on our way to Alexandria. Our next stop will be Amalfi before we stop at Messina in Sicily to pick up Italian metal products.³⁴

October 10, 1191

We are stopping at Amalfi³⁵ to skirt along the coast³⁶ before sailing in the open sea. It is safer this way. The ship is given a maintenance check, and we are also going to accommodate some Amalfian merchants contacts on board. They are planning to buy wheat, fruits, linen, and other cloths from Sicily to trade with in North Africa.³⁷ I have decided to stay on the ship because I don't plan on trading products in Amalfi. The next place I will trade is Messina. I am going to buy grains there as well as wine³⁸ to trade with the East. I am going to take a nap.

October 11, 1191

Mamma Mia, Do I have a lot to relay! Yesterday, I was awakened with a jolt as I heard sounds coming from above deck. I assumed that it was time to go as the rest of my party was back from taking care of business, so I dozed off again as they would surely wake me at Messina. Yet I was *very* wrong. The next thing I knew, a strange man was standing near my bed shouting "hey guys, there's someone down here!". He looked at me and said "well, what shall we do with you?". It was a pirate! I suppose they had hijacked the ship while the rest of my party was

³¹ Tuscan wool cloth is well made, and was traded with the East: Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," 283.

³² Tuscany is a wine making region according to this map: Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," 278.

³³ Wine from Italy was sold in Thessalonica in October: Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," 273.

³⁴ Metallurgy was made around this area according to this map: Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," 278.

³⁵ Amalfi was a prominent stop in the Mediterranean trade network in between Pisa and Messina: Nick Routley, "A Fascinating Map of Medieval Trade Routes," Visual Capitalist, May 24, 2018, <https://www.visualcapitalist.com/medieval-trade-route-map/>.

³⁶ Medieval shipping was largely a coast hugging experience: Thomas K. Heeboll-Holm, "The Anatomy of Medieval Piracy," In *Ports, Piracy, and Maritime War*, University of Toronto, May 2021, 39.

³⁷ Amalfian merchants traded these goods in North Africa, and acquired them from Southern Italy: Arman O. Citarella, "Patterns in Medieval Trade: The Commerce of Amalfi Before the Crusades," *Cambridge University Press* 28, no. 4 (December 1968): 533.

³⁸ Grain and wine were exported out of Sicily: Balard, "European and Mediterranean Trade Networks," 281.

away!³⁹ Long story short, they all came down to inspect and ‘deal’ with me. There were six of them. I quickly pleaded my case (so that they wouldn’t kill me) and told them that I would work with them. “I am a licensed merchant, and can legally sell goods at many ports” I said “I can help you sell the goods without getting in trouble”. They asked how they knew I wouldn’t betray them at the first port we reached, so I told them that two of them could shadow me. “I’ll need help transporting the goods anyways” I said. “I will also make you a deal. I won’t turn you in, as long as you promise to only steal from Venetians⁴⁰ from now on. In fact, I will help you steal from Venetians. Now how does that sound?” They then discussed my proposition amongst themselves and came back to me. “You have a deal” the apparent leader said. We shook hands. I guess I’m a pirate now.

Part III: The Map of the Travels of Giovanni Tagliatore



³⁹ Pirates would sometimes lie in wait and hijack a merchant ship: Heeboll-Holm, *Ports, Piracy, and Maritime War*, 38.

⁴⁰ Genoese and Venetian merchants were rivals. So this deal makes him feel patriotic and helpful to his home state of Genoa: Mack, “The Merchant of Genoa: The Crusades, the Genoese and the Latin East, 1187-1220s,” 94.

Bibliography

- Amt, Emilie and S. J. Allen. "The Travels of Ibn Jubayr." In *The Crusades: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (University of Toronto Press, 2014), 104-107.
- Balard, Michel. "European and Mediterranean trade networks." *Cambridge World History*, 257-286.
- Cartwright, Mark "The Siege of Acre, 1189-91 CE." *World History Encyclopedia*. August 29, 2018. <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1263/the-siege-of-acle-1189-91-ce/>.
- Citarella, Arman O. "Patterns in Medieval Trade: The Commerce of Amalfi Before the Crusades." *Cambridge University Press* 28, no. 4 (December 1968): 531-555.
- Face, R. D. "Techniques of Business in the Trade between the Fairs of Champagne and the South of Europe in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *The Economic History Review* 10, no. 3 (1958): 427-438.
- Face, R. D. "The Vectarii in the Overland Commerce Between Champagne and Southern Europe." *The Economic History review* 12, no. 2 (1959): 239-246.
- Heeboll-Holm, Thomas K. "The Anatomy of medieval Piracy." In *Ports, Piracy, and Maritime War*, 33-54. University of Toronto Press, May 2021.
- Mack, Merav. "The Merchant of Genoa: The Crusades, the Genoese and the Latin East, 1187-1220s." PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, (2003): 1-189.
- "Renaissance Guilds," Guild Hall, ["https://ed.fnal.gov/lincon/f97/projects/guildhall/guilds/guildinfo.html."](https://ed.fnal.gov/lincon/f97/projects/guildhall/guilds/guildinfo.html)
- Reynolds, Robert L. "Merchants of Arras and the Overland Trade with Genoa Twelfth Century." *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 9, no. 2 (1930): 495-533.
- Reynolds, Robert. L. "The Market for Northern Textiles in Genoa: 1179-1200." *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 8, no. 3 (1929): 831-852."

Routley, Nick. "A Fascinating Map of Medieval Trade Routes." Visual Capitalist. May 24, 2018.
<https://www.visualcapitalist.com/medieval-trade-route-map/>.

Schechner, Sara. *Astrolabes and Medieval Travel*. 181-210.

Sgard, Jérôme. "Global economic governance during the Middle Ages: The jurisdiction of the champagne fairs." *International Review of Law and Economics* 42, (June 2015): 174-184.

The Travels of Enrico (Henry) di Venezia: A Medieval Travel Research Project

Kabir Nijjar – December 2023
HIST 2101: Europe in the Middle Ages
Professor Kari North

Part I: Who Am I?

The name of my chosen traveller is Henry, who was born in Venice in a family of wealthy merchants. His family consisted of an older brother, a younger sister, a mother, and a father. His older brother spent most of his time at school trying to establish his career and determine his life. His younger sister spent most of her time at home with her mother and father by helping them out with anything they needed. His father and mother were looking for opportunities to earn more money to improve everyone's lives. It was between 1208 and 1254 that Venice signed commercial treaties with the Sultans of Egypt, which allowed Henry's family to improve their financial position by being introduced to the world of a merchant.¹ For most of Henry's youth, he lived in Venice where his father and mother decided to enroll him in a school. Where he was able to learn the new education of grammar, rhetoric, and logic.² While he was in school, in his past time he was with his family where he was helping and learning about the daily business operations of being a merchant. As time passed, Henry transitioned to university where during the thirteenth century he was learning about the works of Aristotle.³ However, he would have

¹ Pierre Moukarzel, "Venetian Merchants in Thirteenth-Century Alexandria and the Sultans of Egypt: An Analysis of Treaties, Privileges and Intercultural Relations." *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 28, 2 (2016): 187–188: In the thirteenth century various Italian merchant cities were able to sign commercial treaties with the sultans of Egypt. Specifically, in Venice between 1208 and 1254 they were able to sign four treaties. So, because the Mediterranean was a place for the Islamic and Latin worlds to meet, I wanted to make Henry's family to be merchants who thrive on the opportunity that has been provided. Also allowing Henry to become a merchant in the future.

² Barbara Rosenwein, *A Short History of the Middle Ages* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 197: During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there were new learning materials and new forms of school. Previously schools were focused on teaching children how to be monks and priests, however, now children were being taught forms of liberal art. Thus I wanted to discuss Henry's childhood and how that impacted his decisions in the future.

³ Rosenwein, *A Short History of the Middle Ages*, 198: The thirteenth century brought about the teachings of Aristotle and was a well-known topic in various medieval European Universities. The reason I wanted to include this was to illustrate Henry's enthusiasm and capabilities, as well as showcase the sacrifice he made by leaving university.

to leave school and take over the family business as his father and mother were unable to continue being merchants.

Currently, Henry is still living in Venice in the thirteenth century, where he continues to honour his family's legacy by becoming a Venetian merchant. Compared to other Venetian merchants, who were perceived as having an elite social status compared to the nobles and labourers, Henry didn't see himself as higher than others.⁴ He is a very humble individual, which was showcased through his selfless acts of kindness to his family and the people around him. While he assisted people with their needs, he was very successful in Venice. He became a very wealthy merchant by assisting with the importing of silks, spices, clothes, and objects of art to the West.⁵ This allowed Henry to drastically improve his sales as he had a variety of products that resulted in people coming to him to purchase items. Additionally, as time passed Henry decided to enter the market of precious metals, such as golden ducats, silver, and copper. So, he became one of the main merchants who imported silk and various spices from cities such as Persia. Henry was also able to gather golden ducats, silver, and copper and sell them to people.⁶ Additionally, it was during the Middle Ages that spices and various other products were viewed as highly valuable and fascinating. Prices were changing constantly and there was an increasing demand, which allowed Henry to see people's demands as an opportunity to gain more profit.⁷ Thus a majority of his sales were being made from silks and spices, but he would always look at what people needed the most.

Henry was also able to capitalize on the expansion of Venetian rule of the eastern Mediterranean, which led to a growing interest in trade and opened more trade routes. Additionally, Venice had a strong position in trading in the Mediterranean, which allowed Henry to expand his sales by selling and trading to other cities while getting advice from other

⁴ Taryn E. L. Chubb, and Emily Kelley, "Mendicants and Merchants in the Medieval Mediterranean: An Introduction." *Medieval Encounters* 18, no. 2/3 (2012): 155: The class of merchants, they were viewed as people who had high status and were between nobles and labourers. So, for Henry, I wanted to showcase how he was different from typical merchants and didn't view himself as any different from anyone else. It also showcases people's perception of merchants, and I wanted Henry to be a different kind of merchant who was more respectful of his upbringing.

⁵ Michel Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," in Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, et al. *The Cambridge World History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 259. With the introduction of merchants in Venetian the merchants took on the importing of various products and I wanted Henry to sell similar products that were highly valued during the thirteenth century.

⁶ Georg L.K.A. Christ, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* (Leiden, NL: Brill, 2012), 19: Due to the Venetians selling precious metals such as golden ducats, silver, and copper, I wanted Henry to sell high-value products to illustrate the different products he sold. Also, it ensures that Henry is selling products that were historically accurate to that time.

⁷ Paul Freedman, "Spices and Late-Medieval European Ideas of Scarcity and Value," *Speculum* 80, no. 4 (2005): 1213: Due to the constantly changing prices, I wanted Henry to benefit from this and be able to sell more products. It also illustrates that there were many changes throughout time and that Henry was able to capitalize on them.

merchants.⁸ The result of all of this was that Henry was successful during his time by becoming a wealthy merchant, taking care of his family, and expanding the family business.

Part II: Where Am I Going?

With Henry's immense success in Venice being able to sell a variety of products and meet his customers' demands, he decided to travel from Venice to Constantinople. The reason for his departure from Venice is because of his desire to improve his sales by selling and trading products with merchants in Constantinople. Also being able to attend trade fairs in Constantinople to trade with merchants where he would be able to gain advice and contacts from different merchants. Additionally, the end of the Fourth Crusade led to the reintegration of trade in the Mediterranean. This was beneficial to Henry as this meant he was able to increase his trading with neighbouring cities due to the northern and western ports being opened.⁹ Another reason for Henry's travel was Venice was able to create these foreign trading posts in the Aegean Sea and Black Sea during the thirteenth century, which was due to the Fourth Crusade.¹⁰ This would allow Henry to expand his family's business by diversifying his product mix and increasing his wealth in the long run. The reason why Henry was so motivated to leave Venice was because of the great opportunity he had to improve his wealth, expand his ability to sell goods and get advice from other merchants on how to be a well-known merchant. For this specific journey to Constantinople, Henry decided to travel by boat to carry all his products and be capable of stopping at any trading port. This would be Henry's first time joining the crew captain in transporting and viewing trade markets, as he would usually just send the products with his crew. So, with his first trip to Constantinople, Henry left Venice at the end of March as the weather was perfect due to the winter season passing, which would help the trip to go smoothly.¹¹ He would spend roughly two weeks at sea, travelling towards his first stop

⁸ Christ, *Trading Conflicts*, 19: Venice gained strong control in the Mediterranean trade market, thus I wanted to use this to showcase his success as a merchant and how he was able to continue his family's legacy.

⁹ Lisa Blaydes, and Christopher Paik, "The Impact of Holy Land Crusades on State Formation: War Mobilization, Trade Integration, and Political Development in Medieval Europe." *International Organization* 70, no. 3 (2016): 561; following the Fourth Crusade, Mediterranean trading was reintegrated into society and northern and western ports were open once again. Thus, I wanted to illustrate the macro event that impacted the world, and he it benefited Henry in his goal of expanding his family's business.

¹⁰ Balard, "European and Mediterranean trade networks," 274: Once again the impact of the Fourth Crusade led to trading becoming relevant. It was once again the reason why I wanted Henry to leave as trading posts in the Aegean Sea and black sea were once again open. It would be a great opportunity for him to learn more about being a merchant and gather more supplies he could trade and sell.

¹¹ Diego Puga, and Daniel Treffer. "International Trade and Institutional Change: Medieval Venice's Response to Globalization," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129, no. 2 (2014): 769: When merchants from Venice were journeying to neighbouring cities, they would plan their trips to avoid the winter weather. These winter weathers happened before March, so I wanted Henry to avoid the cold winter and ensure that his trip went as smoothly as

which was Durres. Henry was planning to stop for a few days and spend some time with some family, specifically his father's side of the family. After a few days, he would stop at the port of Durres and eventually meet up with his other side of the family. He was able to learn more about the city of Durres while enjoying time with his family by sightseeing. In the next couple of days, he would leave Durres and continue his travel to Constantinople where he spent over a month at sea. Unfortunately, his time at sea didn't go as planned, as some of his crew members experienced illness causing them to push back on their estimated timeline of reaching Constantinople. As well as he was experienced attacks from robbers, where he lost very little of his products because Henry luckily escaped before they could do more damage.¹² Following all the various hardships, he eventually made it to his second stop in Athens where he was planning to view the various markets. Henry was planning to trade and sell some of his products to make some money. It was during this time that due to the position of Venice he had accumulated a large amount of spices and raw materials which allowed him to sell and trade a variety of products to people.¹³ He was able to make a huge profit and gather materials in Athens before he once again was back at sea travelling to his third location which was Thessaloniki. The reason that Henry wanted to travel to Thessaloniki was to view the Church of Thessaloniki, which was where St. Demetrios was buried. This religious site was where many people would travel, as well as was an important pilgrimage site.¹⁴ For Henry when he arrived in Thessaloniki, he planned to go to the Church of Thessaloniki to spend some time praying for his safety for the trip to Constantinople and for him to have a successful time trading in the city. After spending two days in Thessaloniki, he headed towards his final destination, which took him two additional weeks. After spending a long time at sea, Henry made it to Constantinople where he participated in the fair trade. Additionally, he increased his supply of goods, while trading and selling his products to various merchants.

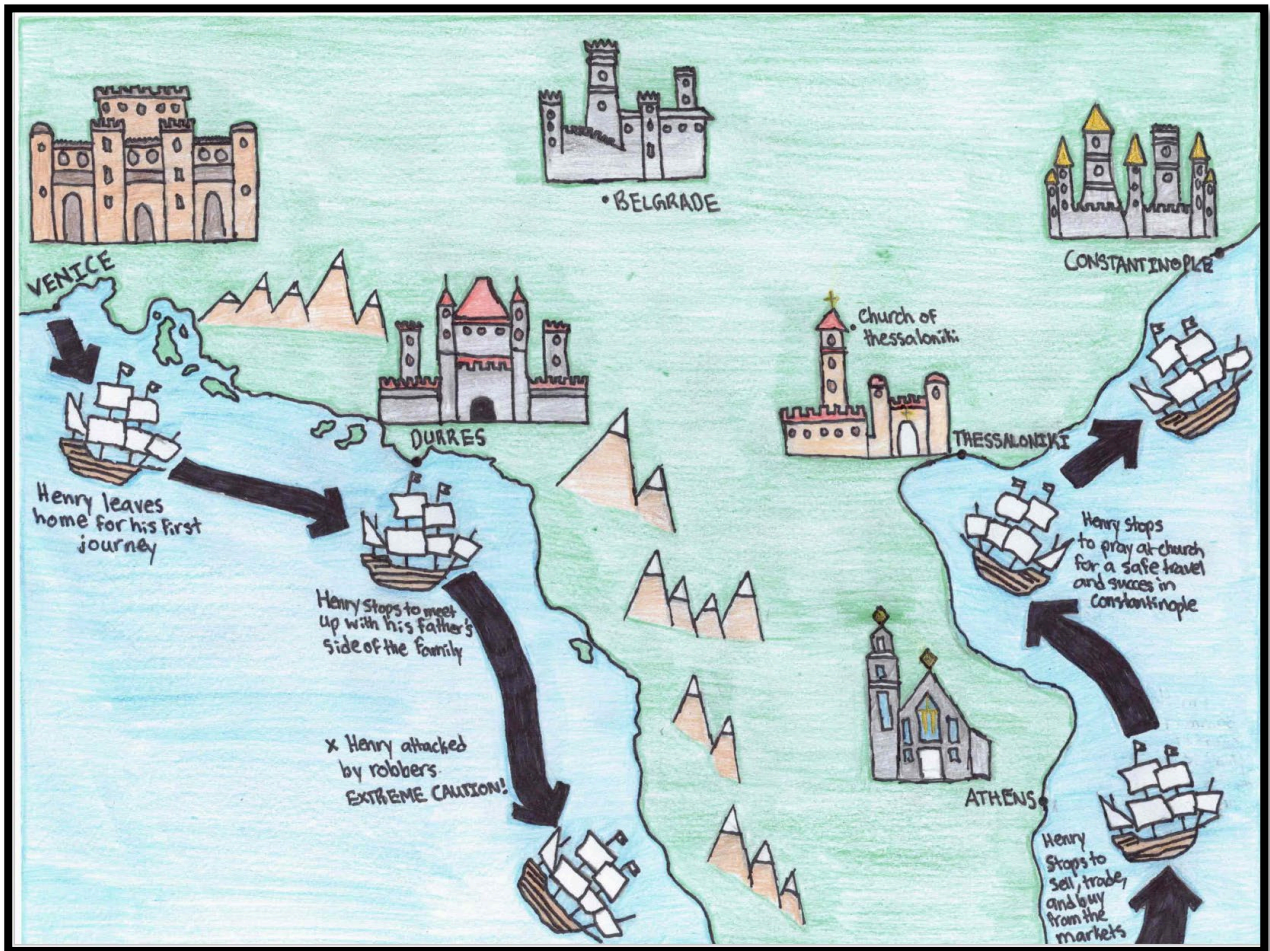
possible. It was also accurate to the weather that thirteenth-century Venice travellers would experience on their journeys.

¹² Puga and Treffer. "International Trade and Institutional Change," 769: Once again, when Venice merchants would travel, they would experience hardships such as illness, shipwreck, and robbery. Thus, I decided to make his crew members experience illness. As well as go through a robbery where they barely escape with minimal damage. Which was to ensure that the hardships they faced were accurate to what thirteenth-century Venice Merchants experienced.

¹³ Christ, *Trading Conflicts*, 21: With Venice's strong market in spices and raw materials during the thirteenth century, I wanted Henry to use this advantage to sell his spices to Athen's people, as well as use it to trade for better resources.

¹⁴ Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Pilgrimage to Thessalonike: The Tomb of St. Demetrios." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 179: The Church of Thessaloniki was an important pilgrimage site that many travellers would come to visit. So I wanted Henry to stop to pray for a safe journey and his future success and to ensure that I chose a church that was accurate to the thirteenth century.

Part III: The Map of the Travels of Enrico (Henry) di Venezia



Movie Analysis: *Come and See*

Cameron Peacock – Spring 2024
HIST 2335: War in the Modern World
Professor Kari North

Come and See is a Soviet anti-war film released in 1985. It was directed by Elem Klimov and co-written by Ales Adomovich. The film is set in Nazi occupied Byelorussia during 1943 and loosely follows the events of the Khatyn massacre though those events can be a stand-in for any number of atrocities carried out by the Nazis during their occupations in the East. The film is one of the best, and most brutal depictions of the horrors of war as well as the effects both physical and psychological that war has on its victims and perpetrators. The film draws heavily on Soviet realism and is grounded in its depiction of the war with absolutely no romanticization of the war or its participants, it is a brutal depiction of the senseless violence that dominated that region during the war years.

Both the director of the film and the lead screenwriter have direct experience of the brutality of the war in the East with Klimov being born and raised in Stalingrad and having lived through evacuation during the siege of that city, an experience he draws on heavily during the film. Adomovich on the other hand served as a partisan during the occupation of Byelorussia so would have firsthand experience of the events depicted in the film. The authenticity that these firsthand experiences lend the film are unparalleled. The film sets out to depict exactly what the Nazis were doing in their occupation of the Soviet lands and succeeds.

The main narrative of the film is the psychological dismantling of its main character Flyora played by Aleksei Kravchenko. He begins the film as a naive youth digging through an old battlefield to find a rifle he can use to join the Soviet partisans. He joins the partisans though is spared having to go into battle. That does not spare him experiencing the horror wrought by the Nazi invasion as the camp is soon bombed, beginning the horror, and sending Flyora on his odyssey across war-torn Byelorussia. By the end of his ordeal, he appears visibly aged from his trauma similar to photos of actual soldiers who experience combat. Flyora loses everything he has ever known to the war, his family and friends are slaughtered, his innocence and spark of life is robbed from him, and he is nearly killed himself escaping death not through any heroics

or clever escape but simply because he is discarded by the Nazis as they leave the village following a brutal massacre which he is forced to helplessly watch take place.

There are no battles in the film; the violence depicted seems almost random, from men being blown up by accidentally stepping on landmines, to the revelation of the fate of Flyora's family, to men being gunned down after accidentally stumbling between the battle lines. The war takes from all it touches and it does not discriminate. There is no heroism here, there is no glory to be had, or lesson to be learned from this experience, just senseless violence that humanity enacts on each other. Even following the climactic massacre scene when the partisans attack the Nazi convoy and get their revenge there is no catharsis or gratification in the act. We are treated to the pathetic attempts at the commander to plead for his life followed by a diatribe from an SS fanatic who explains the ideology that led to such violence before the group of German prisoners are unceremoniously gunned down. It is not heroic revenge; it is simply another act of violence and another small drop of blood in a conflict that will spill enough to fill oceans.

The final montage of the film is where its message is most clearly conveyed. It is a counter narrative to the conception of the heroic war film. Flyora fires his rifle into an abandoned poster depicting "Hitler the Liberator" as reversed historical footage of the war is intercut. He fires again and again as the bombs are un-dropped and buildings are returned from the rubble. We cut back to Flyora as he fires again, and we see Hitler's rise to power in Germany being reversed as triumphant music swells and the worst deeds of the war are undone. We are eventually left with only of Flyora's fear and rage and an image of an infant Hitler with his mother as Flyora finally hesitates to fire again. The film ends as Flyora rejoins the partisans, getting lost in the crowd as they march onto the next battle. All that Flyora has experienced is one tiny insignificant part of a war that will last years and kill millions more before its end and there is no choice but to simply go onward.

You may be able to kill Hitler and all his soldiers, you can retake the lands of your country, rebuild the cities and villages, and dig up the mass graves, but you cannot bring the victim's back. The fantasy of heroic violence is broken and, in the end, it will not repair the destruction that has been wrought. The only thing that violence even just violence produces is countless people who are broken like Flyora now is. The war to defeat the Nazi aggressors may have been just, and was certainly necessary, but that does not make it heroic, as violence is never heroic. This film is ruthless in its depiction of the horrors of war and the filmmakers did a masterful job depicting how war can destroy its victims even if they manage to survive its dangers they do so irrevocably changed.

The Malady of a Witch's Hunger

Jenn Rigio – October 2023

HIST 4499: Special Topics – European Witchcraft before 1800

Professor Kari North

Societies have never been static entities; they have always grown and evolved, creating their own belief systems and structures which ebbed and flowed as outside influences caused shifting perspectives and, in turn, changed how they experienced their surroundings. With this in mind, the idea of the modern witch and behaviours associated with them, has also evolved through historic accounts of Indigenous practices and beliefs that were spread and adapted through exploration and war, by those that overtook occupied areas. While there are many known characteristics that are attributed to witches, for our purposes, we will be discussing the historically documented *infanticide*, which in early times was considered to have occurred when a person kills an infant or child, newborn and up to approximately seven years old.¹ Using several primary and secondary sources which focus on the heretical act of killing children for the purpose of demonic practices, this paper will expose the embellished historical testimonies that led to the evolution and proclaimed purpose of this practice in the eventual widespread epistemology of witches, while additionally exploring the behaviour's origin, and how current pop culture uses these ideas now.

Although the famous witch-hunts of Europe did not explode until the 16th and 17th century, the notable condemnation of magical practices by the church started in the early 15th century with the reign of Pope Alexander V, who had heard news of several sects of “concerning Christian and Jews” as practicing demonic sorcery, divination and superstition.² By mid-century, claims of a diabolic sect in the Alps triggered a small witch-hunt that killed upwards of “100 victims” after reports of diabolic practices by sorcerers who participated in nocturnal meetings as a “large cult,” and who “worshiped demons, engaged in sexual orgies and *feast[ed]*”

¹ “Infanticide (n.),” Online Etymology Dictionary, August 29, 2023. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/infanticide>.

² Michael D. Bailey, “Chapter Four: The Medieval Condemnation of Magic,” *Magic and Superstition in Europe: a concise history from antiquity to the present*, (Baltimore, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 130.

on the flesh of babies.”³ Not long after, the idea of the Witches Sabbath was firmly established, and documented. Around the same time, Bernardino of Siena attested in his sermons that in his encounters of Rome, confessions from those accused of witchcraft illuminated that one female witch, “killed thirty children... by sucking their blood” and although she released 60 others, she was obligated to “sacrifice a limb to the Devil” from each one.⁴ By the end of the 15th century, Bailey (2007) describes how the 1486 publication by Inquisitors Kramer and Sprenger’s, *The Malleus Maleficarum* (The Hammer of Witches), was one of the most in depth, and arguably most famous epistemologies on witchcraft and witch behaviour; This literature also exacerbated the idea of infanticide.⁵ Taking influence from other manuals from the century, such as Nider’s *Formicarius* (1437-38), it posits the importance of gender as a defining characteristic of witchcraft, and describes how these women “are in the habit of eating and devouring children of their own species,” while offering those they do not consume to the Devil; additionally, they made “certain unguents from the bones and limbs of children, especially those who have been baptized;” moreover, “midwives... were under obligation to kill or offer to devils as many children as possible.”⁶ While these ideas took over a century to take root, they made a huge impact on society when they did, and set in motion the horrific 16th and 17th century witch hunts that followed. Sermons documented from the time of the hunts describe the fear-mongering tactics used by Inquisitors to incite community members turning on one-another. Additionally, Broedel (2003) describes how the Sabbath became an “enormously popular and successful piece of slanderous propaganda” that contained six key elements, the fourth being that “they slaughtered infants or children, who were brought along for this purpose, and put their flesh to some foul and often magical use.”⁷ A visual example of the Sabbath is seen in Figure 1, “Witches’ Sabbath,” one of Francisco de Goya’s *Pinturas Negras*’ series paintings that illustrates witches worshipping the Devil in the form of a black goat. Scattered throughout are the small bodies of children, those alive are being offered as a sacrifice to the Devil, others look emaciated, as if drained of their blood or are almost expired. In the distance are small bodies hung on a branch while ominous creatures fly above in the night sky. This series of paintings was completed at the end of the 18th century, when the works of Nider, Kramer and Sprenger, along with others, had already resulted in the established clear representation of the legendary witch and her

³ Bailey, “Chapter Four: The Medieval Condemnation of Magic,” 131.

⁴ Martha Rampton, ed., “58. A Warning to the People of Siena to Expunge Witches from the City,” in *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 271.

⁵ Bailey, “Chapter Four: The Medieval Condemnation of Magic,” 137-139.

⁶ Bailey, “Chapter Four: The Medieval Condemnation of Magic,” 138; Rampton, ed., “64. The Witch Hammer,” 298-300.

⁷ Hans Peter Broedel. “Chapter 6: Witchcraft: the formation of the belief - part two,” *The Malleus Maleficarum and the construction of witchcraft*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 124.

behaviours. Notably, this era would have already surpassed the height of the witch hunts, though its legacy lived on.



Figure 1. Francisco de Goya, *Witches' Sabbath*, 1798, oil on canvas, fresco, 43cm x 30cm (17 in X 12 in), Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, Spain, <https://kultura.art/artworks/6544/witches-sabbath>.

As referenced in the above primary sources, the accounts of infanticide behaviour mostly agreed that it would happen at night, when witches would steal children to the Sabbath or would kill them in their home to drink their blood or eat them, but the documentation shows the purpose of the behaviour varied. While those that believed in the renditions of the Lamiae or Striae tended to focus on the “night spirit” as a bloodthirsty female who feasted on the children, others focused on the importance of the Sabbath and them paying homage to their Lord, the Devil, by offering the children to him for “magical purposes” or to devote them to him as a servant of evil for all eternity.⁸ As Broedel (2003) reports, some sources say that the witches would steal children to appease the demands of the Devil, and then he would instruct them on how to make “magic goo” from their bodies to spread on objects to make them fly, or to use for other magical purposes, while others explain that this murderous act was done to “punish the parents.”⁹ Additionally, Kramer recounts of witches he had encountered during his travels who confessed to focusing their attention on “unbaptized children,” where they “kill them in cradles “so that they look to have died naturally, and once buried, they “secretly take them from their graves and cook them in a caldron until the whole flesh comes away from the bones to make soup” that will imbue the drinker immediately with vast knowledge that promotes them to the “leader in [their] sect;” Finally, with the “solid matter,” they make “unguents” for magical use in “arts,... pleasures and [their] transportation.”¹⁰ Regardless of the motive behind these claims, this information was used to incite fear and eventually target the most vulnerable.

It is important to clarify that there was a difference between what the elite thought and what the common folk thought about witches. As Goodare explains, the common folk were uneducated and relied on their understanding of magical beings to make sense of the world around them and give themselves a way to “protect their families.”¹¹ As a result, relationships were built with the supernatural world of a “variety of remarkable non-human beings – ghosts, revenants, fairies and giants” through rituals and magical practices. During this time, witchcraft was unknown to these communities, but eventually the emergence of Christianity was adopted by many, and traditional practices fell under the witchcraft umbrella. Between the elite and common folk, there were two distinct types of witches, folklore and legendary. The folklore witch was a magical creature that the common folk believed in. This Witch was more of a mystical creature that lived in solitary remote areas away from the village, was not associated with the Devil, and was not necessarily human, but did pose the threat of murder

⁸ Rampton, ed., “64. The Witch Hammer,” 298, 302.

⁹ Broedel, “Chapter 2: Origins and arguments,” 30; “Chapter 5: Witchcraft: the formation of belief - part one,” 104-105, 113-114.

¹⁰ Rampton, ed., “64. The Witch Hammer,” 301.

¹¹ Julian Goodare, “Chapter 5: Witchcraft and folk belief,” *The European Witch-Hunt*, (London, UK: Routledge, 2016), 122.

and eating children.¹² The Elite believed in legendary witches that were directly related to Greek Mythological creatures, namely the lamiae and striae, but others as well. Although the peasants thought of the idea of the Sabbath as more “hypothetical or at least semi-fictional,” not taking the ideas of the elite seriously would eventually make them the target of accusations for the elite’s attempt at cleansing Europe of its un-Godliness.¹³

As the Church split into the original Catholic and the new Protestant (Lutheran) Church, the consequential religious wars that followed, in the early 16th century, saw little attempts to pursue witch-hunts. However, once the dust settled and the northern European areas remained mostly Protestant, while the Southern areas Catholic, the focus shifted as “rulers sought to consolidate their power within their territories, and their national churches sought to entrench their orthodox message among the common people.”¹⁴ As such, “Christianization” disseminated in all directions, and the witch-hunt craze plagued regions, as religious and secular authorities worked together to “investigate, and stamp out, ungodliness in all its forms.”¹⁵ As a guideline, Protestant Churches used the pre-reformation *Malleus Maleficarum*, 1486 or both Catholic and Protestant referred to Jean Bodin’s, *Démonomanie* (1625), that is a contemporary guide that takes his “political and religious philosophy” and “complements” them with the successful ideas presented in Kramer and Sprenger’s, *Malleus Maleficarum*, essentially taking in the social and political evolution that occurred post reformation and counter-reformation, and making a more relevant epistemology that was more user-friendly and comprehensible as a “complex text.” In turn, for centuries these manuals were used to torture confessions from thousands of innocent commonfolk who, once accused of witchcraft, lay vulnerable and at the mercy of those in power. Goodare (2016) explains, no one was safe, as Inquisitors, who ignored the ethical protocol in place, would torture victims repeatedly until their confessions “contain[ed] individual detail about places and times, motives for entering the Devil’s service, activities at the witches’ sabbat, and malefices committed;” The victim must then start naming their accomplices; once this was completed, Inquisitors would assure the victim’s confession was “polished and elaborated over several sessions of interrogation.”¹⁶ With this in mind, it is no wonder the victims admitted to these horrific crimes. As Goodare (2016) further points out, they succumbed to “pressured-complian[ce]” to “stop the pain,” or they simply became so disillusioned from the torture that they “lost confidence in their memories and created false memories instead.”¹⁷

¹² Goodare, “Chapter 5: Witchcraft and folk belief,” 134.

¹³ Goodare, “Chapter 5: Witchcraft and folk belief,” 152.

¹⁴ Goodare, “Chapter 6: Witches and the godly state,” 159.

¹⁵ Goodare, “Chapter 6: Witches and the godly state,” 159.

¹⁶ Goodare, “Chapter 7: Witches in court,” 208.

¹⁷ Goodare, “Chapter 7: Witches in court,” 210, 212.

The question becomes, where did these ideas come from? Key events that led up to the height of persecution are a good place to establish where these beliefs came from, how they were commonly spread and by whom. As the Roman Empire grew, it adopted many of the Greek mythological stories that were told by the Greek slaves who were bought by upper class Romans, to educate roman children.¹⁸ Lore from the early eras describe “stories of malevolent magic,” such as Lucan’s poem (39-65 BCE), “Pharsalia,” that describes during a “stormy night” the witch practices her incantations and there is the “smoking ash and the burning bones of the young.”¹⁹ Others, such as Euripides' play of Medea (431 BCE), tells the story of a scorned sorcerer that seeks revenge on the love that broke her by killing their children in front of him and then escaping by flying through the night of a chariot pulled by dragons.²⁰ Equally as important for the relevance of infanticide, is the myths of the Lamiae and Striae. These witches were “bloodsucking night” stalkers that were thought to eat children, abducting them from their homes and congregating together where they would worship the Devil and use the bodies of children for different purposes.²¹ As Roman influence spread across its vast empire, its ideas covered most of Europe – North to Scotland, South to the Sahara desert, West to the Atlantic Ocean, and East to Levent – and were eventually blended with other Indigenous beliefs such as the Celtic mythology of Fomorians in Ireland, who were a race of supernatural beings that demanded “milk,” “corn,” and “2/3” of the towns children as sacrifices.²² As Christianity and the idea of what a ‘Godly person’ looks like, spread throughout Europe, the melding of ideas, pulled from newly discovered areas and beliefs, were used to create the image of the opposite of Godliness – a witch. Traditional practices that did not ‘fit’ into the Christian frame became diabolical, and those that did not repent away from these practices became at risk of future persecution.

Today, ideas about witches and their behaviour are widely viewed as fictional stories by many. As secularism grew due to scientific discovery, the witch archetype has become more of a comical and festive idea used in movies and as themes for celebrating events such as the modern Hallows Eve (Hallowe’en). One such example of a more modern depiction of the comical witch, is from the popular 1992 movie, *Hocus Pocus*. Beginning in a small town in 1693, within the Sanderson sisters’ home, Winifred, Mary, and Sarah, are three evil witches making a potion and chatting about the need for a child to drink their elixir so they can suck out the child's soul and

¹⁸ Samuel Hume, *History of Witchcraft Podcast*. Episode 19, “The Eternal City and the Evil Eye,” on Pax Britannica. <https://thehistoryofwitchcraft.co.uk//episode-list/episode-19-the-eternal-city-and-the-evil-eye/>.

¹⁹ Rampton, ed., “5. Erichtho: Divination Through the Dead,” 24.

²⁰ Rampton, ed., “4. Medea: The Classic Witch,” 15-23.

²¹ Goodare, “Chapter 5: Witchcraft and folk belief,” 134.

²² Hume, *History of Witchcraft Podcast*. Episode 18, “Halloween – From Pagan, to Christian, to Party.”

have their youth restored. At the end of the scene, the child's brother attacks them, but they manage to turn him into a cat and successfully suck the soul from the young girl, becoming young again. They are hung at the gallows for their evil deeds by the townsfolk and authorities, but at the same time, it foreshadows a chance for them to be resurrected, if a young virgin lights the flame from the black candle. Three hundred years later, a young man, trying to impress a girl, lights the candle and resurrects the witches. They need to suck the souls from children before the days end to gain immortality, otherwise they will die once again. Throughout the comedic relief of the three sisters on their quest to kill all the children in the town, other witch behaviours are observed, such as cursing, resurrecting the dead, flying, potions and spells. These are all very typical depictions of the witch archetype. One noted difference is the absence of the Devil as a main motive for their actions. While the witches practiced their magic, it was for youthful vanity at first and then to gain immortality. Although still planning to commit infanticide to achieve their objective, its depiction was in a mocking and lighthearted tone - a huge digression from the heretics proclaimed by the church centuries ago.

After exposing the historiography of the witch behaviour infanticide, an important takeaway is while confessions of the heretic act of killing children to eat or use for magical purposes in the name of the Devil were documented, the torturous and unethical methods of achieving these statements debunk their value as evidence towards its accuracy. Moreover, the similarities to origin stories of this behaviour illuminates how likely and easily it was adapted for use by religious authorities to exert power over others. Lastly, given that the only documentation of these encounters was from the literate class that had political and religious motivations to exert power over the vulnerable of whom they accused, reveals that the validity of any primary sources from this time was used as more of a tool of indoctrination than of historical fact. In short, to gain a more rounded idea of the actual events that transpired centuries ago, it is essential to take in the perspective of authorities from the time, but also look deeper through the text for other silent perspectives not easily acquired.

Bibliography

- Bailey, M. D. *Magic and Superstition in Europe: a concise history from antiquity to the present*. Baltimore, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.
- Broedel, H. P. *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- Goodare, J. *The European Witch-Hunt*. London, UK: Routledge, 2016.
- Goya, F. *Witches' Sabbath*. 1798. oil on canvas, fresco. 43cm x 30cm (17 in X 12 in). Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, Spain. <https://kultura.art/artworks/6544/witches-sabbath>
- Ortega, Kenny, dir. *Hocus Pocus*. 1993; United States: Buena Vista Pictures, 2002. DVD.
- Hume, S. *History of Witchcraft Podcast*. Episode 18 & 19 “on Pax Britannica.” <https://thehistoryofwitchcraft.co.uk/episode-list/>
- “Infanticide (n).” Online Etymology Dictionary. August 29, 2023. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/infanticide>
- Maguire, J. “De la Démonomanie des sorciers – By Jean Bodin.” in *Renaissance Studies* 32, no.3 (2017): 516-517.
- Rampton, M., ed. *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- “Witches Sabbath.” Kultura. April 1, 2020. <https://kultura.art/artworks/6544/witches-sabbath>

Flight at Night: Its Origins and Associations

Nick Robinson – April 2024

HIST 4499: Special Topics – European Witchcraft before 1800

Professor Kari North

Flight at night is a behaviour commonly attributed to witches, although it originates from at least the 5th century BCE. Nighttime flight took place in many forms, from dragon-drawn chariots, to transformation into birds, to riding on tools or animals.¹ Many of the latter forms of flight were considered to be powered by demons, whether truly taking place or present only in the dreams of the witches.² In Ancient Greek literature, as in the story of Jason and Medea, flight is practiced by both good and bad goddesses.³ Later instances of night flight continue the presence of deities, as the goddess Diana was commonly referenced in stories of flight. In the later medieval era, demons became more involved in nighttime flight, as a flight by the power of Pagan gods was rejected by the Christian Churches.⁴ Many cultures at different times had some conditions for flight, but the most prevalent is nighttime. This fits the later narrative of flight only happening in dreams and suits the nature of nighttime as a time for evil deeds.⁵ Earlier instances of vilified night flight were attributed to Lamiae and Striae in Roman times, who would fly out at night to eat children and drink their blood. These stories would later be attributed to witches, who would later be known to practice those same acts.⁶ Flight at night was also instrumental for witches to attend their sabbaths, where they would convene with the Devil, demons and other witches.⁷ Depiction of night flight by witches was frequently done so

¹ Euripides, "Medea: The Classic Witch," in M. Rampton ed., *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader* (Toronto, 2018), 23.; John of Salisbury, "Divination and the Court: The *Policraticus*," in Rampton ed., *European Magic and Witchcraft*, 183-184.; Julian Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, (London, 2016), 78.

² Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, "The Witch Hammer," in Rampton ed., *European Magic and Witchcraft*, 298, 300.

³ Euripides, "Medea," 21.

⁴ Bishop Regino of Prüm, "Loosed Women and Night Flight: *Canon Episcopi*," in Rampton ed., *European Magic and Witchcraft*, 154-155.

⁵ Bishop Regino, "Loosed Women and Night Flight," 155.

⁶ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 64-65.

⁷ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 78.

in the literal sense, straying away from the theories of night flight taking place in dreams.⁸ This version of flight is much more attractive to paint than one dreaming in one's sleep. In the 16th century, there was contemporary debate over witches' flight as to whether it happened in person or was a figment of dreams. A curious development in the perspectives on witch flight came about with the Canon *Episcopi*, which claimed that flight was impossible.⁹ This gave rise to the debate around how witches could fly at night, which was instrumental in solving because witches and night flight had become so intertwined that if one were not possible, the other would be just a fallacy. This greatly furthered the argument of night flight happening in dreams.¹⁰



Jacob Cornelisz Van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*. C. 1472.

⁸ Jacob Cornelisz Van Oostsanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*. C. 1472. Painting. Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saul_and_the_Witch_of_Endor_by_Jacob_Cornelisz_van_Oostsanen.jpg.

⁹ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 72-73.

¹⁰ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 72.

Night flight was commonly attributed to witches as a means to get to another of their rituals, the sabbath.¹¹ One of the critical reasons that witches are known to practice night flight is the Pagan correspondence. The belief in the power of flight was quite common in folk settings.¹² As mentioned above, Lamiae and Striae came from Roman belief and possessed the power of flight at night in the pursuit of children.¹³ Stories of these evil creatures continued to be told and fit other narratives of witches, such as the killing and eating of children. The language used to identify Lamiae and Striae developed into that which identified a witch.¹⁴ Not all Pagan flight was contributed to evil, however. The Pagan goddess Diana was often attributed with the power of flight, as women would believe to be flying with her.¹⁵ Coming from Pagan origins, the Church dismissed those claims, instead claiming they were flying through the power of Satan. The argument was that in the eye of Christianity, there is only one true God, so any powers beyond human nature are either driven by God or delusions created by Satan.¹⁶ While flight was often attributed to witches, the power of flight was not. The power of flight was often associated with the Devil and demons. The purpose of witch flight, to get to the sabbath, too, stems from demonic belief. The sabbath was where witches would interact with the Devil.¹⁷ The Canon *Episcopi* laid out that human flight was not possible. While flight had been attributed to witches, it has also been attributed to demons and angels.¹⁸ To justify cases of witch flight, demon intervention was proclaimed to be the method through which they fly due to their ability for flight.¹⁹

Flight at night has taken many forms over time. One form that has evolved has been the flight of chariots pulled by animals. The earliest instances date back to ancient times, as far back as the 17th century BCE. Kings would be flown in chariots driven by birds of prey, tempted by dangling pieces of meat in front of them.²⁰ Instances in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE have kings and goddesses carried in chariots, now pulled by dragons and griffins, without having to be baited with meat.²¹ 16th-century depictions of witches using this flight style show an inverse of that from ancient times. Instead of birds of prey, they are pulled by chickens, holding a plate of food

¹¹ Jonathan B. Durrant and Michael David Bailey, *Historical Dictionary of Witchcraft*, (Lanham, 2012), 144-145.

¹² Roy Booth, "Witchcraft, Flight and the Early Modern English Stage," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 13, no. 1 (2007): 20.

¹³ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 64-65.

¹⁴ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 65.

¹⁵ Booth, "Witchcraft, Flight and the Early Modern English Stage," 20.

¹⁶ Bishop Regino, "Loosed Women and Night Flight," 155.

¹⁷ Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 75-76.

¹⁸ Peter Nilson and Steven Hartman, "Winged Man and Flying Ships: Of Medieval Flying Journeys and Eternal Dreams of Flight," *The Georgia Review* 50 (1996): 269.

¹⁹ Victoria Flood, "Johannes Kepler's 'Somnium' and the Witches' Night Flight," *Interfaces* no. 8 (2021): 81.

²⁰ Allegra Iafate, *The Long Life of Magical Objects: A Study in the Solomonic Tradition*, (University Park, PA, 2019), 193.

²¹ Euripides, "Medea," 23.; Iafate, *The Long Life of Magical Objects*, 193.

behind them instead of in front. The carriage is instead a backward horse skull.²² A modern take on carriage flight is portrayed in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*. As the students from Beauxbaton Academy arrive at Hogwarts, they are carried in a large carriage pulled by winged horses.²³ This portrayal interestingly shares more similarities with more ancient depictions of flight than those in medieval times, as opposed to other forms of flying, such as on brooms. Both the chariot and animals are similar to the more ancient methods, with the only fundamental similarities to the medieval times being that they are openly witches, as opposed to royalty or gods.

²² Van Oostanen, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*.

²³ J.K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, (London, 2014), 204.

Bibliography

- Booth, Roy. "Witchcraft, Flight and the Early Modern English Stage." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 13, no. 1 (2007): 20-37.
- Durrant, Jonathan B., and Michael David Bailey. *Historical Dictionary of Witchcraft*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012.
- Flood, Victoria. "Johannes Kepler's 'Somnium' and the Witches' Night Flight." *Interfaces* no. 8 (2021): 74-97.
- Goodare, Julian. *The European Witch-Hunt*. London, UK: Routledge, 2016.
- Iafrate, Allegra. *The Long Life of Magical Objects: A Study in the Solomonic Tradition*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019.
- Nilson, Peter and Steven Hartman. 1996. "Winged Man and Flying Ships: Of Medieval Flying Journeys and Eternal Dreams of Flight." *The Georgia Review* 50 (1996): 267-296.
- Rampton, Martha, ed. *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Rowling, J.K. *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Publishing Press, 2014.
- Van Oostsanen, Jacob Cornelisz. *Saul and the Witch of Endor*. C. 1472. Painting. Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saul_and_the_Witch_of_Endor_by_Jacob_Cornelisz_van_Oostsanen.jpg.

The Girls, Gays, and Theys in Early Modern Europe: Examining European Attitudes towards Queer Individuals from 1385 to 1771

Dilpreet Thiara – April 2024
HIST 4499: Special Topics – European Witchcraft before 1800
Professor Kari North

Primary Sources

Terpstra, Nicholas. *Lives Uncovered: A Sourcebook of Early Modern Europe*. 1st ed. London; Toronto, ON/Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 2019.

“8.4 Same-Sex Relation and Cross-Dressing (1477),” in *Lives Uncovered*, 133.

“8.5 Warning Parents about Same-Sex Relation among Girls (1771),” in *Lives Uncovered*, 134.

“8.6 A Transvestite Prostitute (1385),” in *Lives Uncovered*, 134-135.

“8.8 Socially Acceptable -- and Unacceptable -- Same-Sex Relations among Men (1509)” in *Lives Uncovered*, 137-138.

The attitudes towards members of the LGBTQ+ community in the modern world are multi-faceted and shaped by many factors such as religion, culture, and society. The conversations surrounding the queer community today and its existence is not new. This essay will focus on four primary sources between the years 1385 to 1771 (also known as early modern Europe) to understand how queer individuals were viewed in the past. Among these sources are the trial of Katherina Hetzeldorferin, a lesbian who crossed-dressed to have sexual relations with women in 1477; the trial of a transgender woman who was arrested for prostitution; a warning from a French author to the parents of young daughters, to prevent their daughters from getting into sexual relations with their female servants; and, a condemnation letter from a Venetian author against male same-sex relations. The attitudes towards queer people in early modern Europe were complex and varied depending on factors such as religion, culture, and social class. Based on the primary sources, this essay will delve into the lack of acceptance of queer people based on morality issues, laws, and fear.

To begin with, this period was ruled by religion and while the various wars of religion took place in Europe, same-sex relations were viewed as sinful by all of the different religions. As

David F. Greenberg states in his article "Christian Intolerance of Homosexuality," "by the end of the 13th century, the major elements of the Christian response to homosexuality had been created [and it] reconstructed sodomy as a sin against nature, far worse than other sexual sins."¹ This idea of homosexuality being a sin against nature is also repeated throughout historical documents as an argument against homosexuality because of the inability to procreate from same-sex relations. As a Venetian author writes about the presence of homosexuality in Venice in 1509, he also presents this notion by stating, "I have yet to speak of [a] wicked and pernicious vice...the unnatural vice called sodomy."² The author emphasizes his distaste for homosexuality by describing it as a vice and reiterates the common belief of it being "a sin against nature" by calling it unnatural. The unnatural narrative also comes up in arguments for the acceptable cultural standards of early modern European society. Cultural standards of the period require a man and woman to create a lineage by producing offspring. With religion being so heavily woven into the fabric of the culture, sex for pleasure even between man and wife was looked down on because sex was typically only for "procreative intent."³ It is for this reason, queer individuals who engaged in sex were seen as only doing it for pleasure which prompted the frequent description of "vice."⁴

Along with going against the cultural norms of the period, same-sex relations also highlighted the inequity between individuals of different classes. For example, homosexuality was unacceptable in Venice in 1509 but it was acceptable if there was an age difference between the two participants and the older of the two was the "active."⁵ "A juvenile male can be dominated by older men in a patriarchal society without incurring a stigma because the subordination of the young is a "natural"... feature of a patriarchal social structure."⁶ However, when this rule was broken, oftentimes by older noblemen or councillors, they did not face any consequences as the same people breaking the rules were also the prosecutors. Usually, it was the "poor wretch who had no money, no favours, no friends, and no relations"⁷ who faced punishment.

¹ David F. Greenberg, and Marcia H. Bystry, "Christian Intolerance of Homosexuality," *American Journal of Sociology* 88, no. 3 (1982): 542.

² "8.8 Socially Acceptable -- and Unacceptable -- Same-Sex Relations among Men (1509)" in *Lives Uncovered: A Sourcebook of Early Modern Europe*, edited by Nicholas Terpstra (London, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 137-138.

³ Katherine Crawford, "Privilege, Possibility, and Perversion: Rethinking the Study of Early Modern Sexuality," *The Journal of Modern History* 78, no. 2 (2006): 412-33. <https://doi.org/10.1086/505802>.

⁴ "8.8 Socially Acceptable -- and Unacceptable -- Same-Sex Relations among Men (1509)" in *Lives Uncovered*, 137-138. "8.6 A Transvestite Prostitute (1385)," in *Lives Uncovered*, 134-135.

⁵ "8.8 Socially Acceptable -- and Unacceptable -- Same-Sex Relations among Men (1509)" in *Lives Uncovered*, 137-138.

⁶ Greenberg and Bystry, "Christian Intolerance of Homosexuality," 518.

⁷ "8.8 Socially Acceptable -- and Unacceptable -- Same-Sex Relations among Men (1509)" in *Lives Uncovered*, 137-138.

This type of injustice played out similarly all over Europe as queer individuals of lower classes were prosecuted for their relations.

Moreover, the attitude of the society of early modern Europe is revealed when looking at the criminalization of same-sex relations and the prosecution of queer individuals engaged in sex. Examining the court accounts of the trials of two cross-dressing individuals, it is clear they were prosecuted for living a way of life that was determined a sin in their society. Before probing into the specific primary sources, it is important to understand homosexuality was considered a “sexual sin” but it was not treated the same as other sexual sins such as adultery and bestiality. “Adultery and bestiality were the business of civil courts; homosexuality was investigated by ecclesiastical courts.”⁸ This further solidifies the influence of religion on the treatment of queer individuals and their prosecution. It was because of the fear of the prosecution that faced her that Katherina Hetzeldorferin cross-dressed to have a relationship with the woman she called her sister for two years.⁹ When faced with the reality of living openly in a society where being in a same-sex relationship, “living as man and wife.”¹⁰ meant prosecution, Katherina decided to disguise herself to put on the facade of an authentic man-and-wife relationship. While the women in the trial claimed they did not know of Katherina’s true identity, whether this was true or not did not matter to the prosecution. Both the women who claimed to be victims of Katherina’s lies were also sentenced to exile from the city.¹¹

The experience of another cross-dresser named John Rykener, was similar to the prosecution of Katherina. Rykener’s court document reveals important details about the injustice faced by the marginalized queer individuals at the hands of the noblemen or religious figures who participated in same-sex relations with prostitutes. Rykener exposed their clientele which included, a rector, scholars, Franciscans, chaplains, nuns, married women, and priests.¹² Much like the fate of the poor living in Venice, prostitutes like Rykener faced prosecution instead of the members of higher society who hired them.

Furthermore, it can be understood that queer individuals were associated with morality issues by the general society and this association instilled fear in some. The most evident example of this is the constant use of the word “vice” when referring to same-sex relations. In official court documents sex between queer individuals is described as “that detestable, unmentionable,

⁸ Arno Karlen, “The Homosexual Heresy,” *The Chaucer Review* 6, no. 1 (1971): 49.

⁹ “8.4 Same-Sex Relation and Cross-Dressing (1477),” in *Lives Uncovered*, 133.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² “8.6 A Transvestite Prostitute (1385),” in *Lives Uncovered*, 134-135.

ignominious vice.”¹³ These words describing “vice” which itself already suggests immorality, paint the queer person as crude and vulgar. Language like this reveals the attitude Europeans had towards queer people. It also underscores the ostracization and stigma surrounding queer individuals. This stigma is furthered by articles such as “Warning Parents about Same-Sex Relations among Girls (1771)” because of the author’s blatant attempt to instill fear of queer people among the parents of young vulnerable girls. The author also goes as far as to describe queer women as “widespread contagion.”¹⁴ This suggestion suggests a possible infectious quality to queerness which the parents needed to be aware of, creating panic among readers. It is due to this stigma and ostracization that women like Katherina chose to hide in plain sight.¹⁵

In conclusion, the examination of primary sources from early modern Europe reveals a complex and multifaceted understanding of attitudes towards queer individuals. Throughout this period, religious, cultural, and societal factors converged to shape the perceptions and treatment of queer individuals. These sources illustrate the lack of acceptance, legal prosecution, and stigma brought on by morality issues faced by queer individuals. The primary sources highlight the challenges they faced in navigating a society that marginalized and stigmatized them. By examining the sources, we gain insights into the attitudes towards LGBTQ+ individuals and the ongoing struggle for acceptance and equality.

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ “8.5 Warning Parents about Same-Sex Relation among Girls (1771),” in *Lives Uncovered*, 134.

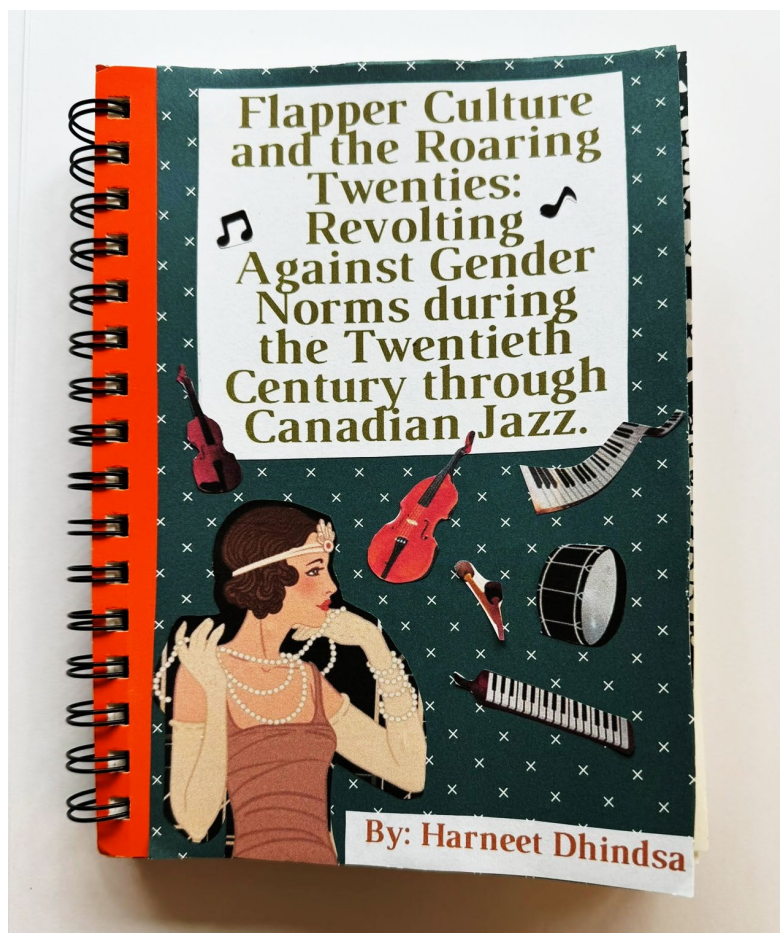
¹⁵ “8.4 Same-Sex Relation and Cross-Dressing (1477),” in *Lives Uncovered*, 133.

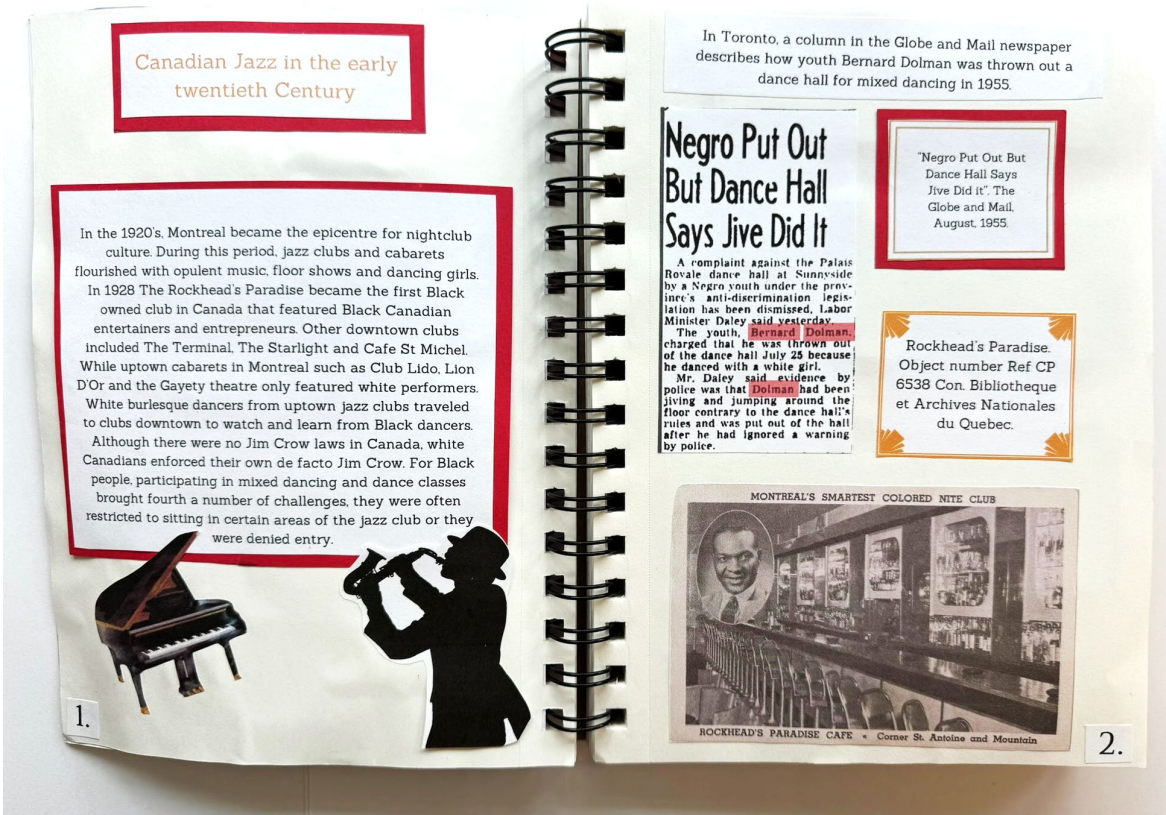
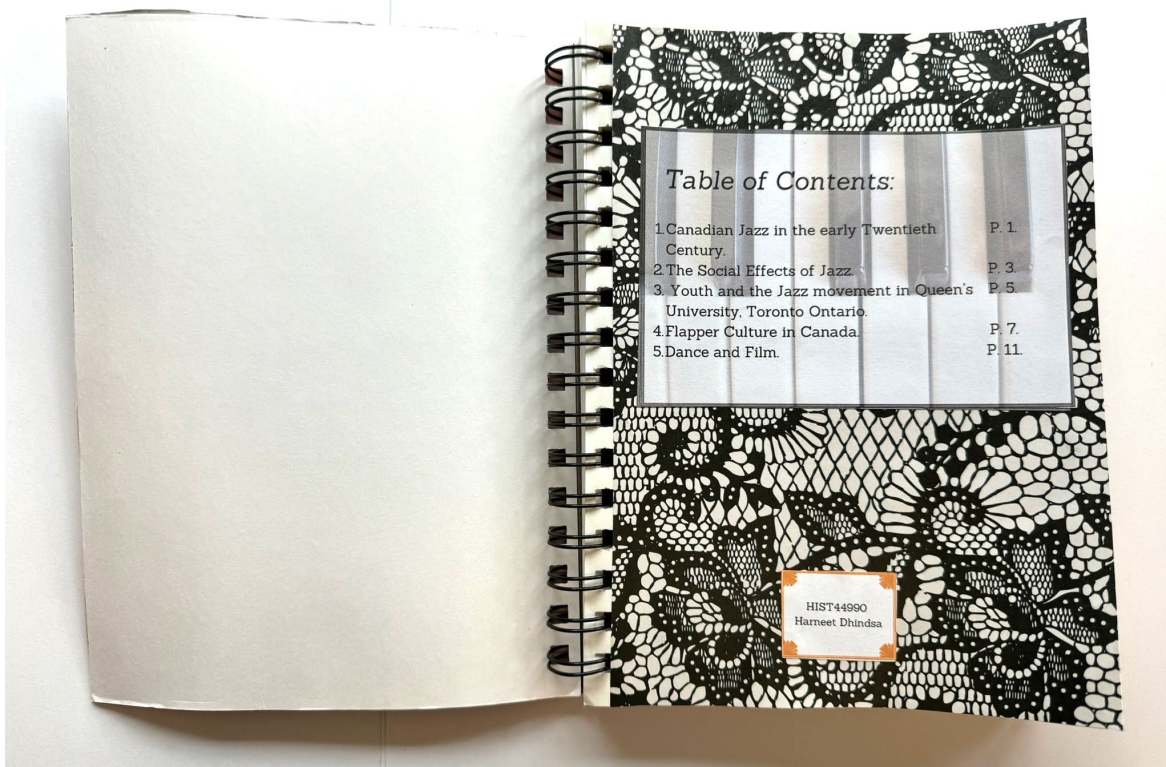
Digital and Visual Projects

Scrapbook: Flapper Culture and the Roaring Twenties: Revolting Against Gender Norms during the Twentieth Century through Canadian Jazz

Harneet Dhindsa – April 2024
HIST 4499 Special Topics: Music in Histories of Canada and Beyond
Professor Maddie Knickerbocker

Note that there are interactive elements within the scrapbook that can be accessed via QR codes – ed.

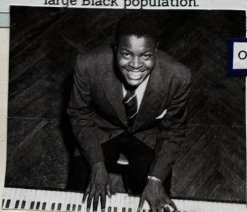




The Social Effects of Jazz.

During the interwar period in the United States Black people were victims of racist and violent attacks that led them to leave their home country. Their were many reasons for this decision, ultimately a racist movie by D.W Griffith called "Birth of a nation" In 1915 led many American Black artists to relocate to Canada.

Millard Thomas is an example of a jazz artist who was born in the United States but settled down in Montreal in the 1920's. Thomas was a Black jazz band leader for his Famous Chicago Dance Band. They played in St. Antoine in 1924, a jazz thriving neighbourhood in Montreal with a large Black population.



Oscar Peterson

3.

Oscar Peterson was also another popular Black jazz artist that rose to fame in the late 1940's. Peterson became one of Canada's top jazz artists, earning national airplay and his own radio show in Montreal.

THE RECORD ALBUM

By ALEX BARRIS

A variety of styles in more or less modern piano jazz can be heard in a new RCA Victor LP disc packaging samples by Duke Ellington, Andre Previn, Art Tatum, Mary Lou Williams, Oscar Peterson, Beryl Booker, Erroll Garner and Lennie Tristano.

Each artist does a single side and while it may not be his or her best it gives a fair indication of the artist's technique and ideas.

Ellington teams with Billy Strayhorn, his arranger, for a one-piano duet called Tonk. Previn's version of Indiana is flashy, with a smattering of boppish phrases. Tatum's Cherokee is just as dazzling, but with some more subtle ideas.

Miss Williams' Fifth Dimension is a fascinating and unusual composition, with plenty of bounce to it. Oscar's playing of Margie reflects his Montreal days—lots of verve and good technique. Garner's

Barris Alex "The Record Album". The Globe and Mail. June 1952

Scan me and listen to 'Margie' by Oscar Peterson!



4.

Youth and the Jazz movement in Queen's University, Toronto Ontario.

Youth demanded the desire for leisure activities in venues that didn't include chaperones and parent supervision. By the 1920's there would be weekly dances at Queen's University filled with young men and women performing dances like the Charleston and the Lindy Hop while listening to Jazz music. The rise of popularity in dance halls and jazz created a youthful experience that enabled close contact dancing, controversial to gender norms.

Jazz catapulted a large population of young men and women to engage in close contact dancing, rebelling against traditional cultural narratives. Popular culture revolutionized young women in adopting Hollywood glamour and aesthetic, these stylistic choices rebranded them as the new youth, separating themselves from their parents generation.

5.

These changes brought forward a new physical appearance that spoke to modernity and rebellion. The hallmarks of womanhood changed from long hair to a short bobbed hair, becoming a prominent symbol of the 'roaring twenties'. Bobbed hair and short skirts became a definite product of rebellion. Young women in Queen's University all sported these similar looks. Women went the lengths in convincing their mothers to let them cut their hair to look like all the other Queen's students. Those who were unsuccessful wore their hair in buns, while those who bobbed their hair embraced modernity and rebellion.



Anna Dinner 1923 in which almost all Queens women sport bobbed hair. Courtesy of Queens Archives.

Warner, Anna. "It is a Dancing and Frivolous Age" 1920's Youth Culture at Queen's University". Vol. 101, Number 1, 2009

6.

Flapper Culture in Canada.

The rise of the flapper is a iconic symbol of the 'roaring twenties', her bobbed short hair challenged Victorian morals. Flapper's physical appearance inspires many women nationwide, becoming a bold stylistic choice that rebelled against gender norms. While flappers sported bobbed hair and heavy lipstick, she is normally seen devouring chocolate while she reads romantic novels to arouse sexual feelings. Flappers enjoy a variety of recreational activities including booze filled rendezvous, smoking cigarettes in public, and driving in fast cars while listening to jazz music. Their favourite expression 'oh how lovely', captures her fun carefree attitude.

Flappers challenged the models of patriarchy, attracting praise but also negativity from society. In a Vancouver Sun Magazine feminist W.L. George admired the modern flapper, not only does he think short skirts are more hygienic but he claims that flappers energetic attitude will help them be better mothers to her children, and they will make the most out of their marriage.

7.

A bold title from a MacLeans Magazine from 1922 depicts how flappers were viewed as a danger and a threat to society.

MacLeans Magazine IS THE FLAPPER A MENACE?

Flapper's Morals Better Than Her Manners

Pringle, Gertrude E.S. 'Is The Flapper A Menace?' MacLeans Magazine, June 15 1922.

"The modern flapper is all right. She may display her dimpled knees, talk one stuff to her boy friends, perfume the palms of her hands, smoke cigarettes and carry a flask and go dancing on the lipstick, but she will be a better mother to her children than our mothers were to us."

This is part of an energetic denunciation of the new girl made recently by W. L. George, the famous British romancer.

MANNERS SHOCK.
"It is the manners, not the morals, of the flapper that shocks," is cautioned. "Of course some girls exceed the thing and become vulgar. They smoke, not because they think it smart, she likes to show off. If you open her flask, you will probably find brandy. She pretends to be fast because she doesn't want to be regarded as a 'vag'."

"There is no occasion for alarm. There are few people in the world. There are little to do with morals. The girls are the modern girls—rather no girls and germs from the sidewalk. They are more about not to irritate the men, but simply because they look pretty and give the weaker freedom of action. And men like to see legs on their women."

LIKES SHORT SKIRTS
"Personally, I like short skirts. They are more hygienic than the skirt and germs from the sidewalk. They are more about not to irritate the men, but simply because they look pretty and give the weaker freedom of action. And men like to see legs on their women."
"At the age of 20 the modern flapper has more fun, wild oats, and a party. Then she gets out a man and will marry a man on a small life and will marry a man on a small life and will marry a man on a small life. Frankly, I like the modern girl."

Lillian Ho Wong, 192-7 Photograph, Vancouver Archives, Box F13-E-07.



8.

Mary Pickford was a popular Canadian actress born in Toronto, she starred in a number of silent film's in the 1920's, most notably in 'Coquette' where she sports a flapper aesthetic with short ringlets.

Verlag, Ross, German Postcard, Publicity for movie 'Coquette', 1929.



Mary Pickford



Lasky, Jesse 'Gloria Swanson in Prodigal Daughters', Victoria Daily Times, April 20th 1923.

9.

These sketches reprinted from the London Daily Mail, show how the average men desire their sisters and female family members to dress modestly and adhere to conservative values. Whereas the image shows how masculine male critics usually prefer women.



10.

Dance and Film.

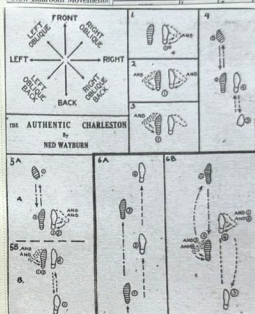
One thing that was common amongst Black and white folks was dancing. Popular Jazz dances such as the Lindy Hop, the Charleston and the Big Apple were enjoyed by Black and white folks. Contests and dance lessons became new forms of recreational activities that were popular amongst all age groups. Jazz inspired dance styles were admired for its liveliness that symbolized African traditions.

Silent films in the early twentieth century brought forward a demand for qualified musicians. Though silent films and other forms of media discriminated against Black people, perpetuating harmful stereotypes. Unfortunately during the Great Depression, skilled Black musicians were unable to find work because they did not read music. Canada failed to recognize Black jazz artists, as their music was infrequently recorded on vinyl or played on local radio. Segregated dance halls and ballrooms also bridged a barrier between Black and white people, this held each other back from understanding and enjoying different individualistic music styles.

11.

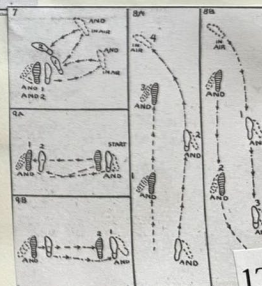
Steps on how to do the Charleston dance by Ned Wayburn.

Here Are the Latest Charleston Steps Originated By Ned Wayburn
Noted Director Creates New Ballroom Movements



Ned Wayburn. "Here are the Latest Charleston Steps Originated by Ned Wayburn. Victoria Daily Times April 9th 1927."

Scan the QR Code to watch the charleston dance!



ArcGIS StoryMap: Plague and Prejudice: The Plague and Destruction of Honolulu's Chinatown in 1900¹

Kat Golik – March 2024

HIST 2306 Pandemics and Disease in History – Miasma, Soul Loss,
and Wayward Qi

Professor Tracey J. Kinney

StoryMap Link: <https://arcg.is/1Cvj8q0>



Plague and Prejudice

In 1900, in an attempt to eradicate the Bubonic Plague, The Hawaiian Public Health Authorities set fire to Chinatown, displacing thousands.

Kat Golik
March 10, 2024

¹ Students in HIST 2306 chose a disease or pandemic early in the semester and then, through several scaffolded steps, researched and designed an ArcGIS StoryMap on a particular incidence of this disease. Students were then asked to reflect on the process of creating the StoryMap and their key takeaways from the topic they chose to study. An annotated bibliography concluded the project. The StoryMap can also be accessed by clicking on the image above; the reflection follows. A second StoryMap from this course concludes the 2024 edition of *The Emergent Historian*.

Reflection

This was a complex project, not only in terms of the scope and scale of the historical details but the subject matter was especially confronting. It is one thing to understand the socio-cultural impacts of pandemics and epidemics but another to fully comprehend the depth and breadth of the social issues, in particular direct scapegoating of the racialized across history. While times have significantly changed the same issues of classism and racism are also observable in current public health challenges, most notably embodied by Sinophobia-based rhetoric during the Covid-19 pandemic which was more cloaked within a veneer of political appropriateness than the statements in 1900. Xenophobia and classism are a continuing problem that results in often-inequitable outcomes of health measures to this day.

I was also ignorant of the complex history of Hawaii itself, in particular the economic and racist actions by Sanford Dole, whose prejudicial beliefs about and actions towards Hawaiians were supported and rewarded by elevation to Governor during the formal annexation of Hawaii by the United States. The backdrop of an annexation of Hawaii and subsequent rapid change from self-governance to a non-democratic coup that erased the voting rights of the majority of the Asian community allow for a deeper understanding of the rationalizations made by white people regarding the inherent devaluing of Asian experiences of the pandemic. Understanding the context was vital to understanding how that foundation of colonialism contributed to the outcome of the pandemic, the wholesale destruction of a rich and vibrant community and the loss of countless livelihoods and possessions.

While the prejudice of that time was not surprising, it was uncomfortable to read the bare-faced, naked, vitriol and racism from newspapers. Most alarming was the emboldening of a white civilian mob in enforcing quarantine and decision making in the use of fire. The newspapers also highlighted prejudiced beliefs and relentlessly prioritized white experiences. This can be seen in the breathless and constant coverage of white people that caught the plague, whereas the Chinese community was dehumanized. People were comfortable expressing views that entire areas of predominantly racialized communities could be destroyed and colonized by the white communities to further exclude non-white inhabitants.

There were also challenges in the practical development of the project, in particular procuring the sources and open-source images. Populating maps was especially difficult as Honolulu has changed substantially since 1900 with street names, intersections, and buildings hard to find. In multiple sources there was conflicting information on where sites were. Finding the quarantine camp locations was exceedingly difficult and due to constraints was not included in my maps, although I had initially intended to include accurate maps detailed with the locations of the

quarantine camps. Also, the technology itself was challenging, the story map site was unfamiliar and challenging to use which ultimately necessitated the removal of a couple of interactive maps, which I still included as still photos.

Annotated Bibliography

Carmichael, D. A., "No Plague in Hawaii—Quarantine Restrictions Removed." *Public Health Reports* (1896) 15, no. 22 (1900): 1379-1379.

- This source is an original report on the formal declaration of the end of the plague in Honolulu. I used this source primarily to include a quote on the ending of the plague outbreak in Honolulu.

Echenberg, Myron J. *Plague Ports: The Global Urban Impact of Bubonic Plague, 1894-1901*. New York: New York University Press, 2010.

- This book provided primary source accounts of the spread of the pandemic and the impacts on the community. The book also provided details on the distinct narratives of the health authorities and government illustrating the dichotomy of experiences between the predominantly Asian community and the authorities. It also detailed some of the prejudicial views of communities and how that affected the measures that the health authorities took. This source also countered some of the arguments made in Mohr's book regarding the controlled nature of the fires near the church.

Gross, Bertram and David D. Bonnet. "Plague in the Territory of Hawaii: I. Present Status of Plague Infection, Island of Hawaii." *Public Health Reports* (1896) 66, 7 209-214. 1951.

- This source mainly supported the argument that the physicians of Honolulu at that time were notably inexperienced and unprepared for a plague outbreak. However, the source predominantly focuses on measures taken after the 1900s, only briefly noting the outbreak in 1900.

Michael, Jerrold M. "The 1899-1900 Plague Epidemic in Hawaii, USA." *Asia-Pacific Journal of Public Health* 26, no. 1 (2014): 7-14.

- This journal article offered primary accounts of the arrival of the ship and cargo that likely was the primary vector of plague spread. It also included quotes that illustrated the prejudicial beliefs held at the time which I included in my story map.

Mohr, James C. *Plague and Fire: Battling Black Death and the 1900 Burning of Honolulu's Chinatown*. New York; Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2004.

- This book provided much of the detailed historical accounting of the plague, the attempts to contain it and the consequences of those actions. It also provided names and dates for people who fell victim to the plague, the demographics of Honolulu at the time and the social and political contexts of Honolulu at that time. It also provided numbers and demographics of people quarantined. This resource was helpful in creating several maps outlining dates and positions of the initial outbreak and the quarantine area.

ArcGIS StoryMap: The Sanatorium Movement – From Caves to Clinics to Cruelty: How did the sanatorium movement go from tuberculosis treatments to a hospitalized prison?

Jenna Tidy – March 2024

HIST 2306 Pandemics and Disease in History – Miasma, Soul Loss,
and Wayward Qi
Professor Tracey J. Kinney

StoryMap Link: <https://arcg.is/eSrqK0>



Reflection

The StoryMap was a fascinating assignment. Going into it, I really didn't have much knowledge about tuberculosis. I had the memory of what I had learnt in the explorations version of this course a few years back, but admittedly my memory of that course isn't great. Really, the driving factor of me picking tuberculosis was simply that a video game character I loved had died from

it, and I was curious about just how lethal it was, along with interested in taking a look at what tuberculosis looked like in that part of history (ie. the end of the 1800's).

When I first started looking into the tuberculosis pandemic as a whole, I was struck by just how big and long and daunting it was. I honestly didn't realize TB was still an issue in the modern day world (*as silly and obvious as that sounds now*). I also didn't realize just how much of history it spanned over. I was at first interested specifically in the effect of tuberculosis in North America at the end of the 1800's/beginning of the 1900's, however I quickly realized just how broad of an area of study that was, and that I needed to get a little bit more specific with my research in order to create a Storymap topic I could actually create a full-fledged project out of. After a brief deep dive into the romanticization of tuberculosis (*still quite curious and not entirely sure what that was all about*), I stumbled upon the sanatorium movement and was instantly intrigued.

I had no knowledge of the tuberculosis sanatoriums, whether that be because I had never actually heard of them before, or because I forgot. However, I quickly found a lot of very interesting information about them and settled on that for my project topic. I was really fascinated by John Croghan's work in the 'Mammoth Cave' at the beginning of my research, and wondered if caves could actually provide treatment for a disease as debilitating as tuberculosis, *especially* at a time in history where there was little medical knowledge or other treatment options.

I knew tuberculosis was bad, but I didn't exactly realize how bad it was. I had no idea it had even existed for as long as it did, I wasn't aware how difficult it was to treat with antibiotics (*especially the various antibiotic resistant strains*). I also didn't know how widespread it was everywhere, and how desperate people were for any sort of relief.

Since tuberculosis would thrive under conditions of large populations living in close proximity, it makes sense that tuberculosis was so rampant. I also realized the impact that the war had on the spread of tuberculosis (*a factor I hadn't even considered prior to investigating this*). All of these conditions set the stage for the sanatorium movement to be generally effective, especially once it was fine-tuned from Croghan's cave residences to actual medical facilities that emphasized quarantining and rest as the key treatment factors.

As I worked on the annotated bibliography, finding various sources that tracked the sanatorium movement from Europe to Canada, it was presented to be a helpful intervention for tuberculosis. All of the sources I included in my bibliography were very positive about the

movement, so I assumed it was an entirely good thing, and was confused when my feedback mentioned a 'punitive' aspect of the sanatoriums.

Admittedly, I didn't work much on the assignment between finishing the annotated bibliography and starting our week in class on tuberculosis. In fact, I was happy that the timing worked so great, because I knew I was going to use the information from the week of the course to propel me into working on the StoryMap. However, the entire project in my head came crumbling down when I was confronted by the harsh reality that the sanatorium movement was (*yet another*) example of Canada's horrifically racist history. The audio PowerPoint and provided video for this week supplied me with information that hours of reading over sources related to the sanatorium movement failed to provide me with, and I was left with an entirely new view on the sanatorium movement and what it developed into.

Even returning to my sources, none of them had any reference of this horrific revelation. Even my source set specifically in Canada, tracking the various sanatoriums, would mention the 'great' treatment of Indigenous peoples that would lead to their recovery; but absolutely nothing about what I heard in the video. It took probably an hour of looking through sources before I found something that provided helpful information, but even that was a 500-page book that I was struggling to find the key information to include in my assignment. So I went back to the video, and it included everything I needed.

What I ended up with is a project I'm actually proud of. I did something different for this assignment, rather than try to do the whole thing in one day at the last minute (*like I do for most other big assignments*), I worked on this assignment bit by bit over the course of 10ish days. I found this made the assignment easier, and way more interesting. I find myself, even as the project is now done, laying awake at night thinking about Canada's terrible history, I ponder over everything I have read, and my heart aches in a way it never has. This assignment was a wake up call about just how much of our history hinges on the trauma and mistreatment of our Indigenous peoples, and I am thankful for this assignment for teaching me something that, I believe, should be taught in high schools all across Canada.

Annotated Bibliography

APTN News, "The Cure Was Worse: APTN Investigates". Filmed 2017. APTN News, 23:51.

https://youtu.be/o_Z11n9by-8?si=srtwoiiHMr7T6gj4

- I used this source alongside *Separate Beds* for the end of my StoryMap, discussing the impact the 'Indian Hospitals' had on Indigenous people. Despite flipping through a few sources on the topic, this video provided a lot of important information that I couldn't find anywhere else. Victims and family members of victims share their stories, and I included the details at the end of my project. (slides 8,9)

Burke, Stacie. *Building Resistance: Children, Tuberculosis, and the Toronto Sanatorium*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018.

- I used this source when discussing the move from Europe into Canada and the first sanatoriums that popped up in Canada, as well as discussing the use of surgical innovation and the various techniques they used before finding efficient antibiotics. (slides 6,7)

Eylers, Eva. "Planning the Nation: The sanatorium movement in Germany". *The Journal of Architecture* 19, no. 5 (2014): 667-692.

- I used this source when discussing Hermann Brehmer, his first official TB sanatorium, and the early days of the sanatorium movement in Europe. (slides 3,4)

Lux, Maureen K. *Separate Beds: A History of Indian Hospitals in Canada, 1920's-1980's*. University of Toronto Press, 2016.

- I used this source, along with the YouTube video 'The Cure Was Worse', for the end of my StoryMap, when discussing the cruel treatment of Indigenous peoples at the various Indian hospitals. This source was helpful to set the stage, but due to its length I struggled to find information as helpful as the YouTube video, hence why I combined the sources to provide the best info possible for the topic. (slides 8,9)

Patriarca, Carlo., Giuseppe Lo Bello, Stefano Zannella, and Sergio Arturo Agati. "Tuberculosis: the sanatorium season in the early 20th century". *Pathologica* 114, no. 4 (2022): 342-346.

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC9624135/>

- This source was used to discuss the emergence of more and more sanatoriums across Europe, the demand for them to open more (specifically focussing in Italy), as well as referencing the experimental treatments such as surgical procedures that would come up later in the StoryMap. (slide 5).

Thomas, Samuel W., Eugene H. Conner, and Harold Meloy. "A History of Mammoth Cave, Emphasizing Tourist Development and Medical Experimentation Under Dr John Croghan". *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 68, no. 4 (1970): 319-340.

- This was used as my first source to set up the beginning of the StoryMap, documenting Croghan's 'Mammoth Cave', the first attempt at using the great outdoors as a treatment for TB, and thus the beginning of the sanatorium movement. (slides 1,2).