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The Emergent Historian is a joint project of the KPU Department of History and the KPU History Students' Society. Its annual publication provides us with a chance to showcase the very best of our students' work from the previous academic year. For the first time since we began publishing *The Emergent Historian*, this volume features a graphic history project produced in one of our introductory World History courses, as well as two fictional biographies submitted in our Medieval History course.

As in the previous edition, we have broadened the scope of our journal to include an historical paper produced by an outstanding student in the KPU Asian Studies Program.

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Gandhi & the American Civil Rights Movement

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HIST 4460: Gandhi in History
Prof. Robert Menzies
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Mohandas Gandhi had a profound effect on Martin Luther King Jr. and the development of his civil rights campaigns, but Gandhi's influence on American politics goes back farther still. This paper will prove that even before King "discovered" Gandhi's teachings and applied them explicitly to his cause, Gandhian philosophy had already permeated the American Civil Rights Movement, and informed the worldview and tactics of many of its leaders and organizations.

One of the strengths of Gandhi's political philosophy, in terms of its palatability to Western audiences, was the fact that Gandhi himself had been heavily influenced by the works of well-known Western authors. Gandhi was very open about the influences of Leo Tolstoy, Henry David Thoreau, and others on his political ideology and concept of non-violent resistance, or *satyagraha*.[1] Gandhi drew connections between the morality of these authors and his own philosophical and religious sentiments, and constructed his worldview with reference to their works. He was convinced that Thoreau, in particular, had acquired his non-violent principles from Indian philosophical traditions.[2] His devotion to these authors' works gave Gandhi a common frame of reference and literary vocabulary with potential ideological allies outside of India. He was similarly open about his affinity for the teachings of Jesus as portrayed in the Gospels, a fact which facilitated his relationships with Christian missionaries, who would become some of the earliest transmitters of Gandhi's message to Western audiences.[3]

American missionaries and ministers were important early liaisons between Gandhi and potential allies and acolytes in the United States because they shared many common religious sentiments. Gandhi trusted them, and they saw in his non-violent resistance echoes of their own religious teachings and traditions. One such person was the Unitarian minister John Haynes Holmes, a co-founder of the NAACP, who gave a 1921 sermon entitled "Who is the Greatest Man in the World?" to which the answer was the, as yet, little-known Mohandas Gandhi. Holmes spent the remainder of his life advocating Gandhism to his fellow Americans,

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[1] Ramin Jahanbegloo, *The Gandhian Moment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 11, 56-57.
[2] Leonard A. Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Jan. 26 – Feb. 1, 2002), 345.
[3] Jahanbegloo, *The Gandhian Moment*, 80

and Gandhi came to refer to Holmes as "my advertising agent."[4] Holmes' Gandhi was an idealized holy man, however, thoroughly Christianised for an American audience, and without the real man's flaws or political inconsistencies. The Christ-like nature of the "Mahatma" was emphasized by many of his Christian American admirers. They saw in him a man living up to the non-violent standard their own religion expected. In their eyes Gandhi was spreading the Christian message, in all but name, more effectively than nominal Christians had often succeeded in doing.[5]

Among other important advocates of Gandhi's message to a Western audience was Richard Gregg, a Harvard lawyer who lived in Gandhi's ashram for a time. He wrote *The Power of Non-Violence* as a description of Gandhian methods through the lens of various Western academic disciplines. Gregg referred to Gandhian non-violent resistance as "moral jiu-jitsu," and contrasted it with violent methods of resistance which fostered animosity and undermined the ability of opponents to reach understanding.[6] In the wake of the First World War, African-American leaders such as Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. Dubois, and many others began to draw comparisons between the struggles of Indians, South Africans, and African-Americans against oppressors of a common colour and proclivity for exploitation.[7] Civil rights-minded Americans increasingly looked beyond their country's borders for inspirational examples of progressive activism. Beginning in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, Gandhi was also widely publicised by Indian nationalists travelling to America in search of support and common cause with the African-American community, as well as by African-American leaders who travelled to India and back for the same reasons.[8]

Gandhism came to the United States at a time when African-American frustrations were leading people to question their place in the US altogether. The 1920s saw what Thomas J. Sugrue calls the "zenith of post-Civil War black separatism."[9] Harlem was a hub of dissent, as well as debate, among different corners of the separatist movement: emigrationists and Pan-Africanists, religious nationalists, and those who sought economic self-determination within America's borders. Men such as Marcus Garvey, leader of the largest separatist movement, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, hoped to facilitate a mass migration of African-Americans back to Africa.[10] These sentiments had been exacerbated by the African-American postwar experience, which saw the evaporation of the hope that support for the American war effort would lead to civil rights advancements. Many felt betrayed in the aftermath of the First World War, as the pre-war status quo was eagerly reasserted by white America.[11]

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[4] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 338.
[5] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 339.
[6] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 340.
[7] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 341 and Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008), 26.
[8] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 341.
[9] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 14.
[10] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 14-15.
[11] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 15.

The onset of the Great Depression witnessed the waning of emigrationist sentiments and their replacement with Socialism. Many influential African-American leaders, such as W. E. B. Dubois, as well as those who would *become* influential in the 1950s and '60s, such as Bayard Rustin, ventured ever farther to the political Left. Resigned to the difficulty of changing racial attitudes, they looked to addressing class issues, which were viewed as being intrinsically linked to race.[12] Many saw a potential for salvation, or at the very least a beneficial alliance, in Communism, especially since the Communist International had declared the Southern United States an "oppressed nation" in 1928, and pledged its support to Southern blacks.[13]

After the Second World War, open Communist sympathies fell sharply out of vogue with individuals and organizations hoping to keep a high profile. The NAACP, for instance, drew away from Socialism and towards liberal democracy, and was purged of its louder Communist members, such as co-founder W. E. B. Dubois.[14] This gave much needed breathing space to some of the other ideas, such as Gandhi's satyagraha, which had been floating around the eclectic intellectual world of civil rights activists. Activists played with various ideologies and methodologies in pursuit of social change. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, which had been founded after the First World War, was comprised of Leftists of many different stripes. Their organization blended Christian, Bolshevik, and Gandhian principles and organized its members into racially mixed "cells" and "ashrams" in which they lived communally in miniature representations of their ideal American society.[15]

The Fellowship helped in the founding of another organization in 1941, the Congress of Racial Equality, or CORE, which sought to put these principles into meaningful action.[16] They chose to live in interracial households and neighbourhoods, in a direct and deliberate rebuke of societal expectations. As Thomas J. Sugrue states, "At its meetings, black and white CORE members shared dorm or hotel rooms and, in an act redolent with biblical (and Gandhian) symbolism, 'broke bread' together."[17] They also set about organizing non-violent "direct action" protests throughout the 1940s, primarily focussed on segregated restaurants. These mini *satyagrahas*, or "sit-ins," occasionally turned deadly, but they succeeded in pressuring a number of businesses to de-segregate, proving the applicability of Gandhian methods to the American struggle for civil rights.[18]

Throughout these tumultuous decades, American journalistic interest in Gandhi waxed and waned in tandem with his most sensational or conspicuous political campaigns of civil disobedience. His responses to questions could be ambiguous, and his stances could change in the time between one period of intensified media attention and the next.[19] As a result,

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[12] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 16, 19, 23.
[13] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 23.
[14] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 105.
[15] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 145.
[16] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 145.
[17] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 146.
[18] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 146-49.
[19] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 342, 344.

Gandhi's recorded views could be marshalled in support of an array of political stances, depending on which published interview, exchange, or public comment was being cited. Gandhi also had his Western detractors, of course, and they were eager to point to instances of violence within Gandhi's *satyagraha* campaigns, which, one author claimed, he "always regretted – but never remedied."[20] Gandhi's admirers, however, continued to hone his image in the West, and trumpet the efficacy of his movement. The violent suppression of one of Gandhi's demonstrations at the Dharasana saltworks in 1930 was witnessed by the American journalist Webb Miller, who wrote not only of the brutality of Indian police towards protestors, but of the valiant response of protestors in the face of that brutality, and their refusal to respond in kind. Miller's reporting overshadowed any negative press Gandhi's campaigns had thus far received, and Gandhi was made *Time* magazine's 1931 Man of the Year.[21] As the Civil Rights Movement heated up in Alabama in the late 1950s, older works written about Gandhi and his methods were revised, reprinted, and enthusiastically recirculated.[22] As Leonard A. Gordon argues, "…what Gandhi had done for America was to show that satyagraha or 'soul-force' had a great potentiality, even in a society addicted to violence. He helped to awaken some of the best in American traditions and by his explicit connection to Christ and Thoreau, he made some Americans feel that these teachings were not so foreign."[23]

Although Martin Luther King Jr. had been exposed to Gandhi's ideas in college in the early 1950s, he did not fully embrace Gandhian notions until the late 1950s.[24] As late as 1956, when asked about his opinion of Gandhi, King replied, "I know very little about him."[25] As Godfrey Hodgson puts it, "King was never…a leading American Gandhian, either as a scholar of Gandhian doctrine or as one who shared Gandhi's personal austerity."[26] Although King was soon to become an avid proponent of Gandhian methods – writing the introduction to the 1959 edition of Richard Gregg's 1934 work, *The Power of Non-Violence* – it was his contemporaries and companions in the movement who held most ardently to Gandhian ideals in the early days of King's rise to notoriety. The Methodist minister Glenn Smiley and the Socialist Bayard Rustin, pacifists and early Gandhi enthusiasts both, were among the most influential in King's embrace of *satyagraha* as a solution to the plight of African-Americans in the 1950s.[27] In 1959 King travelled to India briefly, and met with those who had known the "Mahatma" intimately. At the same time, he began reading the writings of Gandhi ever more extensively.[28] In them he found a confirmation and amplification of his own political and philosophical beliefs. Just as Gandhi had rejected the view of non-violence as mere passivity, King came to view non-violent action as a way for "the Negro" to "supplement – not

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[20] Patricia Kendall, *Come With Me to India!* As quoted in Gordon, 345.
[21] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 345.
[22] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 350-51.
[23] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 351.
[24] Godfrey Hodgson, *Martin Luther King* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 27, 52-53.
[25] Hodgson, *Martin Luther* King, 52.
[26] Hodgson, *Martin Luther* King, 53.
[27] Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans," 350 and Hodgson, *Martin Luther* King, 52-54.
[28] Jahanbegloo, *The Gandhian Moment*, 135-36.

replace – the process of change through legal recourse. It was the way to divest himself of passivity without arraying himself in vindictive force."[29] For both King and Gandhi, non-violence was a way to protect the dignity of both protester and opponent, in recognition of each person's shared humanity.[30] King incorporated Gandhism, spiritually and politically, into his worldview, much as Gandhi had incorporated the teachings of Christ and the philosophy of Western authors into his own political and religious worldview.[31]

Gandhi's influence on the American Civil Rights Movement did not begin or end with Martin Luther King Jr. By the late 1950s, CORE membership had dwindled in the northern and western cities in which it had been most active in the 1940s, but the 1960s saw a renewed surge in membership and activism. Inspired by events in the South, many former members of CORE headed there to organize sit-ins and bring their tried and tested Gandhian methods to a new front in the battle for equality. In turn, the demonstrations they organized in the South reinvigorated the northern chapters of CORE, and led to a renewal of the organization's activities in northern and western cities.[32] Although Martin Luther King Jr.'s embrace of Gandhian tactics is well-known, it is worth remembering that an army of civil rights activists across the United States were using Gandhian methods before King arrived on the public stage, and continued to use those same methods after he was gone.

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[29] Todd May, *Nonviolent Resistance: A Philosophical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 34.
[30] May, 74.
[31] Jahanbegloo, *The Gandhian Moment,* 135-37.
[32] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 280-81.

The Story of Nicholas Gillespie: From Pilgrim to Merchant Prince

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HIST 2101: Medieval Europe
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November 21, 2017

I write this true tale of Nicholas Gillespie, my great uncle, and the man from whom I take my name. I am referred to as little Nicky even after his death, since next to him I was but a sprout. Herein I share tales of the life of this giant of a man. The stories are based on discussions I had with him before his untimely death at age 70 and from the journals he kept during his travels.

Nicholas Gillespie was a Sandwichman, born and bred. He was born in the port town of Sandwich in the year 1380. He, his father Daniel, and his mother Pamela, and his siblings Ashley, Bartholomew, and Gilbert were members of the merchant class which formed the elite of the town, and were second only to the Elys family in prominence.[1] The Gillespie family was noted for its trade in wines and cloth, with part ownership in a number of trading vessels.[2] In his formative years, Nicholas' family had added beer-brewing to their list of endeavours to supply the vessels which stopped at Sandwich.[3] The brewery was sold for a considerable sum and it is from this windfall that Nicholas was able to fund his pilgrimages, first to Canterbury and then to the Holy Lands.

Unlike many unfortunates, who had been given pilgrimage as penance, or those who had been given judicial penance because of having committed a crime, it was his deep and abiding faith which saw Nicholas first go on voluntary penitential pilgrimage to Canterbury.[4] Moved

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[1] Helen Clarke, Sarah Pearson, Mavis Mate, Keith Parfitt, Sheila Sweetinburgh, Bridgett Jones, Allan T. Adams, Barry Corke, John Hills, Howard A. Jones, and Peter Williams, *Sandwich - The 'Completest Medieval Town in England': A Study of the Town and Port from Its Origins to 1600* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 138. The Elyses were considered the "most notable among" the "small group of merchant families" who "formed the town elite". I am taking liberty by creating the Gillespie family, but mention of a small group of merchant families gives me room for fictional purposes.

[2] Clarke, et al., *Sandwich*, 61. The port of Sandwich was part of the Cinque Ports, a group of ports which had exemption from certain taxes. By making the family part owners of trading vessels, the lack of the Gillespie name on ownership records can be explained.

[3] Clarke, et al., Sandwich, 140. Beer that was made with hops travelled better than ale and was therefore a superior drink with which to supply merchant vessels.

[4] John Ure, *Pilgrimages: The Great Adventure of the Middle Ages* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006), 7.

by the beauty of the shrine to Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral, Nicholas was seized by a passion to make further pilgrimage to the Holy Lands.[5]

Upon preparing to cross to Calais to begin his journey in 1404, Nicholas found himself caught between faith and father.[6] Although his family was a prominent one, the fortunes of a port family could turn on stormy seas. Trade with more cities and villages would increase the wealth and power of the family, if new connections could be found. Made a Factor for the family business by his father, Nicholas was told to seek trade opportunities during his travels.[7] He knew even then that he would have to balance his pious pilgrimage with the requirements of family trade.[8]

Travel from Sandwich to Calais took place aboard one of the Cinque Port ships in which his family had an interest and which regularly laid anchor there.[9] Years of travel with his father on business at other ports had given Nicholas sea legs and inured him to the rough sea crossing. During his travels from Calais to Venice, Nicholas met many other pilgrims. Due to his open-faced nature, he was befriended by many fellow travellers. One such friendship was struck during the ride from Reims to Remiremont. The fellow pilgrim, known as Scott the Strong, was returning to Venice after travelling to Canterbury on pilgrimage. While stopped for an afternoon rest in an open field, Nicholas and Scott were playing a game of chess. Scott had chanced upon another pilgrim travelling with a copy of the *Libros de ajedrez, dados y tablas*,[10] a book on chess and other games. Out of the distant forest came a sight to frighten even the heroes of old. A massive bull auroch attended by a number of smaller but no less impressive females emerged onto the field. Nicholas noted that the creatures were like dogs

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[5] Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 7. "The shrine is entirely covered with plates of pure gold. But the gold is scarcely visible beneath a profusion of gems, including sapphires, diamonds, rubies and emeralds… exquisite designs have been carved all over it and immense gems worked intricately into the patterns." This description of the shrine by a Venetian ambassador is from after the setting from my biography, but describes the shrine as it likely was in the time period. This beauty would have been in contrast to the reality of even well-to-do families.

[6] Diane Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700 – c.1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002). 45. The reality of the monotony of life in even a port town was something that was recognized with regards to pilgrimage. The idea of '*vacandi causa*' or the desire for recreation, was not considered reason enough for pilgrimage. Here, I am alluding to this fact – the father may have had doubts about his son's reasons for going on pilgrimage.

[7] Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* ed. W.T.H. Jackson (New York: WW Norton & Company Inc), 213. The relative lack of complexity in comparison to today's international banking system did not mean that trade and banking in the Middle Ages lacked means of conducting affairs across great distances. A factor had the authority to make business decisions with a fair amount of discretion.

[8] Ure, *Pilgrimages*, 49. Individuals would go on pilgrimage for many reasons. It is not too much of stretch to believe the son of a successful merchant family would have been asked look for opportunities for trade while travelling across Europe.

[9] Clarke, et al. *Sandwich*, 61. The Cinque Ports had their own fleet of ships which various merchant families had part ownership of. Having the Gillespie family a part of this system fit the available information for a prominent merchant family of Sandwich.

[10] Olivia Remie Constable, "Chess and Courtly Culture in Medieval Castile: The Libro de ajedrez of Alfonso X, el Sabio". Speculum, Vol. 82, No. 2. 2007. 301. This lets me add a bit of mystery to the fellow pilgrim. Who was he? How did he have a copy of the book?

next to a workhorse, such was the size of the bull auroch.[11] Fortunately, the herd of giants was happy to let the group of pilgrims be on their way without incident. Travelling without the protection of hired guards, Nicholas knew that he and his fellows pilgrims would not have survived long if the aurochs had attacked.

Having received a letter of introduction from St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, Nicholas was expected to pay respects to the Imperial Princess at Remiremont.[12] However, this was not to be the case. While travelling through the Vosges on their way to Remiremont, Nicholas was enthralled by the workings of the waterwheels along the small streams.[13] The sawmills and blast furnaces, the dams and millraces, all fascinated Nicholas to the point that he missed his opportunity to use the letter of introduction.[14] The letter would be of great value in later years, when he passed through the region on the business of trade and not pilgrimage.

On reaching Venice, Nicholas was forced to wait for a ship which was making the trip to Jaffa. Wanting to find passage on a ship with a captain experienced in dealing with the Saracens, he would find himself waiting a number of days. With the instructions of his father weighing heavily on him, Nicholas explored Venice in the hopes of finding trade opportunities. The Arsenal was protected by high walls and guards and requests to see the works were rebuffed most rudely. Nicholas noted that the locals discussed the substantial amount of wine consumed by the workers and realized that this was a possible avenue for trade.[15] The glassworks of Murano were as secretive of their arts as the shipwrights, with Nicholas not able to see the process through which their beautiful glassworks were created. Even discussions of trade in cloth bore no fruit; the export of cloth was sewn up tight with major export houses.[16] While these explorations were going on, Nicholas was also seeing to the provisions he would need on his trip.[17]

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[11] Olivia Remie Constable, "Chess and Courtly Culture in Medieval Castile: The Libro de ajedrez of Alfonso X, el Sabio". Speculum, Vol. 82, No. 2. 2007. 301. This lets me add a bit of mystery to the fellow pilgrim. Who was he? How did he have a copy of the book?

[12] E.W. Beck and F.S.A. Scot, "Remiremont," *The Downside Review*, Volume 11, 1892. 18. The city of Remiremont was found during a search of the route Nicholas would take to Venice. The history and importance of Remiremont I came upon during my research of the various towns along the route. The initial information concerning the title of Imperial Princess was found on the Remiremont Plombieres-les-Bains website, www.ot-remiremont.fr/en/history.

[13] Francis Gies and Joseph Gies, *Cathedral, Forge, and Waterwheel: Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages*. (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 197-98. Mention of the various technology that was associated with waterwheels.

[14] Gies & Gies, *Cathedral, Forge, and* Waterwheel, 200-202. The timing is somewhat tight, but with the earliest known blast furnace, found in Lapphyteen, Sweden, believed to have operated before 1350, I felt that this could be included.

[15] Roger Crowley, "Arsenal of Venice: World's First Weapons Factory," *Military History*, Vol 3, 2011. 64. Description of the Arsenal of Venice.

[16] Hugo W. Kim, *A Summary of Readings: The Middle Ages - Feudalism and the Commercial Revolution – History of Politics and Econonmy* (East-West Research Institute Washington, D.C., 2016). 203. Accessed November 15, 2017. Retrieved from: http://www.icks.org/hugo33kim/pdf/PoliEcon222@HugoKim2015@21%20Economy%20and%20Society.pdf

[17] Margaret Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907). 11. While this is discussing a pilgrimage after the timeframe of my character, the information contained within would not likely have changed very much. Venice was a major departure point for

Finally negotiating passage on a galley, Nicholas was on his way to the Holy Lands. The galley had both sails and oars and was crewed by over one hundred men. What followed was trip consisting of several stops. From Venice the ship made stops at Parenzo, Zara, Ragusa, Corfu, and Modone in the Greek Peloponnese. At Modone, Nicholas noted two things in his journal. The first was the type of wine called retsina, which obtained its particular flavour and smell from the addition of resin. Retsina did not make a favourable impression on Nicholas. The second item of note was the Jewish colony which traded in silks. This excellent opportunity to extend the fortunes of his family was almost denied due to the attitude of many of his fellow pilgrims. While not viewing the Jewish traders with joy and good fellow-feeling, neither did Nicholas exhibit the boorish behaviour towards the them that his fellow pilgrims demonstrated.[18] Unlike in Venice, Nicholas was able to make contacts with members of the colony with whom the Gillespie house would have many more dealings.

The rest of the trip to Jaffa, the closest port to the Holy Lands, was uneventful, save for the landing at Candia. On this island, the tall hats of the Greek priests were noted as interesting, but it was the backwardness of the lavatory arrangements which was the source of much complaint.[19] Chamber pots were still in use here, yet this was a minor point of disagreeableness for Nicholas. Having walked along the street during the ringing of a tower bell from St. Marks Church, Nicholas wrote that he barely missed being covered by the contents of one of these chambers pots. Indeed, he found out later that the ringing of the bell was the signal to clear the chamber pots. Needless to say, Candia would not be a place of positive memories for Nicholas.

Jaffa to Jerusalem was an overland trip. Once there Nicholas visited the various Holy Places. The Mount of Olives, Mount Zion, the Holy Sepulchre and Bethlehem were all seen.[20] As well, Nicholas wrote of the magnificent mosque he saw, noting the amazing architecture. Having completed his pilgrimage, Nicholas decided to make his way home by way of Alexandria.[21] This decision resulted in his return to Sandwich being delayed by many years. However, due

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pilgrims to the holy lands and would have had all the supplies that were needed for a pilgrim making their way to the holy lands.

[18] Ure, *Pilgrimages*, 33. The anti-Semitism would have been a reality for the time. Yet I imagine that merchants would have not had as strong negative feelings as the more religious pilgrims and commoners would have. The pursuit of profit making strange bedfellows.

[19] Ure, *Pilgrimages*, 34. This portion of the story takes the itinerary from the story of Casola's pilgrimage. The image of the chamber pots being emptied onto the street was an image I have had since I first learned about the Middle Ages. To see it recounted in a journal written hundreds of years ago as fact makes for an excellent link of present to past for me.

[20] Ure, *Pilgrimages*, 41. The list of places seen is taken from this work. Other places may have been of note, but I stuck to what was in the available written record.

[21] Michele Bacci and Martin Rohde, eds., *The Holy Portolano: The Sacred Geography of Navigation in the Middle Ages. Fribourg Colloquium 2013.* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 12. The alternative paths to and from Jerusalem allowed me to create the alternative path for Nicholas on his way home. Instead of just retracing his steps, he goes the long way around and returns with a ship filled with trade goods and connections with other towns and villages.

to the connections made with other pilgrims during his travel to Jerusalem, Nicholas was able to have letters reach his family during this time.[22]

Travelling across Europe, by land and sea, Nicholas continued to make friends due to his open and trusting manner, while plumping his purse with his shrewd business dealings. From Alexandria, he travelled to Crete where he stayed for two seasons, waiting for a boat that could take him to Naples. Again, he stayed in the city for a time, looking for trading opportunities. From here, Nicholas travelled overland until he reached Barcelona. It was from Barcelona that Nicholas would start his journey home, having made contact with a number of Factors of various houses over the course of his journey from Jerusalem. Purchasing a ship and stocking it with almonds, iron, and mercury, Nicholas made the risky trip home by way of Gibraltar.[23] Being harried by corsairs and the vagaries of heavy seas, Nicholas laid anchor at Sandwich ten years after he had first boarded ship for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Many years and many trips to and from Sandwich would continue. The single ship Nicholas brought back grew to a busy fleet plying the waters from Sandwich to Jerusalem. Nicholas would eventually retire to his beloved Sandwich, sharing stories with his grand-nephew and organizing his journals.

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[22] Bacci and Rohde, eds., *The Holy Portolano*, 4. The regular service of twice yearly sailings by the Military Orders of the Hospitaliers and the Templars and the tour operators that offered the equivalent of all-inclusive packages for pilgrims speaks to a regularization of shipping. This, in turn, suggests that there was a regularization of information since having the supplies to provide provisions as well as luxuries would have resulted in possibility of profit. It is the possibility of profit that makes it likely that Nicholas would have been able to have letters reach his family.

[23] Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Catalan commerce in the late Middle Ages," *Catalan Historical Review*, no. 5 (2007): 547. A low probability of a single ship making the journey from Barcelona to Sandwich, but the historical record provides evidence that the route did exist.

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Pine Point, NWT, & the Effects of Resource Extraction on the South Slave Region

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Driving up the Mackenzie Highway from Hay River to Fort Resolution, you may not notice the few access roads that once led to the town of Pine Point. The once bustling town of nearly 2000 residents has been literally wiped off the map. In 1988 the town was dismantled, moved or demolished, and the site is now reduced to cracking pavement and concrete pads where mobile and modular homes once sat. The town was built with hopes of success and prosperity when the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company (Cominco or CM&S) built a mine over lead and zinc deposits that had been staked several times in the past.[1] The Canadian government had plans for major development in the North after World War II and Pine Point represented a gateway from northern Alberta to the further reaches of the North.[2] When the markets took a down turn in the '80s and the minerals were requiring deeper and deeper pits, the mine shut down and took the whole town with it.[3] Pine Point has left mixed impressions on those who lived there and in the surrounding communities. Some remember a happy town full of life, while others remember environmental negligence and unkept promises to First Nations communities.[4] What is the true legacy of Pine Point, an example of environmental devastation or fond memories of long departed residents?

The community of Deninu Kue or Fort Resolution sits on the South East shore of the Great Slave Lake and is the oldest permanent community in the Northwest Territories.[5] Pine Point is on the South shore of the Great Slave Lake roughly 70km west of Fort Resolution and 90km East of the town of Hay River and the K'atl'odeeche First Nation community.[6] These

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[1] Ted Nagle, with Jordan Zinovich, *The Prospector: North of Sixty* (Edmonton, AB: Lone Pine Publishing, 1989), 80.

[2] Arn Keeling and John Sandlos, *Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2015), 138. Emma LeClerc and Arn Keeling, "From Cutlines to Traplines: post-industrial land use at the Pine Point Mine," *The Extractive Industries and Society* 2, no. 1 (2015): 8.

[3] Ryan Silke, *The Operational History of Mines in the Northwest Territories, Canada: An Historical Research Project* (Yellowknife, NWT: Northwest Territories Geoscience Office, 2009), 386 & 389. Pine Point Mines Ltd., *Pine Point Mines Ltd., Annual Report 1984*, 2.

[4] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 139.

[5] LeClerc and Keeling, "From Cutlines to Traplines," 8.

[6] LeClerc and Keeling, "From Cutlines to Traplines," 8.

communities were predominantly populated by Dene, Slavey, Chipewayan, and Metis before the industrial expansion in the late 1950s.[7] In the late 1890s, white men trapping in the area became interested in the galena deposits along the South shore of the lake and decided to stay the winter in Fort Resolution in hopes of finding gold and silver.[8] Ed Nagle staked the first claims at Pine Point in 1898 in interest of silver.[9] A shaft was sunk down about 20 feet for mineral exploration, and many more claims were staked in the area between 1898 and 1920, but the site lacked silver and as there was little interest in the lead and zinc the property had to offer, claims were allowed to lapse.[10] Nearly 30 years later, in 1927 Nagle's son Ted re-visited the claims at Pine Point and told of a harrowing journey over the lake by canoe and through the bush on foot to collect samples, carrying 35 samples of ore back to Fort Resolution to ship back to Edmonton for testing.[11] Once the samples were confirmed to be of value Nagle's team had to race to reach the site for his employer, CM&S (Cominco), before other prospectors staked claims there.[12] Ted Nagle described the life of trappers and prospectors in that time, carrying everything on their backs, hunting for food along the way, and avoiding forest fires by watching wind speed and direction of the smoke. It was Ted Nagle and his crew and their journey through the bush that led to Pine Point Mines years later.[13] Nagle described the area as he saw it in 1927, as a small flat plateau covered in bunch grass surrounded by thick growth of jack pines, with a few stands of birch, willow, and trembling

Figure 1. Robert Bell (centre) and 2 hired helpers near the future site of Pine Point prospecting for silver and gold in 1900.[14]

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[7] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 139-141; LeClerc and Keeling, "From Cutlines to Traplines," 8.

[8] Nagle and Zinovich, *The Prospector,* 77.

[9] Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre. "NWT Timeline – 1926 Ted Nagle and the Pine Point Discovery," http://www.nwttimeline.ca [accessed March 2018].

[10] Nagle and Zinovich, *The Prospector,* 77.

[11] Nagle and Zinovich, *The Prospector,* 89.

[12] Nagle and Zinovich*, The Prospector,* 97.

[13] Nagle and Zinovich, *The Prospector,* 89.

[14] Glenbow Archives, PA-3760-19.

aspen.[15] The thick forest he described has long been gone and were he to return to the site today it would likely be unrecognizable even after 29 years of inactivity at the mine.

Little was done at Pine Point right after Nagle staked the claims for Cominco in 1927. Shafts were sunk, samples were taken, but then the great depression of the 30s put a halt to the exploration.[16] In the mid-1940s Cominco started exploration again at Pine Point and by 1954

NWT Archives/Cominco Ltd./N-1987-021-0056

Figure 2. An aerial view of one of the pits in 1965, pits became much deeper and there were at least 46 left behind when the mine closed.

it was evident that there was enough ore to make a profitable mine.[17] A small mine plant and townsite were built, which would later become known as old town.[18] Cominco was doing underground and surface exploration at Pine Point in these early years, making cutlines and finding lead and zinc ores at numerous sites.[19] These cutlines were the beginning of decades of change and hardship for the local Dene population. The area around Pine Point was used for hunting and trapping and many First Nations people who lived in the area claimed that traplines were cut, traps were lost, and game was scared out of the area by all the construction activity.[20] First Nations in Fort Resolution and K'atl'odeeche were told the mine would bring work for many in the community[21] but aboriginal employment at the mine was minimal and most workers were brought in from elsewhere.[22] Fort Resolution resident Angus

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[15] Nagle and Zinovich, *The Prospector,* 87.
[16] Silke, "Operational History of Mines," 376.
[17] Silke, "Operational History of Mines," 376.
[18] Silke, "Operational History of Mines," 379.
[19] Silke, "Operational History of Mines," 379.
[20] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 144.
[21] NWT Archives, Cominco Ltd. Fonds. Pine Point Progress Album. Accession number N-1987-021 item number 0056 (photo).
[22] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 144.

Beaulieu stated that no more than eight aboriginal people were employed by the mine at any given time in the 1960s and '70s except when Justice Berger came to conduct hearings and 38 residents were hired and laid off after the Justice left.[23] Any aboriginal workers were limited to general labouring jobs and often did not make much money.[24] First Nations communities were not consulted before work began at Pine Point, and no compensation was ever given to the Dene and Metis people of those neighbouring communities who lost the use of that vast stretch of land.[25] It is estimated that around 30 families relied on the land in and around Pine Point before the mine was established.[26]
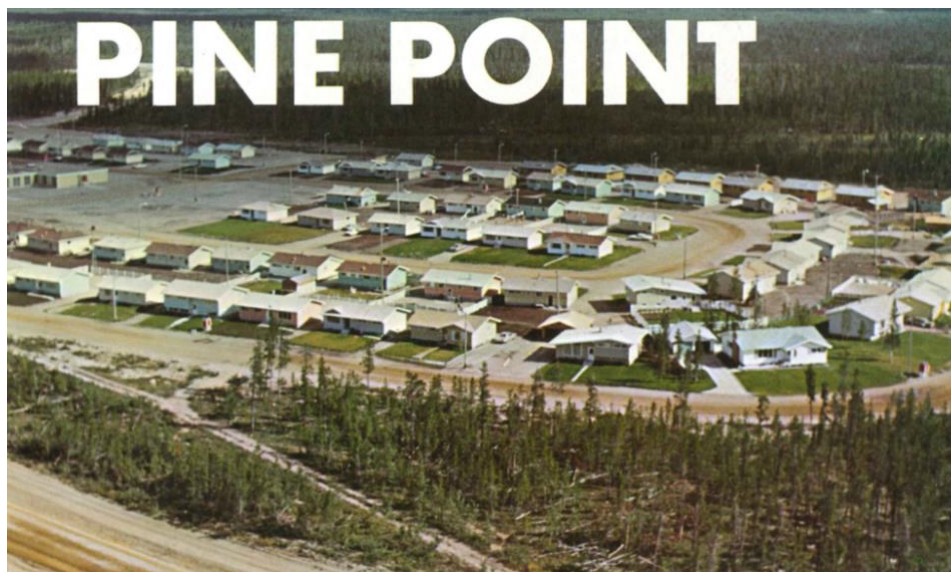

Figure 3. Aerial photo of Pine Point from a magazine on the Northwest Territories printed in 1968. The photo shows the modern suburb style town in the vast surrounding forest.[27]

The Mackenzie highway was built in the early 1960s connecting Edmonton to Hay River and later to Pine Point and Fort Resolution.[28] The connection the road made to the South had an irreversible impact on the way of life in Fort Resolution, residents claimed they lost their sense of community and their traditional lifestyle once the road was built.[29] The road also meant that residents in Fort Resolution and K'atl'odeeche could easily get alcohol, and alcoholism continues to be a problem in those communities to this day.[30] Building the railroad from northern Alberta triggered the establishment of the Pine Point mine and townsite in 1962, the mine officially opened in 1964.[31] The government provided 100 million dollars in subsidies in the late 1950s early '60s to build a railroad from northern Alberta up to Pine

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[23] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 144.
[24] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 144.
[25] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 145.
[26] LeClerc and Keeling, "From Cutlines to Traplines," 11.
[27] Clyde Herrington, *Northwest Territories* (Vancouver, BC: Shultoncraft Publishing Ltd., 1968), 25.
[28] Silke, "Operational History of Mines," 379.
[29] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 149.
[30] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 156.
[31] Silke, "Operational History of Mines," 376.

Point and Hay River, to build the townsite, and the nearby hydroelectric dam that would power the mine.[32] The town of Pine Point was built to be more than a mining town; during its lifetime it was one of the larger towns in the area boasting an arena, swimming pool, and golf course. Unlike neighbouring Fort Resolution, Pine Point had paved roads and everyone had running water and electricity, making it more attractive to Fort Resolution residents.[33] Pine Point attracted workers from all over the world and many former residents commented on the diversity of the town which was not seen in the neighbouring, majority First Nations communities.[34] Pine Point was seen as a modern town in the North, unlike many of the communities in the NWT, Pine Point had the amenities of a Southern Canadian town.[35]
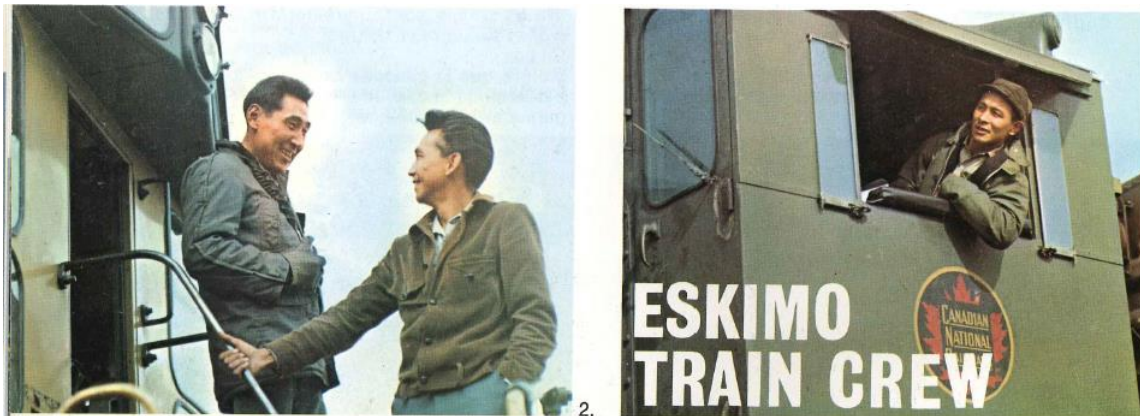
Figure 4. Photos from a magazine for the Northwest Territories in 1968, advertising Pine Point as a diverse community with opportunities for aboriginal people.[36]

Cominco had had stakes on the land from Ted Nagle and his crew for many years and in 1964 the mine and town became established, only to shut down 24 years later; Cominco had their claims finally lapse around 2000.[37] During the life of the mine reports were positive, a

Figure 5. The sign for Pine Point Mine from the Mackenzie Highway in the 1980s.

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[32] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 138. LeClerc and Keeling, "From Cutlines to Traplines," 8.
[33] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 150.
[34] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 152.
[35] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 152.
[36] Herrington, *Northwest Territories,* 24.
[37] Silke, "Operational History of Mines," 376.

magazine entitled *Northwest Territories*, likely a form of advertising for the North, boasted Pine Point made $100,000,000 in 1967 and "[e]ach year seems to herald a new bonanza,"[38] talking about mining in the NWT. The North became the latest frontier, with mineral, oil, and forestry development and Pine Point was to be the gateway for progress in the North. However, metal prices dropped in the early 1980s and Pine Point mines made the decision to temporarily shut down the mine in 1983.[39] After laying off workers, paying concessions, and continuing to pay for [40]transportation of ore to the smelters in Trail, B.C., Cominco realized they lost more money staying closed than they would if they resumed operations.[41] The mine opened up again in 1984 and boasted increased earnings, new underground exploration took place, and continued exploration in the pits showed more available ore.[42] The ore continued to get deeper in the pits which required 24 hour pumps to keep the ground water from filling the pits. The continued need to pump water and dig deeper to get to the ore made operating costs increase while the mineral reserves dwindled, and metal prices were lower than the previous 2 decades. By 1985 it was announced that Pine Point Mines Ltd would again cease

Mary Temple, a haul truck driver, is one of 37 women who occupy "non-traditional" jobs at Pine Point.

Figure 6. Photo and caption from the Pine Point Annual Report of 1984, showing a woman (my grandmother) driving the huge mining dump trucks as a symbol of the modern "non-traditional" life at Pine Point.

mining operation in 1987 and plant operations were to finish in 1988.[43] Cominco owned the town and the lot it was built on so over 1000 residents were given a deadline to move out of Pine Point and the town was no more. Many houses were moved by truck to Hay River, Fort Resolution, or just over the Alberta border to High Level. Even the arena and schools and business buildings were dismantled and put back together elsewhere or demolished after less than 30 years on the site. The once iconic modern Northern town disappeared within a year.

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[38] Herrington, *Northwest Territories, 26.*
[39] Silke, "Operational History of Mines," 386; Pine Point Mines Ltd Annual Report 1984, 1.
[40] Temple, Family Photo Album, 1980s (photo).
[41] Ronne Heming, *NWT Databook 1986-1987: a complete guide to the Northwest Territories and its communities* (Yellowknife: Outcrop Ltd., 1986), 188.
[42] Pine Point Mines Ltd., Annual Report, 1.
[43] Pine Point Mines Ltd., 8. (Photo)

The transition for the residents of Pine Point was difficult for some. Some residents were born there, and it was the only home they knew; adults and children alike had to say goodbye to friends and neighbours. Many people left the North when Pine Point closed while others moved to neighbouring towns, Hay River and Fort Resolution. Eddy McKay who had moved from Fort Resolution to Pine Point said it was hard to move back to the older, less developed town after the mine closed, "I didn't like it at first, cuz, you know, there was no running water, and we had honey buckets...".[44] Mary Temple, (seen in figure 6) worked at the mine from 1974 to 1987 driving trucks in the pits. She moved her house from Pine Point to Hay River, as she was not ready to part with the North. She stayed there until her death in 2009.[45] Pine Point acted as a gateway to the North for many people who moved up to work at the mine and fell in love with the Territories. Linda McKay, a former resident stated about Pine Point, "if that place ever opened up I'd be the first one to move back there…Oh, do I ever miss that place man."[46] While many shared her sentiments others remember the negative effects Pine Point had on the Aboriginal communities and the racism some native people encountered.[47]

The abandoned town site has been quiet for 30 years; however the mine site has seen new exploration by Tamerlane Ventures.[48] Hearings were held in Fort Resolution in 2008 and many people in the community were not supportive of continued mining.[49] The Aboriginal community was not consulted before the original mine opened in the '60s and the costs to their land and way of life were never compensated.[50] The remediation on the site was minimal and considered inadequate by most. 46 pits were left open, a 570-hectare tailings pond and piles of waste rock remain on the 1900km² site.[51] Cutlines that were made from initial exploration in the 1950s until the final years of the '80s can still be seen criss-crossing through the forest; vegetation takes much longer to recolonize in the North than in other environments which makes the environment more sensitive to anthropogenic disturbance.[52] The mine manager stated that $15 million was set aside for mine closure in 1988, including employee relocation, equipment disposal, remediation, and future monitoring of the site.[53] This hardly compares to the estimated $600 million that it is expected to cost for remediation at Giant Mine across the lake in Yellowknife.[54] Though the remediation efforts at these two

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[44] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 154.
[45] Temple, Personal Notes, 1990s.
[46] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 150.
[47] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 155,156.
[48] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 156.
[49] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 157.
[50] Keeling and Sandlos, *Mining and Communities*, 157.
[51] Emma LeClerc and Yolanda Wiersma, "Assessing Post-industrial Land Cover Change at the Pine Point Mine, NWT, Canada, Using Multi-temporal Landsat Analysis and Landscape Metrices," *Environmental Monitoring Assessment* 189, no. 4 (2017): 3.
[52] LeClerc and Wiersma, "Assessing," 3.
[53] Kirsty Jackson, "Pine Point biggest clean up in NWT history", *The Hub* (February 24, 1988), 14.
[54] CBC News, "Bidding opens for Giant Mine clean up contract worth hundreds of millions," February 2, 2017. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/bidding-opens-for-giant-mine-contract-1.3962692.

mines will differ greatly it is unlikely $15 million could have covered the costs of an effective remediation after all the costs of moving and demolishing the town. When Pine Point closed, remediation was considered adequate by the governing bodies of the time. Many contaminated sites around the world are problematic due to historic industrial operations that were left without remediation because people did not know the risks associated with industrial activities.[55]

Today the site is a scar on the landscape of the boreal forest in the Northwest Territories – a fond memory for some and an environmental disaster for others. Though the days of the prosperous modern mining town of the North are long gone, resource extraction companies are still looking at the site as a resource. Twenty years after its remediation the site was still far from its original state and vegetation regeneration is slow.[56] Pine Point is not alone in its environmental legacy in the North. There are many more sites in the NWT and its neighbouring territories that are leaving a footprint in the North where only the few communities around them know the impacts they have on the land. The way Northern Canada is looked at as a resource provider is comparable to the way Canada was a resource for the British Empire when it was first colonized. It is resource bearing land waiting to be used where there are not enough people to protest the destruction.

Figure 7. Pine Point exploration camp in 1929[57]

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[55] LeClerc and Wiersma, "Assessing," 2.
[56] Le Clerc and Wiersma, "Assessing," 11.
[57] Glenbow Museum Archives, Ted Nagle, 1929 "Machinery at Consilidated Mining & Smelting Ltd.'s Pine Point Mine site, Great Slave Lake, NWT. PD-356-953.

Figure 8. Ore Samples at Pine Point Camp in late 1940s - early 1950s.[58]

The underground mine project started in 1984; above, the portal in the pit wall.

Figure 9. Entrance to the underground mining tunnel that opened in 1984[59]

[58] NWT Archives, Deryk Boddington; accession number N-1979-075 item number 0020.
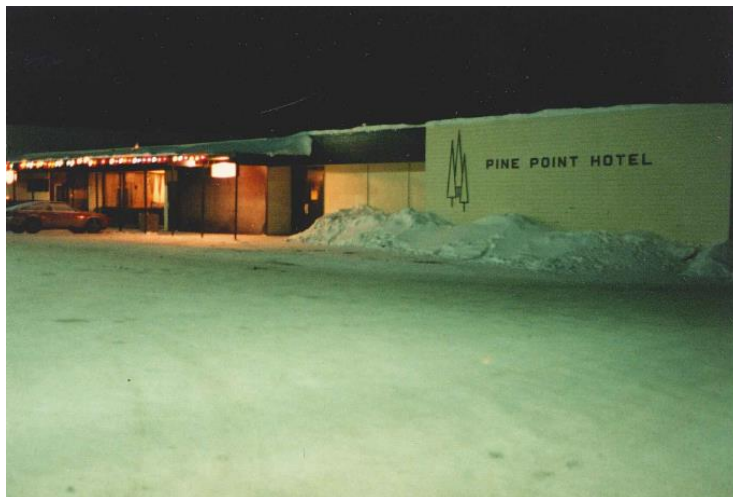[59] Pine Point Mines Ltd Annual Report 1984, 3.

Figure 10. Pine Point Hotel in 1987[60]

Figure 11. One of the pits at Pine Point in 1997 showing how little vegetation had grown nearly 10 years after the closure.[61]

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[60] Temple, Family Photo Album, 1987.
[61] Temple, Family Photo Album, 1997.

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A Historical Biography of a Medieval Sage-Femme

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Sister Marie Thérèse was my mentor and sage. I recall her story for more than the purpose of nostalgia. I am retelling her story to bring insight into her life's work and into my work. My hope is that all those who come after me can learn from her as I once did.

Sister Marie Thérèse had said that she was born in the early years of the first "Roi de France". I never knew the exact date. She told me that I was born in 1213. Marie Thérèse did not speak a lot about her early years, but this is what I knew of her from our years working together as Sisters and "sage-femmes."

At the age of 14, a suitable husband was chosen for Marie Thérèse by her family. They had very little and lived on the outskirts of a large city. Her first baby was born less than a year later. He was named Phillipe, after his father. A few months after Phillipe's birth, Marie Thérèse was expecting her second child. This child died due to a troublesome birth. By the next winter she was pregnant again. With each failed pregnancy Marie Therese became weaker. Food was scarce, her house was cold, and she was having more difficulty maintaining her home. Over the winter, it became difficult to keep the farm animals separated from the family's living space. The house became dirty and her son was often ill. Unexpectedly, Marie Thérèse found herself a widow. Her husband had drowned. She was only 19 years old.

Her young son was 5 years old when his father passed. It was decided that the boy's best chance for a comfortable future was to be raised by the monks of a nearby monastery. There, he would be fed, clothed, and educated in the scriptures of the Lord. Marie Thérèse could give him none of these things. On the day that she brought young Phillipe to the monastery she packed the few possessions that she had acquired through her marriage and handed them to the monk at the door. She kissed her young son on the cheek and turned toward the dirt road. She never saw him again.

Marie Thérèse arrived at the doors of our small Cistercian abbey in Northern France a few weeks later. She could not read or write. Because she had only a small dowry she had decided

to become a nun. Sister Marie Thérèse took her oath solemnly. With her vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience she became a Bride of Christ.

In our modest stone house, approximately 20 women lived together and shared the household chores. Both lay sister's and nuns worked in the small field, made bread and ales, spun, wove, and tended to a small flock of farm animals. The garden was especially important to Sister Marie Thérèse. She produced ample herbs and vegetables for cooking and made herbal preparations that she created for labouring women.

The other Sister's told me that is was Marie Thérèse who found me in the stable, tucked under a layer of warm straw. She filled a small jar with goat's milk and affixed a piece of fabric to the opening so that I could suckle. She fed me, kept me warm, and taught me as much as she knew about our world. On nights when we had candles, some sisters would take turns reading to the others. In the daylight we would copy scripture and embellish it with calligraphy and drawings. In this way, I learned to write.

When I was very young I began accompanying Sister Marie Thérèse when she left the house to attend to women of the nearby village. I remember asking her why she did this. She told me that after she arrived at the abbey a bishop came to the door and appointed her as the community "sage-femme." This job required her to provide care to anyone in the town who needed help. Sometimes she was required to dress wounds or attend a sick child. Most often she was called to help labouring women. Her only qualification was that she had given birth herself, but because she was so valuable to the town, she was forbidden to leave.

It was early summer, when I heard a quiet tap on the side door. I had been in the back stable milking the goat when I heard the call for help. It sounded like a small child, maybe 5 or 6 years old. I pulled the small milking stool out from under my skirts and placed it carefully by the entrance to the pen. I walked around the side of the stone house and I saw the figure of a women doubled over. The small child was a young girl and she was peering up into the woman's face with a mixture of fear and concern. I called out to Sister Marie Thérèse.

Marie Thérèse came quickly and immediately reached out for the woman and supported her full weight for several minutes until she could lead her to the back room of the house where a small fire was burning in the hearth. Marie Thérèse helped the woman to sit on a wooden bench in front of the fire then she asked the girl how long the woman had been in like this. The girl informed Marie Therese that it had been many days and she was getting weaker with each passing hour. "Is this your mother?" Sister asked. The girl nodded. The girl informed her that she had two small brothers at home and she needed to run back to look after them. Marie Thérèse instantly understood the gravity of the situation before her. She helped the woman out of her shawl, apron and over dress and settled her on a makeshift bed of cushions and hand woven blankets. I ran out to the yard to bring in the sun bleached sheets that snapped on the laundry line. By the time I returned to the house, the woman was once

again overcome with unimaginable labour pains. I placed the clean sheets under the woman and Marie Thérèse explained that a woman that has had many children already should not labour for so many days. There is no concern when a baby is impatient, but when a baby will not come, it can be very serious. The woman began to push the baby when Marie Thérèse saw its toes. The baby was upside down. Sister Marie Thérèse worked quickly. She explained how important it was to leave the baby and make the mother comfortable so that the baby would come out on its own. Touching the baby or pulling on its feet would cause the baby to gasp and this was never a good thing for an upside down baby. We supported the woman for the rest of the morning with herbal tea. She was week and could barely muster the effort for the last push. Finally, in a rush, the baby slipped out onto the floor. It took a few moments but the baby cried its first cry. I wrapped her in clean sheets and tucked her up with her mother, just as the Sister had shown me. Sister Marie Thérèse had attended many births like this. They were often difficult and always dangerous for both the mother and babe. Sister said that the most important thing to remember as a "sage-femme" was to be patient and let the baby be born on its own. There was no point in forcing the baby out too early.

The mom and babe stayed at the nunnery for the three weeks: the laying in period. We made certain that she regained her strength with plenty of meat, fish, and fresh vegetables. Her children visited often and they ate eggs on bread with fresh butter. The little girl brought her brothers every day, but the abbess would not allow the father to visit. It was against abbey rules. Eventually, the mother was strong enough to wrap her babe under her shawl and return home to her family.

Over the years many families came to the abbey for help, but there was one family that I will never forget. Even though there have been many since, this was my first like this. I was very young. It was a dreadful winter night when I heard the rattle of a horse approach the front doors of the abbey. I had been carding wool on my lap when the door creaked open. One of the lay sister's called from the half open door. I could see the figure of a young man standing out in the weather. I did not know him. He was summoning Sister Marie Thérèse. His wife was about to give birth and he had heard that the town had an appointed "wise woman." Situations like these were difficult since it was inappropriate for us to travel with the any man to his home. This night we had no choice. The weather was too bad for us to travel on our own and there wasn't enough time to find a monk from a neighbouring monastery to accompany us. The stranger informed us that his young wife was about to give birth to their first child and he had left her while he sought help. He was certain that the baby was arriving much too early.

Sister and I hurried to gather our supplies. We collected herbs for tea, clean bandages and wrappings, wood for the fire, loaves of bread, fresh goat milk and the milking stool from the outdoor animal pen. We rode on the horse as the man walked beside us to guide the horse through the night. When we arrived, the woman was sitting quietly next to the fire. She had her small baby wrapped in cloth and she was holding it close to her chest. I had never seen a

child so small before. Marie Thérèse knelt down beside the mother and checked under her skirt to make sure that she was not bleeding too heavily. She helped the woman to sit on one of the clean linens that we had brought. When she was comfortable, Sister preformed the Baptism on the babe. I stayed in the corner next to the young man. He hung his head, unable to look at the lifeless body of his tiny son.

Despite all the tragedy, Sister Marie Thérèse brought hope to many families. We were called to the outskirts of the village one afternoon by a neighbour who had been helping a heavily pregnant mother with her young children. When we arrived I counted 7 or 8 young children of differing ages scattered around the house and throughout the garden. Only one boy appeared to be old enough to help his father in the fields. He lingered around the door and turned toward the stable when he saw us approaching the small dwelling. He headed off to find his father. The men did not concern themselves with the birth process and the young boy understood this.

The door to the house was open and I could make out the silhouette of a woman holding on to the rungs of a ladder while kneeling on the cool dirt floor. She was already working hard to control her breath when Sister Marie Thérèse approached her. Her own sister, mother and kindly older neighbour were at the house to give her support. They cooked, made cheese, cleaned the animal pens, and took care of the young children. Two older girls were occupied making candles to sell in the village. As small boy brought wood in from outside and stacked it near the hearth.

There were no men in the house. They had turned their attention to the crops. Sister was instructing me to get down on the floor. With each passing day she found it more difficult to physically support the labouring mothers. The mother held onto the ladder and I clambered to the floor. I could see the baby's head and the mass of curly black hair. In a just a few moments I was holding the child in my arms while Marie Thérèse helped the women to a seated position. A few minutes later the afterbirth was born and Marie Thérèse took her knife from her bucket of supplies, wiped it on her apron and cut the cord. I tucked the baby in with the mother. The children crowded around their mother while the other women shoed them away and cheerfully attended the woman. Sister and I visited the family a few weeks later. When we arrived at their home, they were preparing to attend Mass. This was the first time the mother had been back to Church since the birth of her son. The end of her period of rest indicated the resumption of her duties to her large family and to her husband. I knew that I would be seeing her again before too long.

Sister Marie Thérèse worked tirelessly until she was an old woman. She taught me everything that she knew. When she could no longer attend the births herself, she continued to instruct me on unusual presentations and the signs of a difficult birth. She made her herbal preparations to her very last day. When God took her home, he rewarded her for her service to the families of this community.

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Green, Monica H. *Making Women's Medicine Masculine: The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology.* Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2008.

Excerpts from Monica Green's book look at the motives for the church and the medical profession for promoting midwifery in the medieval period. The article draws a linkage between the churches need for midwives to become regulated and the need for midwives to perform baptisms on still-born children. The political motives for these baptisms is explored when both baby and mother die in childbirth. Green also identifies the practical considerations of nuns acting as nurses and midwives within communities and she explores the transfer of knowledge between midwives for those who were both literate and illiterate. She also explores the limitations of their knowledge with regards to the spread of disease but clearly identifies their ability to assess and provide skilled help in difficult births.

Hallwarth, Jennifer Wynne. "I Wyl Wright of Women Prevy Sekenes': Imagining Female Literacy and Textual Communities in Medieval and Early Modern Midwifery Manuals." *Critical Survey* 14, no. 1 (2002): 44-63.

This article was useful to understand how women may have gained their specific knowledge around childbirth and midwifery. Some women where literate but many more were not and it was through combination of written word and oral traditions that women taught, and spread important information. This article helps to further explain that by the very existence of midwifery texts, there was some expectation that some women were literate. The article demonstrates the early attitudes toward midwives and how society and medical practitioners viewed childbirth and women's health issues.

Johnson, Rebecca Wynne. "Divisions of Labor: Gender, Power, and Later Medieval Childbirth, c. 1200-1500." *History Compass* 14, no. 9 (2016): 383-396.

This article provides details related to the relationship between the church and midwifery during the period from 1200 CE to 1500 CE. The connection to the church further explains the lack of autonomy that midwives had in many communities and while they may have had jurisdiction over most normal births, the woman's body was never truly the domain of women. The church attempted to control aspects of marriage through childbirth. The article provided interesting information about the "churching" process during the weeks immediately after birth.

Minkowski, William L. "Women Healers of the Middle Ages: Selected Aspects of their History." *American Journal of Public Health* 82, no. 2 (1992): 288-295.

This article, by William Minkowski, is a brief overview of women's roles in healthcare during the middle ages. The author examines, nursing and midwifery within the framework of medical practice and the medical hierarchy. He also looks at nursing orders and the role of the church in the development of nursing and midwifery. He provides examples of Sisters being appointed to provide care for communities and specifically how some midwives may have been selected. This article shows what the daily life of a midwife consisted of and what specific preparations these women made to attend births.

Shahar, Shulamith. *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages.* London; New York, N.Y: Routledge, 2003.

The author investigates the life of nuns in medieval life. Shahar also looks at the hierarchy within the Christian church and the place that nuns held within that institution. The author looks at different orders, wealthy and poor nunneries and the roles that the abbeys and nunneries played within the society as a whole. Shahar examines the restrictions placed on nuns by the church in relation to others who lived, visited and interacted with nuns in the nunnery and in the community. I used this book to identify who and why women became nuns during the period. I was also able to use the details to reconstruct daily life for many of these women and more specifically what was required of them for survival. These women were highly skilled in food and textile production and animal care. I focused on the poorer Cistercian nuns who lived in France, many of whom were partially literate and often took to educating themselves through copying and illuminating religious texts

Ward, Jennifer C. *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500.* New York; London: Longman, 2002.

This book looks at the religious life of women during the period. Ward explains what constituted a dowry for entry into the nunnery and what the vows entailed. She examines the life of the lay person and the nun. In her book, she identifies who and why women would have entered the nunnery and the dowry that was required for entry. The relationship between these women's houses and the monasteries for men is established as well as the social order within both lay and religious life. The hierarchy within the house and between the male and female houses in double monasteries is examined. The author explains the reluctance of male monasteries to support and provide administrative and religious services to neighboring nunneries. She identifies the Cistercian order as one of the only orders of nuns to engage in manual labour, and for the most part, they were able to support themselves. Aside from prayer and labour, the nuns engaged in reading and writing in both Latin in French. Some nuns chronicled their own lives within their community. Ward also identifies the responsibility that the nuns had to their larger lay community in the form of charity and spiritual guidance.

Williams, Marty, and Anne Echols. *Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages*. New York: Markus Wiener Pub., 1994.

This book, Williams provides detailed descriptions of the lives of women in the middle ages. I used this book to gain insight into the homes, living arrangements, daily chores, food availability and preparation, family structure, clothing and resourcefulness of poorer women living in rural France during the period.

World War One & Indian Independence: Unintended Consequences

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HIST 3394: The Two World Wars
Prof. Alex Popovich
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"We, the famished, ragged ragamuffins of the East are to win freedom for all humanity!"[1] Rabindranath Tagore.

Speaking in the context of India's contribution to World War One, Tagore captures the resentful and hopeless sentiment of a nation pulled into a War that it had no part in making, and of a people forced to bear a burden thrust upon them by the Western colonial powers of the time. In this sense, World War One highlighted the interconnectedness of the global political, cultural, and economic system. From the British recruitment of troops in India, to the activities of T. E. Lawrence in the Arabian Peninsula, to contributions of the Australians and New Zealanders at Gallipoli in Anatolia, it was a war that captured the world's imagination and stretched across boundaries of nation, state, and race. In so doing, it served as a reminder of how increased global connection also results in increased global fragility. The consequences of the international events of World War One would reverberate in the domestic sphere of countries around the world, with unanticipated force and direction.

While the contribution of India to the allied war effort is well documented, the impact of World War One on India's independence movement is not fully understood. This paper examines two lines of argument which suggest that World War One served as a catalyst to India's concurrent independence movement. The first line of argument suggests that India's contribution of troops to the War effort was made with the expectation of British concessions with regard to Indian self-administration. That these concessions failed to materialize only further galvanized Indian nationalist sentiments. The second line of argument suggests that World War One contributed to the rise of nationalist forces and crystallization of various identities both of which contributed to the growth of the Indian independence movement, the most visible example of which is the *Khilafat* movement.

Today, the memory of India's contribution to World War One lives on in the India Gate War Memorial in Delhi, inscribed with the names of over 13,000 members of the Indian Army who

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[1] Rabindranath Tagore, "A Monotony of Multitudes," in *From the Outer World: Perspectives on People and Places, Manners and Customs in the United States, as Reported by Travelers from Asia, Africa, Australia and Latin America,* ed. by Oscar Handlin & Lilian Handlin, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 62.

passed away.[2] Over the course of the War the presence of the Indian Army was felt in France, East Africa, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. As a British colony, the contribution of India must be situated within the economic paradigm of the time, that of colonial mercantilism. "India emerged as the single largest source of tribute for the British empire. British India's economic policies were entirely dominated by the requirements of the ruling country, Britain."[3] Recruitment figures cited by Bagchi show that in 1914, 89,335 Indian Sepoys were sent to serve with the Indian Corps in the Battles of Ypres, Fesutbert, Givenchy, Neueve Chapelle, Second Ypres, and Loos. Up to the end of 1918 a total of 1,440,337 combatants and non-combatants were recruited in India, while a total of 1,381,050 members of the Indian army were posted overseas.[4] The Indian contribution to the British war effort did not go unnoticed, their contribution most visible in the Mesopotamia campaign – a campaign which was "carried out by debiting the expenditure to the Indian Treasury and was exclusively planned and executed by the British Indian military think-tank of the army department situated at Shimla."[5] Evidence of Indian contribution in the war effort is also provided in the diaries and wartime reports of British War Officers. An excerpt from an Order of the Day by Lieutenant General Sir James Willcocks to the Indian Army Corps date October 10th 1914 reads:

> But is their history as long as yours? You are descendants of men who have been mighty rulers and great warriors for many centuries. You will never forget this! You will recall glories of your race. Hindu and Mahomedan will be fighting side by side with British soldiers and our gallant French allies. You will be helping to make history. You will be the first Indian soldiers of the Kind Emperor who will have the honor of showing in Europe that the sons of India have lost none of the ancient martial instincts and are worthy of the confidence reposed in them.[6]

This excerpt not only illustrates the important role played by Indians in the War, but also alludes to the British strategies of recruitment and retention. Contradictory in its nature, it refers to the Indians as "soldiers of the Kind Emperor" and in doing so clearly situates them as subject to British rule. Yet the excerpt also appeals to an "imagined" past, where the soldiers are urged to recall the glories of their respective heritages. Here Muslims may recall the legacies of the Mughal Dynasty, while Hindu's would remember the achievements of the Maratha and Rajput Kingdoms that littered the subcontinent in an age before British rule. Sir Willcocks' message also elevated the status of Indians from that of colonized victim, to that of an equal actor on a world stage where Indians fight alongside the French and the British. In doing so, the entry alludes to and plays on the promise of future Indian independence.

[2] "Delhi Memorial (India Gate)" Commonwealth War Graves Commission, accessed November 1, www.cwgc.org.
[3] Amiya Kumar Bagchi, "Indian Economy and Society during World War One." *Social Scientist* 42, no. 7/8 (2014): 5, accessed October 2, 2017. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2080/stable/24372918.
[4] Bagchi, "Indian Economy," 8.
[5] Aravind Ganachari. "First World War: Purchasing Indian Loyalties: Imperial Policy of Recruitment and 'Rewards'." Economic and Political Weekly 40, no. 8 (2005): 779, accessed October 1, 2017. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2080/stable/4416244.
[6] The National Archives "Liet-General Sir James Willcocks Order of the Day Indian Army Corps 10 Oct 1914." London U.K. James Willcocks Praise for Indian soldiers' heroic qualities 1 Aug 1914 30 April 1915 (catalogue reference WO 95/1091).

India's active contribution to the war effort can also be interpreted in this frame of reference. Political and nationalist figures on the Indian subcontinent had expectations that a vigorous and committed Indian contribution would be rewarded with British concessions on issues of self-governance and administration. These hopes were most clearly articulated by a selection of representatives at the 1918 War Conference in Delhi. Convened by the then British Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, the sole purpose of the conference was to solicit further Indian support for the Allied War effort. It important to remember that there existed a plurality of perspectives among the Indian nationalist movement and political elite. Each figure brought with them their own motivations, religious persuasions, and methods and ideas, some more radical in their thinking and action than others. Those of a more radical persuasion included figures such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak who in fact was excluded from the War Conference, and his contemporary G. S. Khaparde[7], while others such as Gopal Krishna Gokhale, M. K. Gandhi, and Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, professed a more moderate approach. Of this mélange Khare explains, "they included political agitators, poets, statesman, saints, and social reformers…Some of them had an extensive blueprint for social and political revolution. Other simply served as muckrakers…"[8] However, as the Conference proceedings reveal, there existed a common expectation of concessions in return for an Indian contribution, for the fundamental question was not if an Indian contribution to the War Effort hinged on the expectation of concessions, but rather to what extent and how strongly this expectation was articulated to the British.

Individuals such as G. S. Khaparde were explicit in their demands; in his submission to the Conference proceedings he asked that "in order to invoke whole-hearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India, and successfully to mobilise the man-power and material and money, the Government in England should without delay, introduce a bill into Parliament meeting the demands of the people to establish responsible government in India…"[9]. The Raja of Mahmudabad on the other hand was not explicit in his request but hinted at notions of freedom: "[w]e Indians feel confident that the victory of the Allies means the victory of freedom; a victory that will bring freedom to India as to the rest of the world and that consequently no sacrifice is too great for such a cause."[10] Madan Mohan Malavia, two-time President of the Indian National Congress also made clear his expectation: "[w]hen we ask people to join the army and to risk their lives, I feel that if your Excellency should think it fit to advise His Majesty's Government to make a declaration in such language… to indicate that a new day of freedom is dawning in India, that a day of equal opportunity and equal privileges is dawning upon India…"[11] These sentiments were also expressed by those not in attendance at the conference, and who possessed a friendly and close relationship with the

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[7] Judith Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1914-1922.* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 146.

[8] Brij Khare, "Indian Nationalism: The Political Origin." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 4 (1989): 545, accessed September 30, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41855456.

[9] *Proceedings of the War Conference held at Delhi, 27th-29th April 1918.* Conference Proceedings at the War Conference Held at Delhi, April 27-29, 1918. Delhi India, 1918, 16.

[10] *Proceedings of the War Conference held at Delhi, 27th-29th April 1918*, 38.

[11] *Proceedings of the War Conference held at Delhi, 27th-29th April 1918*, 48.

British Monarchy and political establishment. The observation of Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah a Former President of the League of Nations is one example. Having served as President of the All-India Muslim League, he was attuned both to international events and the squabbles of local internal Indian politics. Of particular relevance are his observations regarding the linkage of India's wartime contribution to expectations of greater self-administration. "…Wherever and whenever any help could be given by the people of India it was heartily bestowed. This altogether healthy Indian sentiment cannot last unless chances are introduced in the administration so as to give people a fuller share and voice in the control of affairs in their own country."[12]

Yet the British response to these requests can be characterized as both vague, and misleading. Lord Chelmsford in his concluding remarks to the Delhi Conference referenced the participants' call for responsible government and noted:

> I am perfectly conscious of the fact, I do not blink it for one moment that there are representatives in this Conference who lay stress upon certain domestic matters. I do not underrate their zeal in these matters. Nor do I underestimate the importance of these questions which they would like to have brought up before this Conference. But let me assure them that no prejudice has been done to the cause they have at heart, that rather the attitude of those who have been present here to-day, the fact that men who feel strongly on these questions should have been ready when the Empire calls to drop for the moment these matters and say, 'No, this comes first.' I say that this attitude will raise sympathy which must bear its fruit in due time.[13]

In suggesting that the generousness of Indian contribution would cultivate sympathy that would "bear fruit in due time", he planted the seed of hope in the minds of attendees that such expectations would be fulfilled. As time went on, Senior British Officials did little to mitigate or stem the growth of these expectations thereby setting the stage for widespread Indian discontent after the war.

However, some scholars, including Aravind Ganachari, go further and argue that not only did the British do little mitigate Indian expectations, but that they sought actively to exploit these expectations in the hopes of securing a greater Indian commitment to the war effort, "The Montague-Declaration of August 20, 1917 (later the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms) which committed the administration explicitly to the policy of preparing India for responsible government within the empire vis-à-vis the Indian Home Rulers' demand for '*Swarajya'* was in a way aimed at soliciting Indian cooperation for the War."[14]

Yet concessions granted by the British to India in the postwar period did little to appease the Indian political establishment. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the resulting Government of India Act in 1919 were not seen as satisfactory, and the passing of the more

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[12] Sultan Mohammed Shah, *Aga Khan III: Selected Speeches and Writings of Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah,* ed. K.K. Aziz (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998), np.

[13] *Proceedings of the War Conference held at Delhi, 27th-29th April 1918*, 90.

[14] Aravind Ganachari, "First World War: Purchasing Indian Loyalties: Imperial Policy of Recruitment and 'Rewards'." *Economic and Political Weekly* 40, no. 8 (2005): 779, accessed October 1, 2017. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2080/stable/4416244.

restrictive Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act or Rowlatt Act in 1919 would spark further opposition and set the stage for more heated elements of resistance and civil disobedience. Gandhi, in particular, would grow increasingly disillusioned with British promises over the course of the coming years. Whereas he had first advocated Indian support of the War effort, he cited the passage of the Rowlatt Bills as one of the impetuses for his *satyagraha* campaign, which would mark a new escalation in the Indian independence movement. "In these circumstances [the publishing of the Rowlatt Bill], mine could only be a cry in the wilderness. I earnestly pleaded with the Viceroy…in the course of which I clearly told him that the Government's action left me no other course except to resort to *Satyagraha*."[15] This was a campaign that would launch the independence movement on a new trajectory, fundamentally altering the dynamics of power in the subcontinent.

World War One can also be interpreted as having played an important role in the further crystallization of both "national" and "pan-Islamic" identities in the subcontinent, which would contribute towards the building of a cohesive independence movement. Benedict Anderson's concept of nationalism as an "imagined community" proves useful in this analysis. A community is imagined, "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."[16] There is evidence to suggest that Indian soldiers partook in shared experiences which could have facilitated the rise of an "imagined community." These shared experiences may have been the common sentiments of fighting abroad in a land they did not recognize, for a people they did not know, for a country that was never theirs. One must also factor in the ethnocentrism and discrimination perpetuated by the existing colonial mentality and how this may have acted as further unifying force. These latter sentiments are echoed in the letters sent home by Indian soldiers from the front, "England is a fine country, but we are kept like prisoners who are in a Jail."[17] In these shared expressions and experiences, one can begin to see the formation of Anderson's "deep horizontal comradeship."[18]

The letters Indian soldiers sent home also illustrate the new experiences they had. These experiences would resonate within each solider and filter back to India in unexpected ways. A letter from one soldier reads:

> We have now come to understand what this war is. We do not wish the war to stop yet, we want it to continue. In our village, the fair is held once a year only, here there is a continuous fair. There are many beautiful things to see and fruits to eat. You will have to use much persuasion if you wish to see us return…When we return

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[15] Mahadev Desai, *Gandhi An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, trans. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957) 458.

[16] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* (London: Verso, 1983), 6.

[17] *Supplementary Letters forwarded by the Censor, Indian Mails in France with his No. 71A/8, dated 9th August 1915.* British Library Archives London U.K. (IOR/MIL/5/828/3), 47-48. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer. aspx?ref=ior!l!mil!5!828!3_f009r

[18] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

> we will tell you everything. We see men of all nations here, and we have seen all the countries. Formerly, those people who had been to China used to come and boast of what they had seen and done. Now we have seen all the countries and we shall never again let the China people come sit on our doorstep (and boast). You will understand (our worth) when we return with rows of medals on our breasts.[19]

Encapsulated in this message is a newfound sense of pride and dignity inherent in the realization that India should take its place on the world stage. In the context of colonialism and with reference to this newfound "awakening", W. E. B. Dubois argued that it would be those, "in the Orient, the awakened Japanese and the awakening leaders of New China; in India and Egypt, the young main trained in Europe and European ideals, who now form the stuff Revolution is made of."[20] The letter also included a promise of future change indicating that these new experiences will have reverberations back at home. On the effect of these experiences on the home front, Indian historian Shahid Amin remarks that, "Military service overseas had a novel, social and political impact on the peasantry recruited to the 'Imperialist War' whether from UP or the Punjab… Demobilized soldiers in uniform, flaunting their war ribbons, figured predominantly in many anti-police and ant-landlord battles during the course of a prolonged peasant movement in the Awadb districts."[21] One can conclude that during World War One, the exposure of Indian soldiers abroad to a new way of life, new ideas, and new experiences helped create both a sense of community and influenced thought and action which fed into the independence movement on the home front.

An explicit example of how World War One stimulated the forces of community formation in the subcontinent, can be seen in the *Khilafat* movement. At the time of World War One, the Ottoman Empire had sided with the Central Powers and in so doing aligned itself against the British Empire. The position of the Ottoman Empire would only deteriorate as the war progressed. As one of the last great remaining Muslim civilizations, the institution of the Caliphate[22], held profound meaning for the world's Muslim population. The Ottoman call to *jihad* in 1914 played on these religious sentiments and appealed for the unity of the world's Muslim *ummah* or community. The religious appeal had the benefit of transcending social, racial, economic, cultural, and linguistic divides. "After all the Sultan of Turkey was the Caliph to whom most Indian Muslims felt they owed at any rate a religious allegiance; it was exactly the fact of his being Caliph that was affirmed by most of them and questioned only by a few."[23] On the Indian subcontinent, Indian Muslim interests were represented by the All-India Muslim League, the other main political faction being the Hindu aligned Indian National Congress. Having adopted a method of working with the British to achieve their

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[19] *Supplementary Letters forwarded by the Censor,* 202-203. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref =ior!l!mil!5!828!3_f001r

[20] W.E.B. Dubois, "The African Roots of War" *The Atlantic Monthly* (May 1915): 708.

[21] Amin Shahid, "Some Considerations on Evidence, Language and History." in *Recording the Progress of Indian History: Symposia Papers of the Indian History Congress 1992-2010,* ed. S.Z.H. Jafri (Delhi: Primus Books, 2012), 98.

[22] Since the time of the Shia and Sunni Muslim divide the Caliphate had been endowed as an institution of significant political and religious authority.

[23] A.C. Niemeijer, *The Khilafat Movement in India 1919-1924.* (Brill, 1972) 63. Accessed October 10, 2017. http://jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w76v5c.6

goals, the lack of a sympathetic British response "opened the way to a temporary rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims and to active cooperation between the Congress and the leaders of Muslim Opinion."[24]

There can be little doubt of the impact of World War One on the Indian Independence movement. India's contribution to the War was, in part, predicated on the expectation of British concessions on self-rule. These concessions never quite materialized and when they did it was a case of too little too late. The impact of World War One on the Indian Independence movement can also be traced through the forces of nationalism and community formation. Indian soldiers overseas encountered and experienced new sights and sounds which resulted in the acquisition of new attitudes and ways of thinking which would feed movements back home. The impact of World War One on India's Independence movement is significant for it demonstrates not only the increasingly interconnected nature of foreign and domestic affairs, but highlights how a multitude of interests and actors can shape events of a global nature. Events such as World War One had a deep impact beyond the European theatre, an impact that, in India's example, would be felt decades after its end.

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[24] Krishna Gopal, "The Khilafat Movement in India: The First Phase (September 1919-August 1920)," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* no. 1 (1968): 41. accessed November 17, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25203021

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Overlapping Landscapes & Shifting Boundaries: An Environmental History of the Langley Speedway

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HIST 3180: North American Environmental History
Prof. Jack P. Hayes
March 27, 2018

The Langley Speedway was initially a racetrack that drew crowds from Langley and beyond. Over time, perceptions of the Langley Speedway and surrounding area changed, resulting in shifting boundaries and overlapping landscapes which have impacted many interconnected domains including, but not limited to, politics, environmental activism, and economics. Today the track is a heritage site in the heart of Campbell Valley Regional Park. The following environmental history will provide comprehensive insight into the relationship between nature and humans at the Langley Speedway. Topics to be examined include the choice of the site, the purchase of the land by the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD), the creation of Campbell Valley Park, the reason behind the Speedway's closure, the designation of the Speedway as an official heritage site, and the ongoing conflict between various groups regarding the status of the track.

The Langley Speedway, located at the south end of 208th Street off 16th Avenue, was conceived in 1962 by Surrey pharmacist Craig Frazer who chose the site primarily due to its natural bowl shape[1]. This would have resulted in lower construction costs, as tall bleachers would not need to be constructed, spectators could simply sit on the hillside. Still, some development was needed (including short bleachers) and the entire project ended up costing $30,000[2], not including ongoing maintenance and upkeep costs. The site was also chosen because it had been designated "unproductive land"[2] and Frazer believed that there would be an audience for car racing[1]. In other words, Frazer believed he could turn worthless land (likely referring to its unsuitability for farming) into a profitable enterprise by capitalizing on residential interests. The final reason that the site was chosen was because the location was perceived to be on the edge of civilization[2]. That is, the Langley Speedway was initially constructed on the boundary between civilization and nature.

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[1] Township of Langley, "Can't Catch Me: A Look Back at the Langley Speedway: In the Beginning," http://museum.tol.ca/Portals/5/fileshare/1-%20The%20Opening%20of%20the%20Speedway.pdf [accessed 23 March 2018].
[2] Brian Pratt email to Murray Jones, 26 September 2006. Langley Speedway folder, Township of Langley Centennial Museum archives.

Racing began at the Speedway in 1963, although the track did not officially open until 1965[1]. There have been debates regarding attendance at the 1/4-mile track[3] with some reports stating a maximum attendance of over 11,000[4] while others state that there was room for only 5000[5]. After visiting the site, the author contends that the number is likely closer to 5000, although the presence of significant overgrowth may have resulted in a lower estimate. Frazer sold the property to the GVRD in 1969 but maintained a ten-year lease on the track to continue promoting racing events[6]. The National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) held events at the Speedway in 1971/72 which boosted crowd numbers[7]. Campbell Valley Park was created in 1975 and the lease was sold to Gordon Hemrich in 1976[6]. The opening of the park suggests a change in the way the space was perceived by the GVRD and likely by local residents as well.

The creation of the park may have indicated that developments of the surrounding area were getting too close and some aspect of nature required protection. Conversely, the area may still have been considered on the boundary of civilization and nature but local residents wished to visit nature. The park allowed them to do this despite the fact that many people today do not consider such parks to be nature or wilderness. In an official recommendation by the Panel on Langley Speedway (see more below) it was noted that trails and bridges in the park would allow visitors to view and interact with the ponds and wetlands in the area[5]. In other words, the natural landscape and the human landscape began more clearly to overlap during this time.

In 1979, before the ten-year lease was up, debates began regarding the continued operation of the Speedway. A panel was appointed by the Parks Committee to consider both sides of the debate and suggest a recommendation for the Speedway's future. Supporters of the Speedway noted the popularity of racing and the economic gain of $135,000 a year[6]. This gain was mostly due to money spent modifying and repairing the race cars, as well as providing approximately 85 people with part-time employment[9]. Opponents focused mainly on noise issues, traffic disruptions, and the belief that a racetrack was not consistent with the essence of a nature park[8]. The noise from racing could reach over 100 decibels[6] and although most of the noise was contained within the park itself, noise did reach some residential areas[8]. While automobiles were instrumental in the development of parks, allowing for travel to more distant places, cars in this case, in a more local environment, were considered the antithesis

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[3] The speedway's length is sometimes referred to as 3/8 mile; contemporary measurements confirm its 1/4 mile length.

[4] Murray Jones email to Sue Morhun, 29 September 2006. Langley Speedway folder, Township of Langley Centennial Museum archives.

[5] D.A. Ross to Chairman & Members GVRD Park Committee, "Recommendation on Future of Langley Speedway in Campbell Valley Regional Park," 17 October 1979, 3. Langley Speedway folder, Township of Langley Centennial Museum archives.

[6] Township of Langley, "Can't Catch Me: A Look Back at the Langley Speedway: The End of an Era," http://museum.tol.ca/Portals/5/fileshare/8-%20The%20End%20of%20an%20Era.pdf [accessed 23 March 2018].

[7] Township of Langley, "Can't Catch Me: A Look Back at the Langley Speedway: On the Circuit," http://museum.tol.ca/Portals/5/fileshare/7-%20NASCAR%20in%20Langley.pdf [accessed 24 March 2018].

[8] Ross to Chairman & Members GVRD Park Committee, 5.

of nature. Naturalists also had concerns that the loud noises and other disruptions may have been damaging to the wildlife itself, although there was no scientific evidence at the time corroborating this[9].

After considering all of these various issues, the panel recommended that a three-year lease be extended to the Speedway after which the track would be permanently closed[10]. According to the panel this extension would give the racers time to locate a site for a new racetrack and begin construction, which would cost approximately $150,000[9]. Other recommendations included decreasing the number of races per season and decreasing the noise incrementally each year to a maximum of 85 decibels in 1982 (measured 50 feet from the track), including the noise coming from the loudspeakers[10]. NASCAR again raced on the Speedway in 1978 and the Langley Speedway was renamed Action Raceway in July 1981[7]. At the end of the three-year lease period, little progress had been made in finding a new site for the Speedway, although the Aldergrove Lake Park was considered a viable option. Opponents of the Aldergrove Lake Park site included the then Mayor of Langley, Bill Blair and there were concerns that a track would promote "illicit sex, drug abuse, drunkenness, vandalism, and violence"[6]. In other words, dangerous human activities would be brought to an area that had heretofore been associated with nature. In the end, the vocal opponents overcame the possible economic gains and the track was not built. The lease was extended again in 1983/84 and while there was a discussion regarding the 1985 season, the track was permanently closed in 1984[6].

Debates about the track continued even after the track was officially closed. Naturalists wished for the entire track and infrastructure to be destroyed so that birds and other animals could have undisturbed space to raise their young[11]. Racing enthusiasts wished for the Speedway to remain intact, in the hopes that it would be opened again in the future. The basic question was this: should the Speedway be returned to its "natural" state or should it be kept in its liminal state, existing somewhere between nature and culture? In the end, the outbuildings and stands were removed and the track itself was kept in place, left to decay. Petitions to reopen the track for single or limited time events occurred over the years (e.g. 1988[12]), but the Speedway was left alone until 2006. At this time the City of Langley and the GVRD approved the Speedway as an official Heritage site[13]. This indicates that it was an important site in the history of Langley and should be preserved for future generations, much in the same way that the creation of Campbell Valley Park should preserve nature. The track itself was hence protected from destruction by people as well as by the natural effects of time and as such is maintained by the City as well as members of the Langley Speedway Historical

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[9] "Speedway v. nature – public gets a say," 15 September 1979. Langley Speedway folder, Township of Langley Centennial Museum archives.

[10] Ross to Chairman & Members GVRD Park Committee, 2.

[11] "Langley Speedway runs afowl of naturalists," 3 October 1979. Langley Speedway folder, Township of Langley Centennial Museum archives.

[12] Jude Campbell, "Speedway revival shut down," *Langley Times*, November 5, 1988.

[13] Sue Morhun email to Murray Jones, 2 October 2006. Langley Speedway folder, Township of Langley Centennial Museum archives.

Society. Volunteers also aided in cleaning up the site in 2006 by removing old cars and related debris which were still present in the ditches surrounding the track[14]. Even after the Speedway was named a Heritage Site, petitions to reopen the track continued (most recently in 2013)[15] and various, non-racing, events have taken place on the track, such as a reunion in September 2007[16]. Trees and bushes of various sizes surround the track and the view from the hillside is mostly obscured (see Appendix for pictures of the Speedway when it was open and the track today).

When the Speedway was first created it was located in a liminal area at the edge between 'civilized' space and what was perceived as nature. It operated for several years without much conflict and was considered to be an economic benefit to the Township of Langley. Once Campbell Valley Regional Park was created next to the Speedway, differing opinions emerged. The boundary between culture and nature became much sharper and these two seemingly opposing landscapes converged in a relatively small area. This may simply have been a result of ongoing development. As the land around the Speedway was turned into farms and residential areas, "untouched" nature was seen as deserving to be protected, while human activities were considered disruptive to the natural order. The designation of the Speedway as a Historical Site has preserved this liminal space, ideally for the rest of time. The contradiction inherent in having a racetrack inside a nature park will continue to exist and the social conflicts that arise because of this will likely continue as long as the Speedway remains.

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[14] Matthew Claxton, "Track left trash and treasure," *The Langley Advance*, June 16, 2006.
[15] Dan Ferguson, "Metro board nixes idea of reopening Langley speedway," *The Langley Times*, August 1, 2013.
[16] Alex Joehl, "Keeping track," *The Langley Times*, September 2, 2007.

Appendix

Photos from the Langley Speedway Historical Society Facebook Page (estimated to be from the late 1960s)[17]

[17] Langley Speedway Historical Society, https://www.facebook.com/Langley-Speedway-Historical-Society-173227282738477/photos/ [accessed 25 March 2018].

The Speedway today (taken by Author).

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The Rwandan Genocide: A Graphic History

Keira McDonnell
HIST 1131: From Atom Bombs to the Internet
Prof. Kyle Jackson
November 2017

Students in Dr Jackson's History 1131: Atom Bombs to the Internet class spent the semester analyzing graphic histories from Oxford University Press. Their end-of-semester project was to utilize a series of primary sources in order to create their own graphic "history from below". This is Keira McDonnell's submission on the Rwandan genocide.

Kigali, Rwanda:
Early 1994.

"You are cockroaches, you are snakes...

We can kill you now, and nobody will ask about you."[3]

Kigali, Rwanda: After School.
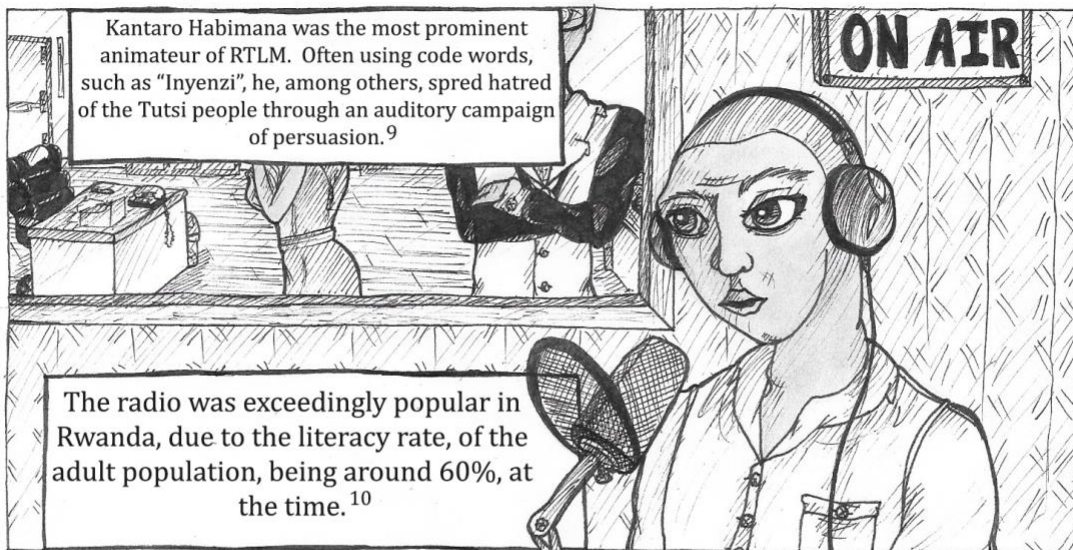
"We will exterminate you!"

"Inyenzi."*

4/5

*Cockroach

Racial tensions accelerated in Rwanda between the Hutus and Tutsis, during the early months of 1994. Eugenie Mukeshimana, a Tutsi high school student, reports members of the FAR (Rwanda Armed Forces), guarding RTLM's (Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines') radio station. [6]

WE WILL EXTERM...

DESTROY

FILTH

DIE

SNAKES

...YENZI

COCKROACHES
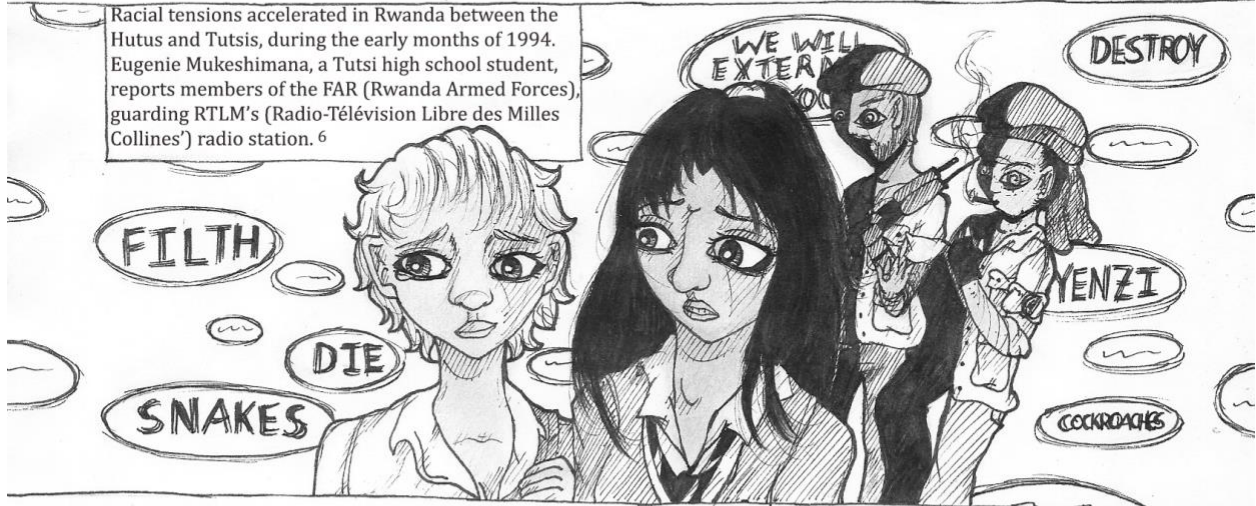
RTLM, established on July 8th, 1993, makes this report on March 23rd, 1994, about the ethnic clashes occuring southwest of Kigali, in Bujumbura, Burundi.

"As the saying goes, 'The leopard cannot change its spots.' The thirst for power and blood, for which the Tutsis of Burundi are known, has just resurfaced." [7]

8

Kantaro Habimana was the most prominent animateur of RTLM. Often using code words, such as "Inyenzi", he, among others, spred hatred of the Tutsi people through an auditory campaign of persuasion. [9]

ON AIR

The radio was exceedingly popular in Rwanda, due to the literacy rate, of the adult population, being around 60%, at the time. [10]
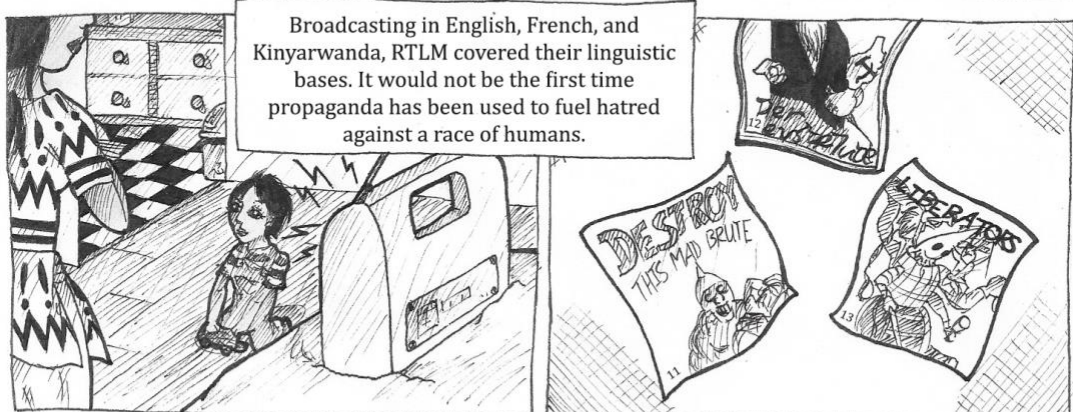
Broadcasting in English, French, and Kinyarwanda, RTLM covered their linguistic bases. It would not be the first time propaganda has been used to fuel hatred against a race of humans.

DESTROY THIS MAD BRUTE

LIBERATORS
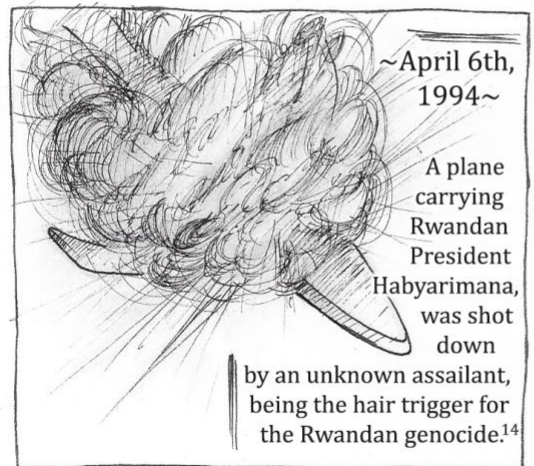
~April 6th, 1994~

A plane carrying Rwandan President Habyarimana, was shot down by an unknown assailant, being the hair trigger for the Rwandan genocide. [14]
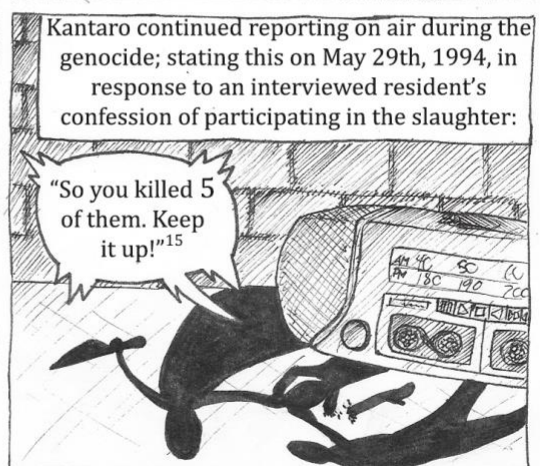
Kantaro continued reporting on air during the genocide; stating this on May 29th, 1994, in response to an interviewed resident's confession of participating in the slaughter:

"So you killed 5 of them. Keep it up!" [15]

clothes

hairstyles

Eugenie Mukeshimana

Ferdinand Nahimana

animateur RTLM
Kantano Habimana
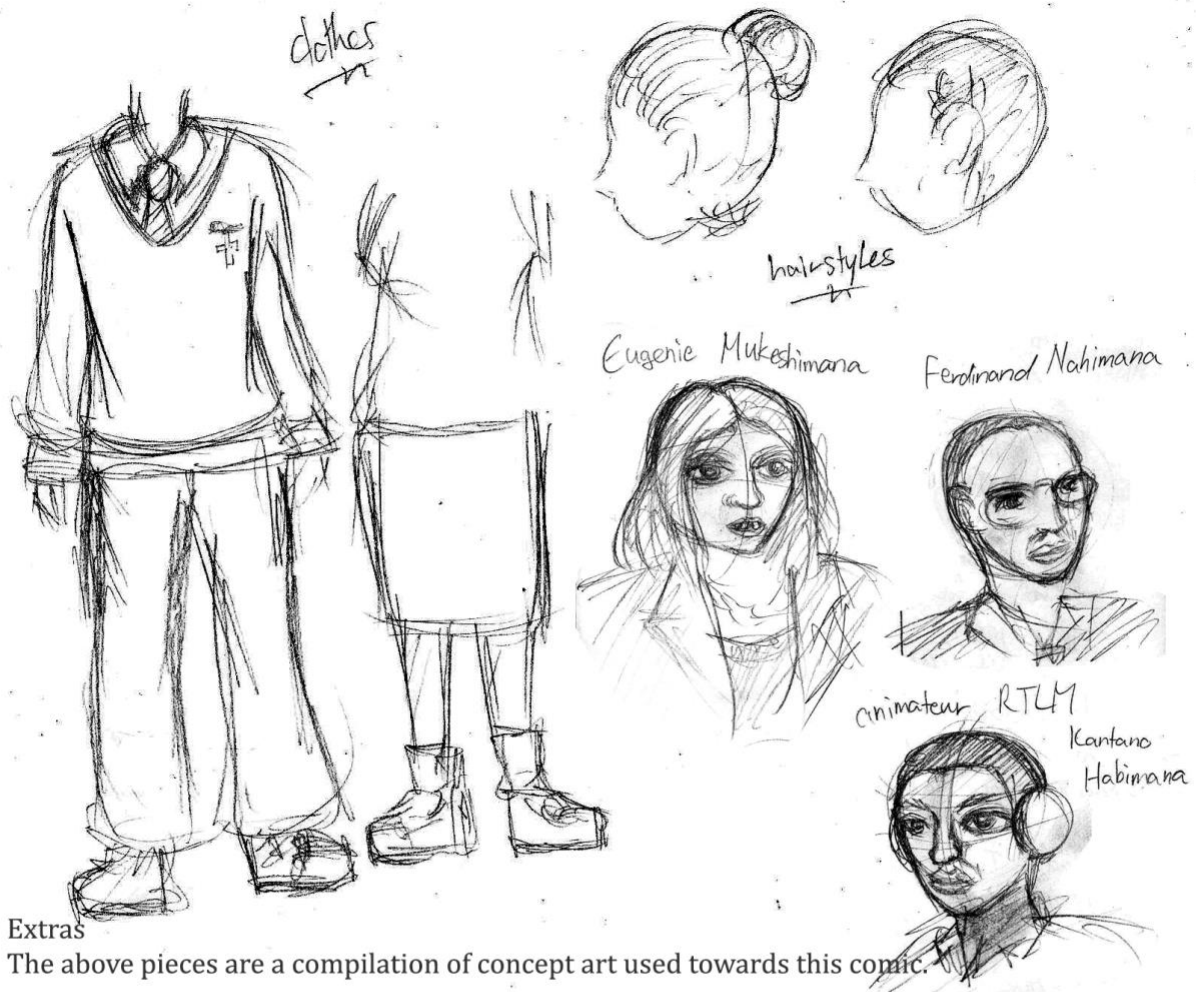
Extras
The above pieces are a compilation of concept art used towards this comic.

This comic has many little details that one might miss on the first reading, that I decided to list here:
The high school uniform are based off of a photograph and have little details added ex: stripes. Eugenie mentions going to a Christian school, but not the name of the instatute, so I made the crest a crucafix.
I was having trouble drawing the soldier holding a rifle on page 2, so I used the album cover of Bo$$' Born Gangstaz.
On page 3, you can see Ferdinand Nahimana behind the glass. I wanted to introduce him earlier on, so I made him an easter egg.
On page 3 as well, I included several references to famous propaganda posters.
In the final panel, on the same page, I originally drew a severed arm, but changed it last minute for two reasons. I didn't want the comic to be too gory, and I absolutely suck at drawing realistic blood (laughs). I instead used the shadow people to imply this horrific sight; the victim still losing an arm in the process.

Endnotes

1. Image of the bus based on a photograph at Mark A. Redman, "Old-fashioned School Bus 1955", Like Figures, accessed June 14th, 2017, https://www.likefigures.com/vehicles/buses/old-fashioned-school-bus-1955/.

2. High school uniforms based on photographs at "Glory Secondary School", Rebero Edu Portal, 2015, accessed June 14th, 2017, http://directory.rebero.net/directory/listing/glory-secondary-school-1?tab=photos&photo_id=228#sabai-inline-content-photos.

3. Quotes are taken directly from testimony provided by Eugenie Mukeshimana, "Testimony by Eugenie Mukeshimana, a survivor of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda", Official United Nations Youtube Channel, March 25th, 2014, accessed June 13th, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQFely6oULg.

4. Uniforms of militia based on photographs at AP, "The Event", Weebly, accessed July 2nd, 2017, http://rwandanhumanrightsviolations.weebly.com/the-event.html, and at 10Mercurio, "Before the Genocide", Wikispaces, April 27th, 2009, accessed July 2nd, 2017, https://globalhistorycullen.wikispaces.com/page/diff/Rwanda/70054193.

5. RTLM radio station background based on a photograph at "The Rhythm of Genocide", Addistunes, September 17th, 2011, accessed July 16th, 2017, http://www.addistunes.com/ranking.php?mode=blog&message_id=244&row_template=news_page.tpl. The original photograph, published on Kigaliwire.com, as seen in the link above, on the right, is no longer available due to the domain expiring, at the time of this publication. I managed to find this duplicate of the original, preserved on addistunes.com, in the meanwhile.

6. Eyewitness account provided by Eugenie Mukeshimana, "Testimony by Eugenie Mukeshimana, a survivor of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda", Official United Nations Youtube Channel, March 25th, 2014, accessed June 13th, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQFely6oULg.

7. Quote directly taken from RTLM transmission, Kantaro Habimana, "Side A", Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines, March 23rd, 1994, accessed July 15th, 2017, http://migs.concordia.ca/links/documents/RTML_23Mar94_eng_K026-8048-K026-8066.pdf. Quote can be seen in Kantaro's opening statement.

8. Radio based on a photograph at Alfvan Beem, "RCA Victor Radio", Wikimedia, August 13th, 2012, accessed June 17th, 2017, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RCA_Victor_radio_pic1.JPG.

9. "Hate Radio", Rwandan Stories, accessed June 23rd, 2017, http://www.rwandanstories.org/genocide/hate_radio.html.

10. "Rwanda - Literacy - Adult (15+) Literacy Rate", Knoema, 2015, accessed July 16th, 2017, https://knoema.com/atlas/Rwanda/topics/Education/Literacy/Adult-literacy-rate. My initial source for the approx. 60% literacy rate was from UNESCO's documented findings, and graphs. The .pdf link that led to these documents has been rerouted to their main website. Knoema has a similar graph that also shows the exact same results.

11. Page based on a poster by Harry Ryle Hopps, "Destroy this Mad Brute- Enlist", San Francisco Army Recruiting District, 1918.

12. Page based on a poster by John Stalüter, "Der ewige Jude", United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, November 8th, 1937.

13. Page based on a poster by Harald Damsleth, "Liberators", Nederlandsche SS, 1944.

14. "The Rwandan Genocide", History, accessed June 16th, 2017, http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-rwandan-genocide.

15. Quote directly taken from RTLM transmission, Kantaro Habimana, "Side A", Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines, May 29th, 1994, accessed July 15th, 2017, http://migs.concordia.ca/links/documents/RTLM_29May94_eng_tape0014.pdf. Quote can be seen on page 1, paragraph 5.

16. "Convicted Italo-Belgian "Hate-Radio Presenter Begins Testimony", Hirondelle News Agency, 2002-2003, accessed July 13th, 2017, http://www.hirondellenews.com/ictr-rwanda/377-trials-ended/media-trial/18871-en-en-convicted-italo-belgian-qhate-radioq-presenter-begins-testimony79227922, and Darryl Li, "Echoes of Violence: Considerations on Radio and Genocide in Rwanda", Carfax Publishing, March 9th- 27th, 2004, accessed July 15th, 2017, http://www.academia.edu/362149/Echoes_of_Violence_Considerations_on_Radio_and_Genocide_In_Rwanda. Information on Kantaro Habimana can be found in Darryl Li's 4th endnote.

17. "Eugenie Mukeshimana Bio", Genocide Survivors Support Network, 2013, accessed July 15th, 2017, http://www.gssnglobal.org/eugenie-mukeshimana-bio.html.

18. "Ferdinand Nahimana", Trial International, July 7th, 2016, accessed July 15th, 2017, https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/ferdinand-nahimana/.

The Conquest of the Siberian Lands & Peoples: Russia's Rapid & Violent Expansion into the East

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HIST 3327: A History of Russia
Prof. Alex Popovich
November 16, 2017

Throughout Russian history expansion of the empire and the acquisition of land has been of great importance to all of the sovereign rulers of the Russian state. For most historians the focus of Russian expansion has always been fixated on the West and the movement of the empire into European land. Expansion into the West was characterized by conquest and violence, wars and victories. The story of Russia's colonization of the lands in Siberia has been marked by a much different narrative. Soviet historians documented the Russian expansion into Siberia as a story of the ingenuity of Russian peasants venturing East into the harsh landscape of Siberia, and making the land beneficial for themselves and the Russian state through agricultural development. This traditional narrative paints Siberia as an "empty land" the was open to agriculture and the peasants who moved into the territory as meeting little or no resistance as they assimilated the lands into the Russian empire.[1] In reality, the Russian expansion into Siberia was complicated, involved a lot of foreign policy to attempt to govern the region, was met with frequent and violent resistance from the native peoples who inhabited each territory, damaged the lives of those natives, and to this day remains unique and unlike the rest of Russian imperial expansion in many ways.

The early motivation for expanding into Siberia was a desire to exploit the natural resources in the area, and was a campaign marked by violence and warfare. Siberia, covered in a large taiga forest is the home to several fur-bearing animals of great value, and for most of the sixteenth and seventeenth century the trade in fur is what made acquisition of the Siberian lands so appealing. In 1558 Grigoriy Stroganov was awarded a charter from Ivan IV to colonize the "empty lands" of Siberia to bring financial gain to the state.[2] Through the charter Stroganov was exempt from tax, and could erect fortified towns in the region and maintain a group of soldiers; in return they would be responsible for protecting Muscovy from any

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[1] James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony 1581-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 109-110.
[2] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 29.

invading Hordes that may come from that region. All of this would be the beginnings of the encroachment on all the native territories.[3]

Stroganov would hire a mercenary Cossack named Yermak Timofeyevich to execute the invasion of the Siberian lands for the state, and it would be a brutal endeavour. In 1582 Timofeyevich would defeat the Siberian Tatars and force them to flee their homeland, which would open the territory up to Russian merchant, peasant, and trader migration.[4] His methods for freeing up land were notoriously brutal, involving the violent killings of several native groups throughout the Western and Central parts of Siberia. Throughout his three years in Siberia, Yermak's mission was an expedition against several varieties of rebellious natives, who would be forced into submission to Moscow.[5] None of this proved to be a peaceful migration of peasants into an empty frontier, but rather a land teeming with several diverse indigenous peoples who felt they were experiencing the threat of foreign invaders.[6]

The policy of the state was that the native peoples were inferior to the Russians, and they felt that it was their right to take the resources of the land even if they had to dispatch them violently or exploit them to do so.[7] Survival in the harsh Siberian landscape was often difficult for Russians and the distance from Moscow made the territory hard to govern and ripe for abuse, which usually meant the mistreatment of the native peoples. It was not unusual for whole groups of natives to be killed to pillage their supplies, and several accounts of the first migrants claim that in the early years natives were hunted like animals.[8] By 1620 most of Western Siberia had been annexed by the Muscovite regime., adding 1.25 million square miles to the empire and establishing a network of towns and officials to administer government policies.[9] These officials, especially those in remote locations often threatened to leave not only due to the extreme conditions, but also the constant threat of native violence.

The Siberia frontier would become characterized by these harsh clashes between the "savage" natives and the Russians.[10] One of the largest native groups, the Nenets or Samoyed peoples, constantly attacked the Russian forts established along the banks of the Ob and Taz rivers in the seventeenth century, and in 1662-3 they instigated a war with the towns of Pustozersk, Obdorsk, and Mangazeya eventually forcing the Russians to move the town of Mangazeya to a new site on the Yenisey river to avoid the native barrage.[11] The annexation of Northwest

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[3] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 29.
[4] Forsyth*, A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 30.
[5] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 33.
[6] Silvia Tomášková, *Wayward Shamans: The Prehistory of an Idea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 95.
[7] Benson Bobrick, *East of the Sun: The Epic Conquest and Tragic History of Siberia* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1992), 112.
[8] Forsyth*, A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 34.
[9] David N. Collins "The Altai: Fortified Resource Frontier on the Marches of Tsarist Russia" in *The Siberian Saga: A History of Russia's Wild East*, ed. Eva-Maria Stolberg (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 32.
[10] Eva-Maria Stolberg, "The Siberian Frontier between 'White Mission' and 'Yellow Peril,' 1890s-1920s," *Nationalities Papers 32,* no. 1, (2004): 165.
[11] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* 45.

Siberia was clearly violent and not a willing assimilation on the part of the Nenet people. Likewise, in the mid-1600s the Teleut people, of South Central Siberia, raided and burned Russian settlements all over that region and were a constant threat to the traders, and merchants trying to establish posts.[12]

The main interest any Russians had in the natives was a system established when expansion began that enforced a tax upon the native peoples called *yasak*; this was a fee of furs that had to be paid to the Russian officials dispatched into the Siberian territories. Early settlement in Siberia involved some cooperation between the Russians and the natives, characterized by trade of supplies and native knowledge of how to survive the land. Eventually however, the officials who showed up to collect the tax were corrupt and cruel, as "God was high up and Moscow far away."[13] Often the officials took part of the *yasak* for themselves and made themselves extremely wealthy. For the most part incentives and violence were used to extract tribute. At times in exchange for furs, Russian forces would aid *yasak*-paying natives in inter-tribal conflicts, and at other times torture and murder of the natives was an effective tool in getting them to comply with the tax.[14] Some groups of natives refused to pay the tax, which often resulted in the kidnapping of their family, who would be held hostage until the *yasak* was paid.[15] This practice caused the tensions between the Russians and the native groups to fluctuate between neighbourly trading and armed conflict.[16]

To compound the violence, the exportation and exile of Russian prisoners to Siberia played a large part in the colonization of the land. A shortage of labourers and the rapid expansion into the untamed and vast Siberian landscape made it an attractive place to exile unruly Russians, runaway serfs, and prisoners of war, making Siberian colonization and punishment intertwined.[17] These exiles would work the land in penal forts, and would roam the land, some even escaping to survive through thievery and begging.[18] The Russian government believed that the state must be purged of its harmful and destructive citizens in order to protect the empire, so they sent them to Siberia and turned it into what Daniel Beer has called, the "receptacle for the empire's own disorder."[19] Between 1663 and 1709 it is estimated that 19,900 men and 8,800 women were exiled to Siberia.[20] This also shows that Siberia was seen as a colony, a land owned and governed by the Russia state, but by no means assimilated into its empire, rather something distinctly separate.

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[12] Collins, "The Altai," 33.
[13] Bobrick, *East of the Sun,* 106.
[14] Daniel Beer, *The House of the Dead: Siberian Exile Under the Tsars* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), 12.
[15] Bobrick, *East of the Sun,* 69.
[16] Collins, "The Altai," 33.
[17] Beer, *The House of the Dead,* 10.
[18] Beer, *The House of the Dead,* 3.
[19] Beer, *The House of the Dead,* 15.
[20] Beer, *The House of the Dead,* 17.

As a colony Siberia was valued more for its raw resources than its internal commerce, and the Russian state's expansion into the land was to exploit the materials that it could offer. Large projects were established in mining minerals in the area, but the primary source of financial gain was to be found in the collection of furs. The quest for good hunting grounds is what lead to such a rapid conquest of the Siberian lands.[21] This resulted in Russian traders and hunters poaching in what were traditionally native hunting grounds, where the natives relied heavily on the animals as a source of clothing, food, transport and supplies for building shelters.[22] Tensions over the perceived encroachment, and even the poaching of native fur traps and the theft of their collected food caused yet more violence to erupt.[23]

Even the landscape itself experienced a transformation caused by the Russian state establishing its presence and erasing older influences of other ethnic groups. The erection of several Russian towns in Siberia involved simply the conversion of old Tatar[24] towns that had been overtaken by Russian forces.[25] Several Russian forts were built on indigenous trade and travel routes to establish their presence and force subjugation and the paying of *yasak*.[26] The influx of Russian officials to the area, also called for an increase in food production to feed them, which in turn resulted in more Russian peasants being encouraged to migrate to Siberia to farm the land. The migration was appealing as well because serfdom never flourished in Siberia, as there was no landed aristocracy in the territory.[27] Forest lands would be cleared to make way for ploughing and agriculture, and this settlement and progress for the Russian empire came at the expense of the land, animals, and the indigenous peoples.[28] Native lands were taken for the state, the natural ecosystem was disrupted, and traditional hunting lands were stolen. Even the penal labourers exiled to Siberia were often used to tap the natural resources through farming, logging, and mining.[29]

The Russian conquest of Siberia also disrupted native lives in a cultural capacity. For generations the peoples indigenous to Siberia lived amongst themselves with a certain level of fluidity, as they were almost all nomadic hunters and herders; different groups settled, merged, and divided often, with only loose geographical associations and linguistic commonalities.[30] The Russian efforts to more strictly define them allowed the state to use those definitions to oppress some more harshly than others based on associations to the Russian empire and the amount of *yasak* each group paid. As nomadic hunters and herders the natives of Siberia, although having little concept of land ownership,[31] lived off it, and

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[21] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* 41.

[22] Bobrick, *East of the Sun,* 119.

[23] Collins, "The Altai" in *The Siberian Saga,* ed. Stolberg, 33.

[24] Turkic peoples living Europe and Asia.

[25] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* 35.

[26] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* 35.

[27] Bobrick, *East of the Sun,* 126.

[28] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* 43.

[29] Beer, *The House of the Dead,* 18.

[30] Alexander D. King, *Living with Koryak Traditions: Playing with Culture in Siberia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 43.

[31] Bobrick, *East of the Sun,* 112.

used all of its available resources to survive, in particular reindeer, as a source of food, clothing, shelter and transportation, as well as fish, vegetation, and the other animals that occupied the taiga and tundra.[32] The Russian invasion of the land altered it and destroyed several of these commodities, changing the way native peoples could live their lives. By the end of the seventeenth century the native peoples were outnumbered by Russian migrants.[33]

These newly emigrated Russians exploited the native community in negative ways, effecting their everyday existence greatly. On an economic level Russian traders and statesmen had used the native peoples as guides and interpreters in the early days of conquest in order to communicate with other native groups, and as heavy labourers before Russian peasants came in great numbers.[34] This disturbed their everyday lives, and their ability to move freely as they were prone to do as a nomadic people. Eventually the native population was seen as a source of labour whether they wanted to be or not, and a native slave trade was established, with native peoples being taken and sold as labourers.[35]

Although conversion to the Orthodox Church was never forced, or even encouraged, as it would exclude them from paying *yasask*,[36] the Church came along with the Russian settlers who occupied Siberia.[37] Churches were erected, and the clergy came with them bringing a strong religious presence to the region that looked down on the beliefs of the natives had "no established form of religion, nor Order of Priesthood amongst them, but take their Rules of Life from such of their Elders who have lived justly, and acted righteously amongst them," and derive their beliefs from a ritualistic mythology sometimes preserved by shamans.[38] Over time the condemnation of these religious beliefs by Orthodox priests in Siberia, and on occasion the destruction of sacred sites, lead many slowly to convert, while others still influenced by the other Asian empires around them converted to Buddhism.[39] In any case, the traditional religions of the native Siberian peoples became lost over time, to the point where many native groups no longer have shamans, and trying to find one is an incredibly difficult endeavour.[40]

The expansion into Siberia by the Russian empire was by no means a peaceful assimilation of an vast empty landscape by noble Russian peasants; but, rather, was a rapid, violent, conquest, marked by warfare, exploitation, and the destruction of the land and native peoples. Contrary to Catherine the Great's musing that Siberia was a land colonized by the

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[32] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* 49.
[33] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* 115.
[34] Bobrick, *East of the Sun,* 119.
[35] Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* 114.
[36] Russian citizens and those of the Orthodox Church were excluded from paying tax in Siberia.
[37] Bobrick, *East of the Sun,* 108.
[38] Tomášková, *Wayward Shamans,* 94.
[39] Beer, *The House of the Dead,* 12.
[40] Rane Willerslev, *Soul Hunters: Hunting, Animism, and Personhood Among the Siberian Yukaghirs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.) 120.

nomads itself for the benefit of benevolent Russia rulers,[41] the land had to be taken violently from the natives who for generations had relied on the land for more than just survival. Several of the most negative aspects of the Siberian conquest, such as the exile of prisoners, were not abolished until 1917, and had already changed the land.[42]

The abused and subjugated the natives of Siberia remain under the control of a non-native majority in the region, forced to modernize and industrialize under later communist leadership, and to supress their indigenous belief systems.[43] Anti-religious campaigns of the 1930s and 1940s would end traditional belief systems almost entirely and label them with a sense of shame.[44] All of this experience cannot be ignored, and points to a Russian conquest of Siberia that was bloody and violent, encountering not empty lands, but a vast array of diverse people who were forever changed, and oppressed by the coming of the Russian empire.

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[41] Tomášková, *Wayward Shamans,* 90.
[42] Beer, *The House of the Dead,* 382.
[43] King, *Living with Koryak Traditions,* 46.
[44] Willerslev, *Soul Hunters,* 122.

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The Strengths & Limitations of Conveying Historical Truths through Video Games

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Once widely considered a niche form of entertainment reserved solely for hobbyists and children, video games have experienced a meteoric rise in popularity since the turn of the twenty-first century. On November 9th, 2004, the video game *Halo 2* became the fastest-selling media item of all time, generating $125 million in profits in a single day.[1] In 2008 the United States (US) video game industry earned more than $21 billion, far surpassing the revenue earned by Hollywood.[2] By 2014 the international video game industry was worth $81 billion, more than twice the value of the international film industry.[3] Video games have rapidly become the dominant way by which young people interact with media, supplanting film, television, and literature in the process. Consequently, video games are also changing how people engage with the themes conveyed by traditional forms of media, including history. Yet, the dramatic rise of video games as a global cultural phenomenon has gone largely unnoticed by academics, including historians. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to explore how video games are changing the way that people conceptualize and interact with history. After first providing an overview of historical video games, this paper will seek to outline the inherent strengths and weaknesses of the medium as a means of presenting history to the public. This paper will conclude by making a case for the pedagogical value of historical video games, followed by a call for further research by historians. Ultimately, it will be argued that video games represent a wholly novel approach to the problem of conveying historical truth, one which prioritizes understanding subjective experiences, rather than reiterating a deterministic chronology.

What is a "historical" video game? This is the first of many semantical barriers facing would-be researchers of video games. After all, most video games contain references to real-world

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[1] Kurt Squire, "From Content to Context: Videogames as Designed Experience," *Educational Researcher* 35, no. 8 (2006): 19.

[2] Claire Bond Potter and Renee C. Romano, *Doing Recent History: On Privacy, Copyright, Video Games, Institutional Review Boards, Activist Scholarship, and History That Talks Back* (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 204.

[3] Newzoo, "Top 100 Countries by Game Revenues," accessed August 10, 2017: https://newzoo.com/insights/rankings/top-100-countries-by-game-revenues/

history or mythologies, yet make no claim to represent historical reality.[4] Some have suggested that video games are historical only when they contain evidence of documentable historical facts, but this definition is impractically broad and imprecise.[5] Conversely, historians have had more success in determining what distinguishes historical video games from other historical media, such as films or literature. Specifically, video games are unique due to the role of choice: unlike films or books, which are consumed passively, video games are interactive media which require the active participation of the observer.[6] Moreover, unlike the strategic board games which inspired so many of them, the processing power of computers allows historical video games to be far more complex, while also allowing for solitary interactions. Historical video games, then, allow players to interact with historical themes through circumscribed agency within the limits of the game's rules.[7] Additionally, some historians divide historical video games into two broad categories: those which deal explicitly with factual characters and events, and so-called "godlike games," which allow the player to control a non-corporeal, quasi-omniscient entity, such as a state or national group.[8] The lack of consensus among historians as to what constitutes a historical video game or how to categorize them means that many researchers have resorted to the habit of recycling the same few reliable case studies, which has undoubtedly hindered their study.

Despite the enormous number of historical video games in circulation, historians have focused on only a handful of them. Chief among these is Sid Meier's *Civilization* series, which has formed the basis of most scholarly inquiries into the relationship between history and video games. This is mostly because *Civilization* is the best-selling "Godlike" series, with the fifth installment alone selling 5.7 million units, making it the best-selling historical video game worldwide.[9] In *Civilization*, players play as the immortal representative of a historical civilization in competition with other civilizations controlled by either other players or the game's artificial intelligence (AI). The object of the game is to develop one's civilization and survive over a 6000-year period, achieving victory either through by points or conquering one's rivals. The game is premised on anachronism, with interactions among civilizations from vastly different time periods and geographical regions – such as the US, the Zulu, the Huns, and the Inca – a common occurrence. However, the civilizations, leaders, technologies, ideas, and other variables comprising the gameplay are non-fictional. Conversely, a popular series at the other end of the "Godlike" spectrum is *Assassin's Creed*, in which the player adopts the mantle of a fictional assassin operating in historical settings. Although the protagonists and events in *Assassin's Creed* are generally fictional, the series has often been praised for its "lavish use of authentic period architecture, clothing, and characters."[10]

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[4] Jeremiah McCall, "Teaching History with Digital Historical Games: An Introduction to the Field and Best Practices," *Simulation and* Gaming 47, no. 4 (2016): 518.

[5] Claudio Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," *History and Theory* 48, no. 2 (2009): 106.

[6] McCall, "Teaching History," 524.

[7] Maurice Suckling, "Board with Meaning: Reflections on Game Design and Historiography," *The CEA Critic* 79, no. 1 (2017): 111.

[8] McCall, "Teaching History," 522.

[9] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 115.

[10] McCall, "Teaching History," 519.

Notably, the game's developers have claimed that entire sections of historical cities in their games are perfect recreations of the originals, based on exhaustive scholarly research. Other games commonly cited by researchers include strategy games such as *Age of Empires*, *Europa Universalis,* and *Total War*, as well as so-called "first person shooters" (FPS) such as *Call of Duty*. Aside from these titles, there is generally little variation in the literature.

What little academic interest there is in historical video games is in part due to the growing acceptance among historians that video games are valid historical sources. As primary sources, video games can be "synthesized reflections of the past situated in the present mindset of their creation"[11] and can reveal how historical subjects interpreted their own lives. For example, anxieties about the Cold War can be seen in the best-selling game of 1984, *Balance of Power*, in which players sought to achieve global hegemony while avoiding nuclear war. As secondary sources, historical video games represent arguments, possibly inadvertently, about how history *felt*. Simply put, by playing games which highlight the stressful brinkmanship of the Cold War era, players are persuaded to imagine the Cold War as a stressful event. In this way, historical games such as *Civilization* educate their players about historical truths by making claims about how historical events felt to those who lived through them. That narratives may be inaccurate, anachronistic, or contentious does not matter; what matters is that players recall how games made them feel, and consequently associate that feeling with the historical period.[12] As interactive media, video games are uniquely capable of conveying this sort of methodology, and so should be taken seriously by historians. However, historians are only now beginning to become aware of video games' capacity to educate the public in this way.

As sources of historical knowledge, video games also challenge fundamental assumptions about the nature of objectivity in historical study. Since the late seventeenth century, the study of history has been tied to notions of temporalism, truth, and the construction of meaning.[13] However, historical video games undermine all three of these ideals. Event-driven games such as *Europa Universalis* often contain random historical events which may trigger at any point during gameplay, thereby allowing historical events to occur non-chronologically, or not at all.[14] By allowing modern civilizations, such as the US, to exist in the year 4000 BCE, *Civilization* also makes clear its intention to disregard accurate temporal representation in favour of non-linear storytelling. Meanwhile, historical games frequently abandon the use of narrative altogether, allowing the player to craft their own meaning between discrete variables experienced during gameplay. Again, *Civilization* is often credited with "dislodging history from its prolonged association with determinism" by abandoning history's traditional reliance on events and sites as the central components of history.[15] Alternatively, *Assassin's Creed* is ahistorical in that its characters and events are fictional;

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[11] Suckling, "Board with Meaning," 110.
[12] Suckling, "Board with Meaning," 111.
[13] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 109.
[14] Suckling, "Board with Meaning," 112.
[15] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 119.

yet it accurately depicts cultural motifs such as clothing and architecture. As a historical source, *Assassin's Creed* thus corresponds closely with the ideas of postmodernism and poststructuralism, which emphasize the importance of subjective experiences rather than events or actions.[16] Critics of video games as historical sources might claim that such games necessarily reject any claim to be authentic history, but supporters of a more subjective view of history would contend that video games are helping to redefine what it means for something to be a historical source.

Perhaps the best example of how historical video games are contributing to the reconceptualization of history as subjective experience is in their ability to draw attention away from specific events and actions, and instead focus on the social, political, and environmental contexts in which events and actions occurred. The interactive and electronic medium of video games allows game designers to create links between otherwise discrete data points, thereby allowing players to see how ideas, events, and people interacted.[17] An example of this can be seen in the strategy game *Crusader Kings 2*, in which the player interacts with a political map of the world as it existed in 1066, based on scholarly research. The player guides the actions of one count, duke, king, or emperor, while the game's AI makes decisions for all other characters, numbering in the thousands. Thus, while the player may be re-enacting William the Conqueror's conquest of England, he must also be aware of political developments in AI-controlled France, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, and other regional neighbours. Farther afield, AI-controlled countries continue to develop and fight one another across the game's map, which consists of most of Eurasia. In this way, the player is keenly aware of the political context of his character's actions, extending far beyond the borders of England. Even if the gameplay results in ahistorical developments, which is likely, lessons about the importance of dynastic marriages, alliances, trade, defence, and so forth are imparted. Traditional histories tend to focus on the particulars of events and people, forgetting that decisions were always made within worlds of context.[18] By providing context, either through expansive worlds, limitations on resources, the presence of obstacles, or the existence of antagonists, video games allow players to "perceive past events and issues as they were experienced by the people of the time, to develop historical empathy as opposed to present-mindedness."[19] This is arguably the best use of the video game medium, as it fully utilizes the interactivity of video games in order to allow players to experience the choices and agency of historical actors themselves.

Of course, academic historians are vehemently opposed to the idea of speculation being a form of legitimate history, and for good reason. After all, historical research is based on factual evidence describing real events, and as there can be no evidence of events which did not occur, speculation is necessarily ahistorical. This is not to say that speculation is wholly

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[16] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 116.
[17] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 107.
[18] McCall, "Teaching History," 524.
[19] McCall, "Teaching History," 524.

useless, however. Students of history may benefit from the replayability of video games, which allow them to "explore historical contingency."[20] Strategy games like *Civilization* usually have randomized setups, meaning that each playthrough is experienced differently. Consequently, players can experiment with the motifs of history by playing out numerous "what if" scenarios, achieving a different result each time. In turn, this allows students to become more aware of the variables which led to the true events which transpired. For example, by playing a simulation of the Battle of Gettysburg in which Robert E. Lee was victorious, players are able to understand the context within which Lee made the decisions which led to his defeat in "real" history.[21] Indeed, some scholars argue that video games aid counterfactual reasoning, an essential tool for determining why events in the past happened the way that they did. For instance, it would be difficult to understand the causes of the American Civil War without considering how it would have been different if slavery had been abolished earlier.[22] Thus, even the ahistorical speculation found in video games can benefit curious minds by allowing them to explore alternative histories, thereby aiding in their understanding of why past events occurred as they actually did.

Although historical video games are valuable for their ability to provide context for historical events, the medium is not without its limitations. To begin with, the way that video games present historical information is often problematic. Most historical strategy games employ a linear technology tree, whereby players gradually unlock new abilities which are often associated with historical ideas or inventions. Not only does this link historical video games with ideologies of technological determinism and the civilizing aspect of scientific progress, it also essentializes technological innovations to fit gameplay purposes.[23] For example, in *Total War: Empire*, the "Spinning Jenny" technology, representing one of the most important inventions of the eighteenth century, grants only +8% to wealth generated by textile industries. This is because the game has no way to represent the impact of the technology in different countries, and so must devalue it for the sake of game balancing.[24] Meanwhile, culture, religion, and nationalism in *Civilization III* all exist to help the player become more politically, economically, and militarily powerful, without being explored further.[25] *Civilization*'s depiction of "barbarians" as permanently-hostile and technologically-inferior units incapable of achieving civilization is also problematic.[26] Similarly problematic is the amount of information generally available to players which would not have been available to contemporary historical figures, such as exact estimates of wealth, army size, army fatigue, and so forth, not to mention the knowledge players possess by simply being aware of the

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[20] McCall, "Teaching History," 525.
[21] McCall, "Teaching History," 526.
[22] McCall, "Teaching History," 527.
[23] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 117.
[24] Tobias Winnerling and Florian Kerschbaumer, *Early Modernity and Video Games* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 76.
[25] Vit Sisler, "Palestine in Pixels: The Holy Land, Arab-Israeli Conflict, and Reality Construction in Video Games," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 2 (2009): 281.
[26] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 117.

historical circumstances of the scenario which they are re-enacting.[27] Video games, like any medium, are limited by their design. This does not mean that they are without value, only that players should be aware of the unique limitations of the medium.

Another way that video games can be problematic is how they represent the histories of minority groups, as seen in the example of Palestine. Although digitization has largely enabled the democratization of history by allowing amateur historians to browse archives from anywhere in the world, video game production remains mostly restricted to a small number of countries.[28] In particular, Arab countries possess virtually no game industry, and so are dependent on Western game designers to depict their history.[29] Unfortunately, Western representations of Arab history often utilize clichés and harmful stereotypes, portraying them as either exotic foreigners or bloodthirsty Islamic fundamentalists.[30] In FPS games, Arab characters are almost exclusively terrorists, militants, or insurgents, all of whom are male. These games generally do not contain Arab civilians or explore the causes of the conflicts which constitute their settings, which may cause some players to incorrectly believe that the conflicts depicted were civilizational battles between good and evil.[31] Games which reference Palestine itself are rare and are mostly set during the Crusades. Of these games, only a couple, including *Civilization III*, *Age of Empires 2*, and *Assassin's Creed* allow players to play as Arab characters; of these, only *Assassin's Creed* depicts Muslims and Christians as moral equals.[32] Evidently, the reliability of video games as neutral historical sources depends to some degree on contemporary political attitudes, and so the identities and ideological motivations of the creators of historical video games must be taken into consideration when gauging accuracy. Video games are not perfect at representing the histories of minorities in Western countries, but as this is a problem which affects all media, it is not necessarily the fault of the medium itself.

Perhaps the most visible way in which historical video games are changing how people interact with history is through their use as teaching aids. Although some worry that games will only teach children "simple heuristics" such as "the strategic necessity of always keeping two spearmen in every city," teachers around the world have already begun to incorporate video games into their classrooms.[33] Of these, the most popular is *Civilization* due to its relative accessibility.[34] In a study of the pedagogical effectiveness of using *Civilization* to teach students, Kurt Squire found that "the game was effective insofar as it could be used to promote inquiry into the historical past."[35] His findings were reiterated by Egenfeldt-Nielsen, whose study of how 72 Danish students interacted with *Europa Universalis II* found that "a

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[27] McCall, "Teaching History," 529.
[28] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 107.
[29] Sisler, "Palestine in Pixels," 280.
[30] Sisler, "Palestine in Pixels," 277.
[31] Sisler, "Palestine in Pixels," 282.
[32] Sisler, "Palestine in Pixels," 279.
[33] Squire, "From Content to Context," 21.
[34] McCall, "Teaching History," 518.
[35] McCall, "Teaching History," 530.

game's portrayal of the past, more precisely its accurate portrayal, is not nearly as important as the ways the teacher uses the game to foster inquiry and inculcate the practices of the discipline of history."[36] In other words, historical video games prompted curiosity, which then led to scholarly inquiry, regardless of whether the video games portrayed history accurately. A similar case involving a class of poor African-American elementary school students who were made to play *Civilization III* found that the students became curious about colonization, and wondered why Africa and Asia did not colonize Europe or the Americas.[37] In all of these cases video games supplemented the use of texts and did not replace traditional forms of education. As a means of generating interest in learning history, video games may be particularly effective.

Yet, despite the potential benefits of using historical video games for didactic purposes, academic historians remain predominantly uninterested in this new cultural phenomenon. Although historians have enthusiastically embraced the digitization of archival records, many aspects of the digital age have yet to make serious inroads into academia. The potential for non-linear history-telling offered by the video game medium has not elicited any response from historians, and their impact on how the public interacts with history remains largely unexamined.[38] On the one hand, this could be a structural problem associated with academia; after all, e-publications do not carry as much merit as text-based ones, and so historians are discouraged from degrading themselves by publishing electronic media.[39] Alternatively, historians' disinterest in video games may be a generational issue. Several older historians have voiced complaints that video games are difficult to examine due to the language barriers inherent in the medium. Whereas one can passively watch fifty movies without difficulty, playing fifty games requires learning fifty different sets of rules.[40] While younger historians who grew up with video game literacy might not struggle with this, older historians are generally forced to rely on ethnographies, with their research being based on the experiences of others.[41] Furthermore, accessing video games can be challenging and expensive. Only a small handful of universities, museums, and archives maintain collections of video games, but the number is growing.[42] Meanwhile, online archives are gradually improving, making the study of historical video games more feasible for non-gaming historians. Still, much remains to be done. For instance, one issue which has yet to be researched is the impact that historical video games have had on non-historians and non-students of history who comprise the majority of people who play games like *Civilization* or *Assassin's Creed*. If historians are genuinely interested in how the public forms historical memories, then historians must begin to examine how video games, now the most popular source of historical knowledge among young people, impact how people beyond the realm of academia interact with history.

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[36] McCall, "Teaching History," 530-531.
[37] Squire, "From Content to Context," 21.
[38] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 107.
[39] Fogu, "Digitalizing Historical Consciousness," 107.
[40] Potter and Romano, *Doing Recent History*, 210.
[41] Potter and Romano, *Doing Recent History*, 210.
[42] Potter and Romano, *Doing Recent History*, 211.

At the Game Developer's Conference in 2004, one elementary school student was moved to exclaim, "Why read about ancient Rome when I can build it?"[43] While video games have not, and likely will not, replaced text-based history as the dominant source of historical education for students, this quote succinctly describes the advantages offered by historical video games. By allowing students to *feel* history, video games craft compelling narratives about historical truths. By deviating from the discipline's traditional reliance on temporalism, objectivity, and meaning, historical video games highlight the importance of subjective experiences in history. By allowing players to explore the wider context of historical events, video games enable a deeper understanding of the motivations of historical actors. Nonetheless, the medium is not perfect. The limitations of video game design create clear biases and abstractions of information which can reduce games' ability to convey historical truths accurately, while minority groups may suffer from racial or cultural mistreatment. These problems are not unique to the video game medium, however. As an educational aid, video games can be particularly effective at sparking interest in history, regardless of the accuracy of the information presented. While academic historians have generally ignored the rise of video games, it is crucial that historians consider the importance of this relatively new medium and its ability to determine the public historical imagination. Historical video games represent a wholly new approach to conveying historical truths, one which must be researched further.

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[43] Squire, "From Content to Context," 19.

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Menstrual Man: A Gandhian Movement through Sanitary Pads

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November 24, 2017

Menstrual Man is a contemporary Indian documentary that focuses on Arunachalam Muruganantham, a high school dropout from India, who has been changing the stigma against using sanitary pads for rural women in India. He did this via two major methods, the first was by creating a cost effective method for manufacturing sanitary pads for women living in villages, and the second was by facilitating the design of more simple machinery that was easy to operate, for a fraction of the cost of the industry standard equipment, starting at $950 U.S. dollars.[1] This feat was accomplished so that women's self-help groups in remote villages could buy the means of production, and as a result they would have access to disposable sanitary pads, as well a dependable source of income from selling the surplus stock.

Despite the gross misinterpretations of his motives, throughout the film Muruganantham seemed to be a constant source of high spirits. The inspiration for this undertaking was his wife, who used soiled rags like many lower class Indian women do, since buying industry-made sanitary pads was not possible due to family budgeting. However, there also seemed to be another fundamental source of motivation that pushed the "Menstrual Man" in question, forward in his endeavours. Though he never mentioned it directly, Muruganantham seemed readily to accept Gandhian doctrines and incorporate many of those vital principles into his work, the most pertinent being *swadeshi*, *aparigraha*, self-sacrifice, *sarvodaya*, and localized production.

Many challenges arose during the design and testing stages, and Muruganantham experienced relationship strains within his own family, but continued his self-sacrifice for the greater good of Indian women. As well, he focused on using Indian materials in his sanitary pads, as well as creating an Indian means of production by giving the manufacturing jobs to women in remote villages. He also concentrated on gaining just enough from the start-up sales of his machines to be able to maintain the training and manufacturing process, rather than gaining an immense profit from his invention, and increasing his own wealth.

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[1] *Menstrual Man*, directed by Amit Virmani, (India/Singapore: Coup Productions, 2013).

Further, he followed the doctrine of *sarvodaya*, where he focused on educating women to produce the pads so that they may be able to have a steady source of income, as well as allowing young women to continue attending school without interruption due to menstruation. Finally, his creation of a simple, local, production process was something that Gandhi would have applauded for its ability to sustain the village economy. This paper will argue that by incorporating these five principles throughout the invention process, Muruganantham's efforts represented a Gandhian movement. While he never cited Gandhi as an influence, this paper will also analyze whether a movement such as this sanitary pad revolution can be "Gandhian" without his direct influence and nearly 70 years after his death.

To Gandhi, self-sacrifice was a part of acting on *sarvodaya*, which was the moral duty of all individuals. It was considered the key element of the so-called "tenets of Gandhi", and whether or not one believed in these attitudes, for Gandhi and his followers, *satyagraha* and self-sacrifice were inseparable.[2] He staunchly believed in "self-sacrifice for the pursuit of common good", no matter the physical or social cost experienced by the *satyagrahi,* as in the impediments experienced by Muruganantham with his relationships within his community.[3] He was defamed and disregarded when he tested the sanitary pads himself, using an artificial uterus crafted out of a rubber ball and tubing, which he filled with treated goat's blood to simulate the flow of menstruation. This resulted in accumulating various stains on his pants and stenches on his body, so his fellow community members quickly assumed that he had a venereal disease that he could not keep hidden. As a result, his friends, and even those who would once greet him in the street, would quite literally turn around and walk in the opposite direction; this Muruganantham recounted in the documentary with a laugh, despite the social stigma experienced while testing the sanitary pads. Later, when he was using women from the local medical college to test his prototypes, he had to study the efficacy of the sanitary pads and laid them out in his yard for observation, which caused his neighbours to speculate that he was either a pervert or attempting black magic. Because of this, he had to sacrifice his relationship with his wife, as she left him, due to his shameful status within their town. She returned to live with her mother and even sent divorce papers, which further impacted Muruganantham's declining image. His mother and sisters also distanced themselves from him when the news spread that he was a diseased pervert using his "invention" as a cover for his actions. Muruganantham had to sacrifice not only his image, but also temporarily, the relationship with his wife and female family members, to aid the welfare of the greater good. This showcased his innate connection to Gandhi's *satyagraha.*

Gandhi had firmly believed that the adoption of *swadeshi* in India was one of the keys to gaining independence from the British Raj. This was based on the belief that if the British no longer held an influence on the local markets within the colony, they would have little incentive to remain there, making it a critical component of Gandhian teachings within his ashram. In his ideal image of India, there would be a focus on "production by masses and not

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[2] Sumit Pathak, "Gandhi and Civil Society", *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 69, no. 2 (2008): 269.
[3] Pathak, "Gandhi and Civil Society," 276.

mass production", where there would be a transfer of work and power from the city centres to the rural level.[4] He concluded that mass production was weakening Indian society as Western influences became dominant; in contrast, importance should be placed on the village economy, where he figured that life was inherently better. In *Hind Swaraj,* Gandhi emphasized the importance of the village life, which was "organised, civilised" and where one could "commune with nature, live a simple life, and shun the corrupting influence of machine", which was a Western influence.[5] Correspondingly, in *Menstrual Man*, Muruganantham stressed the importance of aiding the local, remote economy, simply because they could not depend on quick access to large city centres; he quipped that they "hold the villages hostage to fulfill their own selfish needs"[6] based on economic desires. Incorporating *swadeshi* into the goals for these rural areas meant that the local women could be employed in positions of responsibility and begin producing sanitary pads for themselves, as well as become part of the growing self-sustaining market. As *swadeshi* also entailed the use of local goods in production, Muruganantham used materials sourced from India, such as a specific cellulose derived from pine tree bark that could be de-fibred and spun into a cotton that made the pads absorbent and able to retain the excess moisture. As a final note, the workspaces were also built with Indian labour and materials as Muruganantham designed them with self-sufficiency in mind. By using emphasising *swadeshi* in his conception of his invention, he was able to stimulate the local economy so that women did not need to rely on city centres, just as Gandhi would encourage in his campaigns.

The concept of *aparigraha* is derived from Sanskrit, literally meaning "non-possessing", which translates to the desire of owning only as one needs. For this paper, *aparigraha* will be used in the sense of not possessing any surplus money. Growing up in an economy that was adapting to Western capitalism, Gandhi was wary of the life of excess to which wealth would eventually lead; he stated that Indians "are enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy"[7], leading to a downturn of Indian culture and ethics based on money. He staunchly believed in a philosophy where "the rich or the propertied class need not be liquidated, but they must shake off their proprietary instinct and look upon their possessions as being held in trust for the whole society and themselves being mere trustees."[8] This meant that the rich were to be merely temporary stake holders for those who did not have money, and that the wealth would be distributed to the poor, or used in a way to aid the poorer areas. In the same vein, Muruganantham flat-out refused to sell his machines to overseas companies based solely on the fact that he was not motivated by monetary gain, and did not want anyone else to profit from an invention that existed to benefit the poor. In his Ted Talk in Bangalore, Muruganantham stated that "if anyone runs after [money], their life

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[4] Arvind Ashta, "An Introduction to Slow Money and its Gandhian Roots," *Journal of Human Values* 20, no. 2 (2014): 210.

[5] R. Srinivasan, "Western Influences on Gandhi," Economic and Political Weekly 4, no. 20 (1969): 849.

[6] Ishwar C. Harris, "*Sarvodaya* in Crisis: The Gandhian Movement in India Today," *Asian Survey* 27, no. 9 (1987): 1039.

[7] Mohandas Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1946), Chapter 6.

[8] A.K. Ghosal, "*Sarvodaya*: Gandhian Philosophy and Way of Life," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 20, no. 1 (1959): 24.

will have no happiness"[9], and by saying so, he made it explicit that he did not want his machines to be used to exploit others. To further illustrate this point, as of May 2012, he had installed over 630 machines in twenty-three Indian states, as well as six other countries, at minimal cost to them. He also put the instructions for the machines in the public domain, free for anyone to use. He could have easily kept this as a monopoly, but he shared this information so that others could benefit from the use of his machines. As well, in the documentary, it is clear he is not a man of wealth and lived only to meet the needs of his family. The only way he was able to keep the prices of the machines low enough for purchase by the women's self-help groups was to keep his own living expenses low and not seeking profit. As an aside, once again during his Ted Talk, he asked "why the need of accumulating money, then doing philanthropy? What if someone decided to start philanthropy from day one?" This comment showcased his true intent of his relinquishment of wealth.[10] By making the core value of his inventions about supporting the poor, rather than profit, Muruganantham was applying a Gandhian interpretation of *aparigraha*.

Sarvodaya is a compound of the Sanskrit *sarva* (all) and *udaya* (uplift), thus "the uplift of all", meaning that the economic disparity within caste roles should be abolished through equal economic opportunities.[11] Gandhi's *sarvodaya* was defined by a "society as a body of individuals knit together by a bond of love and fraternity, striving after ideal moral life and fullest uplift of all, where there is no scope for exploitation, economic, political or social of one section of society by another."[12] Simply put, he strove for an India where caste would not affect one's welfare in life, and all would have to work in unison in order to abolish the socioeconomic disparity. In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi expressed his concern that the quality of life of mill-workers was declining under the influence of Western mass production; "the workers in the mills of Bombay have become slaves. The condition of the women working in the mills is shocking. When there were no mills, these women were not starving."[13] Gandhi was witnessing the slow decline of the millworkers, and he adopted *sarvodaya* in order to lessen the gap between the rich and poor. In a similar vein, Muruganantham applied concepts of *sarvodaya* that uplifted the welfare of the women in villages through three separate avenues. The first, discussed previously, was that the local women obtained jobs that were not only sustainable for themselves and the village economy, but it was also a respectable way to earn wages working with other women. The second way was that women who had access to these locally sourced sanitary pads were less likely to contract diseases due to unhygienic menstrual practises. Before the pads women would reuse rags or other foreign materials that could not be properly sanitised, leading to infection and the spread of diseases. This opportunity to access affordable sanitary pads increased their quality of life. The final

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[9] Arunachalam Muruganantham, *How I Started a Sanitary Napkin Revolution* (May 2012; Bangalore), Ted Talk. https://www.ted.com/talks/arunachalam_muruganantham_how_i_started_a_sanitary_napkin _revolution#t-354481 [accessed November 2017]

[10] Muruganantham, *How I Started*, Ted Talk.

[11] Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 156.

[12] A.K. Ghosal, "Sarvodaya," 23.

[13] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, Chapter 6.

and possibly most important effect was that girls could attend school uninterrupted throughout the year, instead of having to drop out one week out of every month due to the embarrassment of stains or smells. Since this could amount to a quarter of the school year, many girls simply dropped out. Education was, and still is, a factor contributing to ending the cycle of poverty and oppression. In these cases, Muruganantham calculated that the uplift of all required the uplift of the most oppressed – lower caste women – first, just as Gandhi advocated the elimination of caste economic disparity.

Perhaps the most similar of all the Gandhian views that Muruganantham demonstrated in his sanitary pad venture, was the shared view of deindustrialization. Gandhi made many critiques of the West and openly voiced them in *Hind Swaraj*. He despised the "ugly industrial system, which bred dark, satanic mills, and which effectively destroyed whatever beauty and joy there could be."[14] While worded strongly, it simply meant that mills were a symbol of modernity, capitalism, and therefore the West, which Gandhi believed influenced the decline of Indian society. However, it was not just the mills that he despised, but the machinery within them as well, and he stated that it was the "chief symbol of modern civilization. It represents a great sin" within the traditional values that he held regarding work and the local economy.[15] To the contrary, when asked if he was against all machinery, he answered curtly with a "no", but expanded that:

> I am against its indiscriminate multiplication. I refuse to be dazzled by the seeming triumph of machinery. I am uncompromisingly against all destructive machinery. But simple tools and instruments and such machinery as saves individual labour and lightens the burden of the millions of cottages, I should welcome.[16]

Gandhi's main issue concerning modern machinery was that it devalued both human work and life, as he was already witnessing the decline of living standards within the mills, as mentioned previously. Muruganantham held the same position, which is to say that he wanted the rural women to be able to do most of the production, rather than the industrial machines, that were not a financially viable option in the first place, but also encouraged the use of the available human potential. He was able to take the heavy-duty industrial machine and break it down into three separate, easy to operate machines that took away the excessive labour of creating the sanitary pads by hand, but still allowed the women to do most of the work. As a side note, these machines were the de-fibration machine, the core forming machine, and the napkin finishing machine. All were simple enough that malfunctions could be fixed with basic troubleshooting training and no prior mechanical knowledge, so the rural women had to undergo only a small learning curve. Theoretically, one woman could operate all of them, but ideally a team would work together to create the sanitary pads. All that was needed to set up the workplace was access to electricity, and being able-bodied enough to

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[14] Srinivasan, "Western Influences on Gandhi," 849.

[15] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, Chapter 19.

[16] M.K., Gandhi, *The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Volume 6,* ed. Shriman Narayan (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1968), 380.

hand crank the machines, though one woman in the documentary was crippled, but could still work in the production line. Through these three machines, Muruganantham could allow the rural women's self-help groups to compete with the multinational corporate products. Gandhi had stated that machines "must not be allowed to displace the necessary human labour. An improved plough is a good thing", and in the same vein, Muruganantham's machines were able to create a means of production for the women, but still allowed them to work and produce the goods themselves, rather than automating the process.[17]

By incorporating unwavering self-sacrifice, *swadeshi*, *aparigraha*, and *sarvodaya*, as well as utilising simple machinery in the manufacturing of low-cost, village-economy based sanitary pads, Muruganantham created a Gandhian movement. These five concepts were the core of his own work ethic and inspiration, as they had been in Gandhi's beliefs and campaigns. Muruganantham sacrificed relationships within his community and family, even if only for a brief amount of time, for the greater good. Since this is an integral part of *satyagraha*, this acceptance was important for incorporating these innate Gandhian values to his mission. As well, by integrating *swadeshi*, rural women could produce their own goods that helped sustain their village economy, just as Gandhi advocated for India to become self-sufficient. Muruganantham did not make a profit, even when the moments presented themselves to him, and instead opted for keeping the prices of his machines low so that the women's self-help groups could purchase them with minimal investment. Furthermore, he applied *sarvodaya* in three fundamental ways that aided the employment prospects, health awareness, and educational attendance of the rural women and girls. Finally, he used basic machinery in a way that promoted human participation in the workforce, not the mass production that mills encouraged. Gandhi held these doctrines in high regard, and Muruganantham executed them all with true intention. In the beginning of this paper, it was asked whether a movement can be considered "Gandhian" even if there was not a direct connection to Gandhi himself, and considering the parameters that Muruganantham adapted of these core values and operated within a similar ethos, it would be fair to conclude that yes, this was a campaign of Gandhian proportions.

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[17] Gandhi, *Selected Works*, 379.

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The Argument against the Bombing of Civilians

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November 21, 2017

Beginning in September 1939, World War II was a brutal war that engulfed the major powers of the world into a full-scale total war. In comparison to World War I, which had ended twenty-one years previously, World War II was catastrophic. According to the National World War II Museum in New Orleans, roughly 60 million people lost their lives during the conflict, a number that includes both soldiers and civilians.[1] The large number of casualties makes the Second World War the deadliest conflict in history. The increased carnage during World War II is attributed to a number factors. The tactics that were employed during the war were different than those of World War I; World War II was more a war of movement, rather than a war of attrition. This was a result of technology that had been developed and improved during the interwar period. One of the most important technological advances that was made was in aerial combat, specifically in aerial bombardment. The air force became a staple of combat, utilized to aid and sustain long term assaults against the enemy. Bombers were used in strategic bombing missions to destroy various targets, including both military and civilian locations. To this day, the bombing of civilians is a controversial subject. Some see it as a necessary action: an attritional warfare strategy to wear down the enemy. Others believe that attacking civilians is not morally defensible and that the costs associated with it greatly outweigh any strategic advantage that may have come from it. The purpose of this essay is to argue that the bombing of civilians during the Second World War was not justified, with a specific focus on the Blitz and the Battle of Britain, the bombing of Dresden, the Doolittle Raid, and the atomic bombing of Japan.

Before an argument can be made as to why bombing civilians was not defensible, the term "justified" needs to be defined in this context. Although there were a few examples of civilian bombings prior to 1940, the Battle of Britain that began in June of 1940 was the catalyst for the first strategic bombing missions during the war. In retaliation for the bombing of London by the Luftwaffe, "Churchill immediately ordered a 50-bomber raid on Berlin" and the Royal

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[1] "Research Starters: Worldwide Deaths in World War II," The National World War II Museum, accessed November 11, 2017, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-worldwide-deaths-world-war.

Air Force proceeded to bomb portions of Berlin.[2] This resulted in back and forth bombing raids between the Germans and the British. The raids resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths, massive destruction, and the largescale consumption of resources. In the Pacific theatre, the United States' air raids on Tokyo caused similar damage and their nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 resulted in catastrophic destruction. To determine if these attacks were justified, the objectives of the strategic bombing campaigns need to be compared to the resulting consequences of the bombings. Did the potential repercussions of the attacks outweigh any possible gains that could have been made? Did they ultimately achieve their desired effect? Did the bombings play a major component in the outcome of the war? These are the questions that will be used to determine if the bombing of civilians was justified.

The aerial bombardment of cities during the Second World War began with the German invasion of Poland and increased in severity and frequency during the Battle of Britain. During the planning stages of the battle, Herman Goering, leader of the Luftwaffe, and Adolf Hitler built their strategy around the German air doctrine that stated that "aerial attack affects the fighting power of the enemy and the foundations of the people's will to resist".[3] Using this as motivation, the Luftwaffe launched several attacks on British military targets before turning its attention to London. The primary German aim was to "lure the RAF into battle" by attacking London, the vital economic centre of Britain.[4] Goering was irritated by Britain's ability to defend its military positions, so Goering planned the attack on London to incite a war in the air that he believed the Luftwaffe would win decisively.[5] By bombing London, the belief among the German leadership was that the morale of the British people would be shattered and that the destruction of the RAF in an air conflict would potentially pave the path for an invasion by sea for the Germans.

Over the course of months, the Luftwaffe conducted various attacks, including a devastating bombing of Coventry in November 1940. Unfortunately for the Germans, the Blitz did not achieve what they had hoped. The RAF was able to repel any German attempts to gain air superiority and was able to launch its own bombing campaigns against German cities. In the broader perspective of the war, the failure by the Germans during the Battle of Britain was a turning point in the conflict. Germany failed to knock Britain out of the war and Britain received a morale boost from being able to survive a prolonged German offensive. The failure to achieve anything of significance by the Luftwaffe is why the bombing of civilians in Britain was not justified. In total, 43,000 British civilians were killed during the Blitz.[6] Killing that many innocent people to win a war is morally debateable, but failing to accomplish any of the

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[2] Algis Valiunas, "Fire from the Sky," *Commentary* 124, no. 1 (July/August 2007): 53.

[3] M.P. Barley, "Contributing to its Own Defeat: The Luftwaffe and the Battle of Britain," *Defence Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004): 392.

[4] Douglas C. Dildy, "The Air Battle for England: The Truth Behind the Failure of the Luftwaffe's Counter-Air Campaign in 1940," *Air Power History* 63, no. 2 (2016): 35.

[5] Dildy, "Air Battle," 35.

[6] "The Blitz," BBC History, accessed November 19, 2017, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/events/the_blitz.

objectives that the Luftwaffe had created was appalling. They sacrificed thousands of lives to close the Western front of the war but instead of achieving that, the campaign led to the loss of even more people, civilians and soldiers alike. It was a gamble to take part in this strategy because Hitler and Goering must have known that the British would want retribution. By killing over 40,000 British civilians and essentially prompting Britain to attack German cities, the Blitz was not a justifiable military strategy.

The Luftwaffe were not the only ones to bomb civilian targets in Europe. As mentioned earlier in this essay, the Royal Air Force was instructed to bomb a variety of German civilian targets. One of those targets was the city of Dresden. In February 1945, the RAF, in conjunction with the United States, bombed Dresden. This bombing was one in a series of bombings in eastern Germany that were intended to aid the western advance of the Red Army into Germany.[7] Over the course of the two-night raid, it is estimated that anywhere between 20,000 to 250,000 people lost their lives; the number of refugees in the city at the time make this figure hard to determine exactly.[8] The number of casualties, combined with the destruction caused by the firestorm that ensued as a result of the explosives, make Dresden one of the most controversial events of the war.

The Allies responsible for the bombing did the best they could to try and provide justification for the attack. According to Air Commodore Colin Grierson, the reason for the attack was to disrupt "primarily communications to prevent them [The Germans] moving military supplies".[9] Arthur Harris, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the RAF bombing division, added that bombing cities such as Dresden "would cause confusion" and would "hamper the movement of troops from the West."[10] Using that as justification for a such a brutal attack is misguided. By the time the bombing occurred, Germany was on the verge of defeat. They had been defeated during the Battle of the Bulge and their forces had been weakened from their failed invasion of the Soviet Union. Both the Western and Eastern fronts were closing in on the Germans and they were not adequately equipped to defend themselves. With the Red Army consisting of many soldiers, they most likely would have been able to thwart any resistance by the German troops. While bombing Dresden did seem practical in theory, it was completely unnecessary. Even Churchill himself had doubted the bombing. In March 1945, when the fate of Germany was all but sealed, Churchill was quoted as saying "It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, though under other pretexts, should be reviewed."[11] Using the excuse that bombing Dresden was for tactical reasons, when really it was to strike fear into innocent people, is not warranted.

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[7] Tami Davis Biddle, "Dresden 1945: Reality, History, Memory," *The Journal of Military History* 72, no. 2 (April 2008): 414.
[8] Biddle, "Dresden," 423.
[9] Biddle, "Dresden," 438.
[10] Biddle, "Dresden," 427.
[11] Biddle, "Dresden," 443.

Europe was not the only place where civilians were bombed. It is well documented that the United States launched many bombing missions against Japanese cities, including a raid on Tokyo. In April 1942, Lieutenant Colonel James Doolittle led a bombing campaign that targeted Tokyo and several surrounding cities. The reason for the attack was because after the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7th, 1941 "President Franklin Roosevelt wanted to retaliate".[12] The raid, however, "caused minimal damage" and "extensive losses" for the Americans; Doolittle had "wondered if it was worth the effort".[13] This attack was not justified because it proved to be insignificant and it did not serve as adequate retribution for Pearl Harbor. By entering the war following the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States was seeking retribution; they chose not to physically fight the war until they were attacked. Even though a lot of their fighting revolved around defending various territories in the South Pacific, it is evident that the catalyst for entering the war was revenge for Pearl Harbor. Since that seems to be the case, they should not have felt the need to bomb civilians in Tokyo, especially since it proved nothing. Also, the United States suffered more losses, including the "aircraft carriers that [The Japanese] had missed at Pearl Harbor".[14] These are reasons for why the Doolittle Raid was not a justified attack,

Of all the bombs that were dropped during the war, the most infamous were the nuclear bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. Many believe that the justification for the attacks was because "it ended the war and saved lives".[15] Essentially, by bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Japanese were forced to surrender; not dropping the bombs would have resulted in continued fighting and more lives being lost. However, this justification is severely flawed. It is true that the bombings did end the war and therefore fulfilled their objective, but to claim that dropping the bombs saved lives is false. Estimates place the fatalities anywhere between 50,000 to 100,000 people at both Hiroshima and Nagasaki; this is not including the thousands who perished in the weeks following due to radiation.[16] These lives were lost unnecessarily. By the time the bombs were dropped, Japan had essentially been defeated. They had been defeated on land, sea, and air and their emperor had been trying to negotiate peace since February 1945.[17] Therefore, had the bombs not been dropped, the war would not have been fought for much longer and since the Japanese army was depleted, the lives lost due to fighting would have been significantly less than the lives that were lost in the bombings. Finally, if one of the objectives of the bombings was to showcase the power of a new weapon, the United States could have bombed a less inhabited area of Japan which would have resulted in fews to no casualties.[18] The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was completely unjustifiable.

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[12] Robert B. Kane, "The Doolittle Raid: A 65-Year Retrospective," *Air and Space Power Journal* 21, no. 1 (2007): 32.

[13] Kane, "Doolittle Raid," 32.

[14] Kane, "Doolittle Raid," 32.

[15] Douglas Lackey, "Why Hiroshima was Immoral: A Response to Landesman," *Philosophical Forum* 34, no. 1 (2003): 39.

[16] Thomas Powers, "Was It Right?" *Atlantic* 276, no. 1 (July 1995): 20.

[17] Lackey, "Hiroshima," 40.

[18] Lackey, "Hiroshima," 41.

As World War II progressed, new tactics were developed by the Allied and Axis powers to gain an upper hand over the enemy. Some of these tactics worked, while others failed. The bombing of civilians was one tactic that was widely controversial. In some instances, bombing civilian targets proved to be successful; in other campaigns, it did nothing but raise the casualty rate in the war. By examining the Blitz, the bombing of Dresden, the Doolittle Raid and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there is enough evidence to prove that the bombing of civilians during the war was not justified. During the Blitz, thousands of lives were lost, and damage was widespread, but all it resulted in was retaliation by Britain. Bombing Dresden may have had tactical reasoning behind it, but it was not a necessary action. The Doolittle Raid was meant as revenge for Pearl Harbor, but instead it caused more problems for the Americans. Finally, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the reason why the war ended in the Pacific, but those lives could have been spared and the war could have ended in a less horrifying manner. Because of the frequency with which its occurred, and the moral ambiguity associated with it, the bombing of civilians is a topic that will be debated for many years to come.

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The Failings of the Rowlatt Satyagraha

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On April 13, 1919, a group of soldiers led by Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer descended on the Jallianwala Bagh during the celebration of Vaisakhi and opened fire on a crowd of twenty thousand unarmed men, women, and children.[1] Over a span of about ten minutes, the soldiers emptied 1650 rounds into the unsuspecting crowd as they tried desperately to escape the narrow confines of the Bagh, stopping only when the ammunition ran out.[2] Official reports stated that the death toll stood at 379 people with another 1200 wounded, though historians speculate that casualties were in actuality much higher.[3] The seemingly unprovoked attack led world leaders at the time to call the slaughter 'monstrous' and one of the 'worst in history.'[4] This paper will prove that Gandhi's attempt to curb the Rowlatt Act through *satyagraha* failed, ultimately resulting in the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. The reasons for this failure are numerous; however, this paper will focus on Gandhi's lack of organization, failure to recognize regional tensions, and overestimation of the Indian public's ability to carry out the nuances of his *satyagraha* movement.

The roots of the Rowlatt Act can be traced back to the First World War with the introduction of the Defence of India Regulations Act (Defence of India Act) in 1915 by the British Legislature in India.[5] The war-time legislation was established to prescribe "special procedural rules including provisions for preventative detention"[6] with an overarching goal of curbing potential nationalist and German-inspired terrorism in the already fragile political climate during and immediately following the war.[7] Continuously rising tensions within the

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[1] K.L. Tuteja, "Jallianwala Bagh: A Critical Juncture in the Indian National Movement," *Social Scientist* 25, vol 1/2 (1997): 25.
[2] Tuteja, "Jallianwala Bagh," 26.
[3] Tuteja, "Jallianwala Bagh," 26.
[4] Tuteja, "Jallianwala Bagh," 26.
[5] D. George Boyce, "From Assaye to Assaye: Reflections on British Government, Force and Moral Authority in India," *The Journal of Military History* 63, no. 3 (1999): 655.
[6] Andrew Harding and John Pritchard, *Preventative Detention and Security Law: A Comparative Study* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1993), 60.
[7] Harding and Pritchard, *Preventative Detention and Security Law,* 60.

growing nationalist movement in India, particularly in the Bengal region, became the primary reasoning for the extension of the Defence of India Act into the Rowlatt Act of 1919.[8]

The Rowlatt Act stated that the "Defence of India Act must be reserved to the state in perpetuity, and these powers included the abandonment of trial by jury; giving powers to control movements and activities of suspects; and giving powers to detain suspects without trial and to search without warrant."[9] Not only did it give legislators the power to detain and try the Indian public without justification or jury, it also effectively reduced public ability to organize in opposition to the British Government. Like the introduction of earlier legislation, which also gave special authoritative powers to the British government on the ground in India, the Rowlatt Act was a clear indication of the British fear of anarchy threatening their 'rightful' rule,[10] and was the culmination of a succession of draconian laws designed to suppress the Indian opposition from descending into anarchy.

Gandhi's response to the Rowlatt Act was immediate, and extremely critical in its assessment of the Act's violation of Indian rights. In writing to the Liberal leader, V.S. Srinivasa Shastri, Gandhi stated that:

> The bills are the regulated symptoms of the deep-seated disease. They are a striking demonstration of the determination of the Civil Service to retain its grip on our necks. There is not the slightest desire to give up an iota of its unlimited powers, and if the civil service is to retain its unlimited rule over us, the British commerce is to enjoy its privileged position, I feel that reforms will not be worth having. I consider the Bills to be an open challenge to us. If we succumb we are done for."[11]

Following this sentiment, on February 24, 1919, Gandhi and his associates formed the *satyagraha sabha,* and took a pledge calling for all *satyagrahis* to "refuse civilly to obey"[12] the Rowlatt Act and similar legislation, and "faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."[13] He swiftly announced that a *hartal* in the form of a social boycott (strike) would commence with a day of "humiliation and prayer"[14] in opposition to the law. The *hartal* began in Delhi and quickly spread to other regions including Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Punjab.

Tensions continued to rise during the movement, inciting bursts of violence in various towns and cities. On April 10, 1919, Gandhi was imprisoned for disobeying a prohibition order. The following day, large crowds called for the release of their charismatic leader and violence

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[8] Boyce, "From Assaye to Assaye," 655.

[9] Boyce, "From Assaye to Assaye," 655.

[10] Boyce, "From Assaye to Assaye," 655.

[11] R. Kumar, "Introduction," to *Essays on Gandhian Politics: The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919*, ed. R. Kumar (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 2.

[12] Lionel Knight, *Britain in India, 1858-1947* (London: Anthem Press, 2012), 96.

[13] Knight, *Britain in India*, 96.

[14] Knight, *Britain in India*, 96.

erupted in the town of Amritsar, leaving both demonstrators and British officials dead in its wake. Shocked by the level of violence and chaos, Gandhi called for a temporary suspension of the proposed civil disobedience, stating that when he had begun the mass movement, he underestimated the 'forces of evil'[15] and needed to "pause and consider how to best meet the situation."[16] He blamed not the events during the *satyagraha* itself, but the British ignorance of the love that the Indian public had for him, therefore placing the blame solely on the British for detaining him which had resulted in the heated anger of the Indian masses.[17]

The *satyagraha sabha*, now without its primary leadership, committed to a meeting which ran concurrently to the Vaisakhi gatherings at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. The crowd gathered in the courtyard garden, which was constricted on three sides by the rear walls of various properties effectively corralling the large crowd into the confined space, with an intention to celebrate the holiday and listen to speeches being given to plea for the release of Gandhi.[18] General Dyer, who had arrived in Amritsar days prior, had previously warned the demonstrators that any gathering larger than four men would be considered an act of disobedience and was therefore liable to removal by force.[19] In the face of the large crowd, which he later claimed made him fear for the safety of his troops, he ordered his men to open fire, causing mass casualties.

In the days following the massacre, Dyer faced harsh criticism from the Indian public, as well from as leaders worldwide including Britain. The British legislature formed the Hunter Committee to question the disgraced general. He defended his actions, stating that that "it was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect, from a military point of view, not only on those who were present but more specifically throughout the Punjab."[20] From his comments, it could be concluded that his actions at Jallianwala Bagh were not the actions of a physically threatened man, as initially stated, rather the reaction of a man who perceived his power (or the power of his nation) as being threatened. The idea was that if the government, or a representative of, "did not act swiftly and forcefully, the Government, or Raj, or State in the general sense [would be] perceived to be weak."[21] The cruel and destructive violence which had ensued not only inspired discourse regarding Britain's continued presence in India, it also raised numerous questions as to Gandhi's culpability in the massacre, and historians began to examine how his *satyagraha* may have influenced the events of that day.

Certainly, Gandhi faced many issues in carrying out the Rowlatt *satyagraha* - one being his inexperience on such a large political stage. He had some limited experience with his

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[15] Judith Brown, ed., *Mahatma Gandhi: The Essential Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 343.
[16] Brown, *Mahatma Gandhi*, 343.
[17] Brown, *Mahatma Gandhi*, 343.
[18] Nick Lloyd, *The Amritsar Massacre: The Untold Story of One Fateful Day* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), xxi.
[19] Purnima Bose and Laura Lyons, "Dyer Consequences: The Trope of Amritsar, Ireland and The Lessons of the 'Minimum' force debate," *Boundary 2* 26, no. 2 (1999): 200.
[20] Vithal Rajan, "The Natives Continue to be Restless," *Economic and Political Weekly* 44, no. 2 (2009): 16.
[21] Boyce, "From Assaye to Assaye," 662.

satyagraha in South Africa, but this marked the first country-wide call to action against the British colonial government in India, and the sheer scope of this opened up a wide range of organizational issues for Gandhi.[22] H.F. Owen states that the instigation of the *satyagraha* "posed problems of organization; of communication of ideas; of mobilization of a wide range of social groups; and last, but not the least, of exercise of control and restraint over the social groups thus mobilized under conditions of excitement, provocation, or repression."[23] They note that Gandhi did have some awareness of the complexity of initializing an all-India movement and attempted to set up similar regional *sabha* committees, but this too, faced problems as it depended on "the effectiveness of local lieutenants in each area,"[24] as well as Gandhi's ability to visit each locality to "prepare it or lead it."[25]

The issue of organization seems to stem from a combination of several factors, including the involvement of immensely different ideological groups, such as the Khalifat movement and the India Home Rule committees. This would have made it difficult to control the flow of ideas, as well as presenting a problem of discipline among the various group leaders. There seemed to be an overall lack of clear lines of communication among Gandhi's affiliates in the planning of the ongoing movement, and Gandhi's inability to contribute to the planning process due to being bedridden with illness may have also contributed to the disorganized chaos. The combination of these issues led the ensuing *hartals* to dissolve into violence and confusion, as there was no clear picture of how the public was to carry out the Gandhian ideals.

The presentation of Gandhi's *satyagraha* was further problematized by its assumption that most of the public was highly educated and could understand the complexity of peaceful resistance without the use of violence. However, the population most often targeted by Gandhi and his associates were largely lower caste and class groups that had faced oppression and vilification in the eyes of both the upper caste and their British counterparts. In terms of ideology, "the launching of the Rowlatt *satyagraha* was an act of faith rather than an act of calculation, for although Gandhi had a firm belief in the righteousness of his cause, he had no idea how the people of India would respond to his initiative."[26] A major failing of Gandhi's movement was his inability to anticipate the fanatical response amongst the impoverished population of India to his call to action.

Another major issue with the *satyagraha* was that it severely underestimated the level of hostility directed towards the colonial government. At the time of the Rowlatt Act, the Indian National Movement was quickly gaining steam on the ground in India. Gandhi recognized this to an extent, often alluding to the merits of *swaraj* and *swadeshi* in his many writings

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[22] H.F. Owen, "Organizing for the Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919," in *Essays on Gandhian Politics: The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919*, ed. R. Kumar (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 64.

[23] Owen, "Organizing," 64.

[24] Owen, "Organizing," 82.

[25] Owen, "Organizing," 82.

[26] Kumar, "Introduction," 3.

from the turn of the century onwards. Despite this, he clearly did not acknowledge the distinct possibility that his *satyagraha* movement could swiftly deteriorate as it passed through areas rife with regional tensions, such as the Punjab. The anarchy-fearing British Legislature had long since resorted to draconian rule to maintain its hold over the vast region, and this combined with pressures following the First World War led to a complete collapse of the peaceful demonstrations.

After the massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh, Gandhi acknowledged that India may not yet be ready for the "truthful and non-violent atmosphere which and which alone can justify mass disobedience which can be at all described as civil."[27] Without ever acknowledging his culpability as a socio-political leader, Gandhi called for the retreat from *satyagraha*, stating that "suspension of mass civil disobedience and subsidence of excitement [were] necessary for further progress, indeed indispensable to prevent further regression."[28] The Rowlatt *satyagraha* was a failure on every count except in drawing the attention necessary to launch Gandhi and his ideology into the Indian spotlight.

Gandhi undertook the Rowlatt *satyagraha* with a clear goal in mind: the removal of laws that subjugated the Indian people and left them subservient in the eyes of the British. However, Gandhi failed to realize the sheer scope of the act he was attempting to carry out in one of the largest, most populous nations in the world. He did not consider the education levels or political acumen of the Indian public, nor did he discover ways to control or discipline the political leaders of his movement. He also ignored ongoing racial, political, and religious tensions which had arisen in India. In conclusion, the Rowlatt *satyagraha* ended in complete failure, forcing Gandhi to retreat to rethink his ongoing strategies for resisting the British in India.

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[27] Brown, *Mahatma Gandhi*, 360.
[28] Brown, *Mahatma Gandhi*, 364.

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Annual Report for the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 1894

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The Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year 1893-94 attempted to suggest a general rise in the standard of living of Canada's Indigenous people. However, a close reading of the reports given by agents and principles within British Columbia indicates that this may not have been the case. The data presented in the reports given to the Department of Indian Affairs reveals that the Indigenous people experienced epidemics, inundation of crops, and poor wages in industrial work. Furthermore, the low attendance in schools suggests a number of problems within the school system. Competition between the traditional Indigenous ways of life and the pressure to assimilate into a settler lifestyle, coupled with the natural disasters, suggests that life on the reserves and in the schools was one of poverty and struggle. While the report would have readers believe that it gave "evidence of a steady advancement in civilization,"[1] European colonialism in the region of British Columbia had more profoundly negative and complex effects than the reports suggested.

The language used throughout the reports was often vague and spoke generally to the events that occurred on the reserves and in the schools. Words such as good and satisfactory are overwhelming, but lack substance as to the actual conditions. The overriding themes amongst nearly all the reports are health, conduct, employment, and relief. There is often a distinction made between the primitive past of the Indigenous peoples and the opportunistic future bestowed upon them by the Department of Indian Affairs. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the agents nor principles wrote their reports after conducting interviews with the Indigenous communities in question. Rather the reports are given merely from the perspective of the settlers, using words such as, "seem to be happy" or "seem to like to work."[2]

The mere fact that conduct was a topic of the reports suggests the superiority of the agents and principles who were giving the accounts. The Indian Office in Victoria pronounced that

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[1] Parliament of Canada, "Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended June 30 1894," (Printed by S. E. Dawson, 1895), 201 [hereafter Annual Report 1894]
[2] Annual Report 1894, 158, 163

"their attitude towards white settlers and towards one another has been friendly; they have been fairly industrious, and with but few exceptions, law-abiding; peace and order having generally prevailed."[3] This would suggest that this was not always the case and speaks to the complexity of colonialism in British Columbia. In discussing the conduct of the children at the schools, this was said to be satisfactory. One report noted that "the behaviour of the children, who prove to be obedient, studious, assiduous in their work, kind and obliging to each other; such result is due greatly to the constant care, instruction and training which they receive."[4] This indicates that it was not as a result of their own freewill, but rather the kind of instruction they had received that had caused them to be this way. By what means they trained the children to obedient, studious, and assiduous was not reported.

The health of the Indigenous peoples was reported to have been generally good. However, in nearly every report, communities were affected by influenza or "la grippe," which resulted in many deaths. Furthermore, there are cases which report deaths due to measles and lung disease, although no statistics were given as to how many deaths were as a result of such diseases. The West Coast Agency specifically reported that the bands were gradually decreasing in number, with disease often affecting the weakest members of society, elders and children.[5] The fact that most often the elders are affected by the disease would lead to a loss of Indigenous traditional cultures, which is typically passed down by the elders. Struggles between traditional ways of caring for the sick and that of European doctors were also suggested. It was reported that "with the kind treatment bestowed, the native prejudices and superstitions [towards doctors and European medicines] will soon disappear" and that "the medicine-man of the tribe is becoming an unimportant personality."[6] While although it cannot be denied that the medical advice from Europeans would have been beneficial, it does suggest a struggle between traditional way of life and the "civilized" European way. Even despite the care of missionaries and doctors, there continued to be deaths amongst the populations due to these epidemics.

In terms of employment, many of the Indigenous peoples obtained work at the different canneries, in the saw-mills, and with the Canadian Pacific Railway. While some reported to their communities as having earned good wages, there are a number of discrepancies. There is a suggestion that while employment can be found at the canneries, with the supply of labour increasing every year it had caused them to earn less than in previous years.[7] Furthermore that the run of salmon was not large, affecting the earnings of those employed at the cannery.[8] The low price of the canned salmon caused Indigenous men on the Skeena River to strike, refusing to fish at the reduced price.[9] The account of the strike is rather peaceful, with the agent testifying "I am pleased to state that the Indians behaved

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[3] Annual Report 1894, 201.
[4] Annual Report 1894, 169.
[5] Annual Report 1894, 204.
[6] Annual Report 1894, 164, 206.
[7] Annual Report 1894, 160.
[8] Annual Report 1894, 160.
[9] Annual Report 1894, 163.

exceedingly well throughout this (to them) trying period."[10] However, the Indigenous protests were unable to bring the price of fish back to its previous price by whatever means they used. A general depression in business affected the sale of lumber, which also affected the wages of the Indigenous peoples working in this field.[11] The depression in trade affected many bands which caused a decrease in employment opportunities in saw-mills, coal mines and municipal works.[12]

The Indian Office in Victoria reported that there was a decline in gross earnings of the Indigenous peoples in British Columbia which may have been associated with the increase of settlers into the province.[13] Indigenous peoples who were once encouraged to work and found jobs plentiful, had to then compete with the growing numbers of settlers. This was not confined to industrial work, but spread into fishing, trapping, and hunting as well.[14] The Indigenous peoples who came to rely on these various employments then found themselves in a position where either their wages were cut or they found no jobs at all. This would have certainly put an immense strain on the Indigenous population living on the reserves.

The agents were proud to report that their reserves had taken more land under cultivation, as they encouraged Indians into a more settled lifestyle. The more "progressive" villages were said to be that of the younger generation who were wanting new homes with land attached, "removed from all connection with the old heathen village."[15] While Indigenous peoples were being pressured to cultivate new land and turn to a life of farming, there were also reports of young men who preferred to make a living by working for the settlers, even going as far as saying they "loath to engage in agricultural industries."[16] This would suggest another notable struggle between the traditional way of life and that of assimilating to European lifestyle. As an alternative, agents encouraged Indigenous populations to concentrate their efforts into cultivation of their reserves and raising livestock to be more self-supporting. However, before settlers arrived and they were confined to the reserves, were they not self-supporting?

Those who had invested heavily in agriculture found themselves destitute when in the spring of 1893 British Columbia's rivers and lakes experienced unprecedented high waters. The high waters caused massive flooding in the lowlands. Many agencies and schools reported having completely lost crops, fencing, and housing. This was disastrous for the communities that came to rely on the crops and the livestock which were all lost to the floods. Furthermore, the exceptionally high waters were reported to have negative effects on the spring catch of salmon, a staple food reported for many of the reserves and which was also reported to have affected wages of those working at the canneries. The effects would have been felt even harder by the schools which were no longer able to produce an "ample supply of roots and vegetables

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[10] Annual Report 1894, 163.
[11] Annual Report 1894, 160.
[12] Annual Report 1894, 199.
[13] Annual Report 1894, 202.
[14] Annual Report 1894, 202.
[15] Annual Report 1894, 159.
[16] Annual Report 1894, 163.

for the use of the institution."[17] The inundation of the fields was difficult to repair and it was expected that the next year's yields would be considerably low. Communities were effectively reduced to poverty and suffering. Aid was only given to those who "could be profitably utilized" and assistance given to those who could not help themselves.[18] This however left many Indigenous peoples who so desperately needed it, without assistance. There were those who found their land still covered under water when the water generally receded, preventing them from being able to turn the soil for the second crop.[19] It was assumed that they had earned enough money at the canneries to support themselves through winter, and if that were the case it was reported that they would be unable to buy seed the next spring.[20] It was only the most destitute who received relief; however on what grounds this was determined is left out of the reports. The Indigenous communities that had come to rely on the support and guidance of their agents, were then in turn left without relief when it was needed. This did not only have an effect on the current year, being 1893, but would in turn effect the crops for the years to follow.

Life for the children at school very much mirrored the experience of those who lived on the reserves. The language used throughout the reports submitted by the principles is vague, with the continued use of words such as satisfactory and improvement. When it comes to the school work, it is mentioned with great pride that English is the primary language used. However, there was a case in which it was reported that the girls of the school did not take to English at the same level of the boys.[21] The reason for this differenced is described as the girls taking no pride in being able to speak English.[22] This however speaks little to the actual reason for this, and there could be many possibilities. What is missing from these reports are accounts of failures in the classroom, presumably some students would not have done as well as others. Furthermore, it is noted that the Indian language is rarely heard. The effects of this would have been profound as the students would have left the schools to return to their villages; putting a wedge between tradition and the new "civilization." While the children were not in the classroom they performed manual labour, ranging from five hours a week to half of every day. The conditions in the trades where the children worked were not mentioned in any report, but rather what is given are accounts of the great material items they produced or the buildings they erected.

The struggle of colonialism can be identified in examining the attendance of children at the schools. While most principles report high enrolment, the average daily attendance of the students is seldom close. Only 28 percent of the schools which reported enrolment and average daily attendance had a higher than 80 percent average attendance and 72 percent with an average attendance at less than 80 percent.[23] A staggering 36 percent of the schools

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[17] Annual Report 1894, 167.
[18] Annual Report 1894, 202.
[19] Annual Report 1894, 202.
[20] Annual Report 1894, 202.
[21] Annual Report 1894, 166.
[22] Annual Report 1894, 166.
[23] Annual Report 1894, 258-259.

had an average daily attendance less than 50% of the total students enrolled. There is no suggestion made as to why some of the schools had such a low average daily attendance. Furthermore, while they report that there was a desire to enter the schools, they also reported that the elders persuaded them not to. A line had been drawn between the elders of the Indigenous communities and the agents who were trying to persuade parents to send their children to school, or rather a line between tradition and assimilation. The matter is further complicated by the children's commitment to their local communities, only expressing interest once the fishing season is over. Lacking from the reports is the number of children who did not attend school at all compared to those that did. If the parents were "expressing" such a desire to send their children to school, then why would this data not be presented?

The school children were not permitted holidays; however, some were allowed to visit their parents for a day or two.[24] However, it was "decidedly a great advantage to keep the children under constant supervision during the whole year."[25] For what reason that decision was made was not identified in the report. It can be insinuated that by allowing them to visit their parents, they would revert to the "primitive" lifestyle and harm the assimilation process. The schools were all run by a church or missionary group, suggesting that they were attempting to convert the children. The effects of colonialism are clear when agents were pleased that no potlaches were held in the last year with promises of the custom being given up as a whole.[26] Simultaneous they reported that while although there were no potlaches, there were memory-feasts, the difference being there was no "wilful waste of property practiced."[27] Furthermore, the census that was collected reports whether the Indigenous peoples were Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Pagan.[28] This would suggest that one of the purposes of the census was to determine to what extent they had been successful in either converting Indigenous people or ridding them of their own religious beliefs. Certainly, this speaks to the extent of colonialism in British Columbia at that time.

The many agency and principle reports which were submitted to the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30 June 1894 attempted to paint a picture of progress and 'civilization'. However, upon a close reading, the experience for Indigenous peoples on the reserves and in the schools tells a story of poverty and struggle. The language used throughout the reports speaks to the superiority of the colonizers, reporting on the conduct of the Indigenous people. While they simultaneously reported good jobs and wages for Indigenous employees in the various industries run by the settlers, they also reported a general decline in said employment and wages. To supplement the decline, Indigenous peoples were encouraged to bring more land under cultivation to be more self-supporting. However, when in the spring of 1893 there was flooding, causing inundation of crops, there was little relief given. The Indigenous people found themselves destitute and poor, unable either to purchase seed for the following year or find decent employment. Colonialism was

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[24] Annual Report 1894, 168.
[25] Annual Report 1894, 168.
[26] Annual Report 1894, 159.
[27] Annual Report 1894, 159.
[28] Annual Report 1894, 276-280.

felt in the way in which Indigenous population struggled between tradition and the pressure for assimilation placed on them by the agencies. Reports on the religion of the Indigenous populations and the schools being run by missionaries speak to the extent of the colonial project in British Columbia. Little is said about the condition of the children in the schools and more is said about their material output. The low attendance and lack of full enrolment data suggest that there were reason beyond what was reported as to the conditions in the school and the perspectives of the parents. In agreeance with Cole Harris, the reports from 1893-94 did not present "native people doing well and adapting to white ways," but rather struggling with keeping their tradition, disease, and poverty.[29]

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[29] R. Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia by Eric Leinberger* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 289.

The Tides of Revolution: How Chinese Revolutions Reshaped Visions of Masculinity & Femininity

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Periods of transition in Chinese history have given rise to incredible transformations. These times of political and social upheaval toppled dynasties, brought about war and bloodshed, and transformed the very facets of society. One paradigm that continually evolved throughout China's extensive history was gender. Masculine and feminine ideals, just like dynasties, underwent significant transformation alongside the forces of revolution. This paper intends to explore how the forces of revolution in the Middle Kingdom impacted masculine and feminine identities and roles. Given that the scope of this essay cannot hope to cover the entirety of Chinese history, it will instead begin by briefly introducing masculinity and femininity in Chinese antiquity, focusing on the Zhou Dynasty (1046 - 256 BCE). The trends and ideals set in this dynasty would set precedents for millennia to come. This paper will then explore the Xinhai Revolution (辛亥革命) of 1911 and how the brief period of Republicanism attempted to modernize gender roles. Following this, it will examine the Communist Revolution of 1949. As one of the most monumental turning points in Chinese history, the Communist Revolution not only shifted the direction of China as a country, but also revolutionized the roles of men and women in Chinese society.

To set the stage for revolution and gender, it is necessary to first examine Chinese antiquity's preliminary understandings of masculinity and femininity. The Zhou Dynasty regarded men and women as shouldering different work roles. The gendering of work roles became not only socially obligatory, but even highly political and ideological during the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. For example, philosophers from this era argued that in a harmonious society, only men plowed the fields and only women wove cloth.[1] Elites of the Eastern Zhou asserted that a society's productivity and very existence were dependent on men and women fulfilling these roles. In his article "The Origins of Separation of the Sexes in China," Bret Hinsch summarizes their reasoning: "Grain and cloth were two absolute necessities produced through agriculture… many thinkers saw their steady production as an important measure of the successful society. Likewise, the association of grain and cloth production with gender

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[1] Bret Hinsch, *Masculinities in Chinese History* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 14.

came to symbolize good social order."[2] By constructing an ideological framework to legitimize and perpetuate gendered labour, these ideals were permanently embedded into the fabric of Chinese society from the top down. In fact, it was argued that successfully fulfilling these roles elevated one to a virtuous status, serving as further encouragement to conform. Additionally, etymological evidence exists in Zhou Dynasty oracle bone inscriptions that provides insight into the gendered separation of labour. I have included the oracle bone inscriptions for "safety" and "man" below:

Left: 安, or "safe" is depicted as a female figure (女) residing under the roof (宀) of a house.[3]

Right: The characters 田 and 力, which combine to mean "power in the field," are discernible in the oracle bone inscription for 男 (male).[4]

These two characters reveal the separation of tasks between genders: to have peace or safety, the woman of the family must be under a roof, or in other words engaged in work within the home, such as cloth weaving or childcare; the male character was portrayed ideographically as "power in the field" (田 tian and 力 li – field and power respectively). The meaning remains today in the character's modern form: 男. Furthermore, the divergence of male and female labour customs was facilitated by the construction of ideological infrastructure and the transplantation of these norms into linguistic and cultural paradigms.

Cosmological binary systems were another key development in gender relations that can be traced back to the Zhou Dynasty. Binary pairs were adopted by religious and political thinkers alike. For example, the Yi Zhuan, a reference book on the Yijing, makes note that, during the Zhou, the binary pairs Yin (阴) and Yang (阳) were incorporated into Daoist religious thought as the compound that comprised the Dao (道).[5] Daoists believed that they acted in tandem to maintain harmony in the cosmos. Yet, the two forces were not equal, but rather hierarchical: Yang operated as the dominant and positive while the Yin operated as the submissive and inactive. Likewise, binary systems were also adopted into political

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[2] Bret Hinsch, "The Origins of Separation of the Sexes in China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, no. 3 (2003): 598.

[3] 国学，"甲骨文：复活消逝的岁月"(Oracle Bone Inscriptions: Reviving a Faded Era), http://www.guoxue.com/?p=17535 [accessed 25 Oct 2017].

[4] 甲骨密码，"[男]的甲骨文金文篆文字形演变含义"(The evolution of oracle bone, bronze inscription, and seal characters for 男), http://www.jiagumima.com/html/jiaguwenzidian_4455.html [accessed 8 Oct 2017].

[5] Men Jiuzhang and Guo Lei, *A General Introduction to Traditional Chinese Medicine* (Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2009), 60.

ideology. Heaven (天) and Earth (地), the concepts that governed political thought and systems from as early as the Shang Dynasty, were organized into a binary hierarchy. While they were mutually dependent on one another, Heaven was the superior force that presided over the Earth.[6] Philosophers of the Zhou Dynasty thus used the scaffolding of binary structures to inform understandings of gender relations. Like the Yin-Yang and Heaven-Earth binaries, men and women cooperated together to create harmony; men were claimed to be superior and dominating, while women were claimed to be submissive and docile. In other words, classical Chinese thought during the Zhou Dynasty concerning binary pairs drew the stencil upon which masculinity, femininity, and their respective hierarchical relationships could be constructed. This concept would remain influential in Chinese political thought, social practice, and philosophy for millennia to come.

The gender norms of the Zhou Dynasty and its successors remained deeply ingrained in Chinese society until nearly three millennia later. The first revolution to be examined is the Xinhai Revolution (辛亥革命) of 1911. After dealing several devastating blows to the Qing Empire throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the Western imperialist powers inevitably forced China into a period of somber introspection. After the fall of the Qing, no topic escaped the scrutiny of 20th century Chinese intellectuals: was it the Chinese imperial system, Chinese cultural traditions, or even the Chinese worldview that had resulted in China's humiliation? Among the many facets of Chinese society that were reflected upon was gender. Furthermore, the Xinhai Revolution and its reformers attempted to transform Chinese understandings of gender in two fundamental ways: educating women who had been denied even basic schooling for countless generations, and modernizing masculinity using Western men as the benchmark.

Women's access to education throughout Chinese history was obstructed by a variety of factors. First, the separation of gender roles confined women to their homes, where they tended to children and household duties; women had neither the time nor the mobility to attend school. Second, Neo-Confucian ideals that dominated much of Chinese society from the Song Dynasty onwards prevented lower, middle, and some upper-class women from receiving an education. Sima Guang's "six female virtues" emphasized that they should learn know how to keep a household in good order, give birth to and care for children, and develop expertise in subservience and practical talents; to master these tasks left no margins for schooling.[7] The incredibly influential Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi also asserted that women were not suitable for the pursuit of scholarship.[8] Furthermore, socially obligatory gender roles and Neo-Confucian ideology barred women from pursuing an education. However, the outbreak of the Xinhai Revolution in 1911 was the catalyst that ignited positive change with

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[6] Hinsch, *Masculinities in Chinese History*, 20.

[7] Dieter Kuhn, *The Age of Confucian Rule: The Song Transformation of China* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 144.

[8] Kuhn, *The Age of Confucian Rule*, 145.

respect to women's education. Earlier in 1897, intellectual and reformist Liang Qichao argued in his essay "General Ideas on Political Reform" that:

> In China today, whenever the subject of women's education is debated, someone is bound to say, 'There are much more important and urgent issues than this business of women's education, this is not our immediate concern and yet we found ourselves weighed down by it'. However, I think the cause of weaknesses and failures in our society can be traced to the fact that women's education in this country has long been ignored.[9]

The platform that Liang created further served to propel campaigns for women's education during the years that followed the revolution. For example, Cai Yuanpei, President of Peking University, took Liang's ideas and breathed life into them after 1911. The efforts of Cai, Liang, and their contemporaries yielded promising results for women's education. In 1907, females in primary schools formed only 2% of all students. By 1936, female enrollment had increased to 19.2%. In secondary education, women comprised 9.8% of all pupils in 1911. By 1930, this figure had risen to 17.6%. Lastly, females enrolled in post-secondary institutions only made up 2.5% of all students in 1922, but had grown to 15.2% by 1936.[10] In other words, the Xinhai Revolution created opportunities for reform that were previously deemed impossible under the Qing Dynasty. It gave a burgeoning women's equality movement momentum and allowed intellectuals, educators, and reformers alike to put their reforms into practice. Women thus were able to step out from the confines of ancient tradition and redefine what it meant to be a woman in contemporary China.

The Xinhai Revolution also redefined what it meant to be masculine in 20th century China. Prior to 1911, Chinese tradition had dictated the shaping of the prototypical Chinese male. Social values necessitated that men operate in the interests of their community, rather than pursue their own interests.[11] In effect, the obligation to successfully integrate one's self into one's family, village, and province and operate within the framework of their community bred conformity within Chinese men. In contrast, the prototypical trait of the Western male was autonomy.[12] A desire to operate as an individual and not follow the collectivist path taught Western men to pursue their own power and prosperity rather than that of the community's. Moreover, direct military and cultural confrontation with the West in addition to the collapse of the Qing in 1911 forced China to reassess what it meant to be a man; the fresh start brought by the Xinhai Revolution enabled China to reshape the traditionally collectivist Chinese man into the image of the individualistic Western man.

The climactic events of the Xinhai Revolution ignited Chinese masculinity's quest to adopt the West's masculine ideal of autonomy. Evidence of the Chinese quest for Western-style

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[9] Wong Yin Lee, "Women's Education in Traditional and Modern China," *Women's History Review* 4, no. 3 (1995): 356.

[10] Lee, "Women's Education in Traditional and Modern China," 361.

[11] Yu Junwei, "Be a Sedentary Confucian Gentlemen: The Construction of Anti-Physical Culture by Chinese Dynasts Using Confucianism and the Civil Service Examination," *Physical Culture and Sport – Studies and Research* 51, no. 1 (2011): 43-46.

[12] Hinsch, *Masculinities in Chinese History*, 138.

individualism can be found in two places. First, the works of Chinese author Lao She, which would rise to prominence between 1911 and 1949, embodied the Chinese male's pursuit of individualism. For example, in his book *Blades of Grass*, the protagonist is depicted as a successful businessman who pursued his ambitious goal of opening a hospital with several colleagues.[13] The character Lao She portrayed embodied the ideal disposition of the Western man: to relentlessly pursue one's own success, which reflected the general attitude of the Chinese male community who sought to break free from communal bondage and discover individual success for themselves. Secondly, evidence exists in the growth of China's economy following the years of the 1911 Revolution. Between 1912 and 1920, the production of consumer goods increased at an annual rate of 21.6%.[14] This statistic denotes that Chinese men (and to a certain extent, arguably, women) were creating a more westernized economy, in which the pursuit for capitalist wealth and abundance was rooted in the desire to establish one's self as successful and independent. To make a long story short, the Xinhai Revolution gave men the freedom to explore alternative forms of masculinity to replace the obsolete qualities that had characterized manhood for much of China's imperial history. As a result, a silhouette of the individualistic and westernized male began to emerge as the ideal for contemporary Chinese masculinity.

The Communist Revolution of 1949 would be the next watershed event that reshaped masculinity and femininity in 20th century China. When Mao Zedong declared the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1st 1949, the topography of China's political, ideological, and social landscapes would transform dramatically. The Communist Party launched several abortive initiatives such as The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, in addition to instituting collectivization in the countryside. Among the many landmark reforms ushered in by the PRC was the redefining, once again, of Chinese masculinity and femininity.

Chinese masculinity following the 1949 Communist Revolution was defined by revolutionary militarism. Even before rising to power, Mao Zedong's militaristic attitude towards Chinese masculinity was reflected in his 1917 publication "A Study of Physical Education", in which he firmly argued that instilling physical martiality into the youth of China was key to revitalizing the nation.[15] Similarly, reformer Liang Qichao urged in his work "Martial Spirit" that in order to succeed in a Social Darwinist world, it was essential for China to adopt a militaristic disposition to survive.[16] These notions eventually surfaced and became reality after the Communist Revolution of 1949. For example, during the 1950s Mao Zedong popularized the concept of 'rebel-gangs', in which dissident male youths, primarily in Shanghai, were encouraged to bombard the headquarters (i.e. to attack Mao's political

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[13] Lao She, *Blades of Grass: The Stories of Lao She*, translated by William Lyell and Sarah Wei-ming Chen (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 2-3.

[14] Hinsch, *Masculinities in Chinese History*, 137.

[15] Nicholas Schillinger, *The Body and Military Masculinity in Late Qing and Early Republican China: The Art of Governing Soldiers* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016), 319-320.

[16] Schillinger, *The Body and Military Masculinity*, 254.

rivals).[17] Moreover, state-endorsed violence created an entire masculine sub-culture in which bandits, soldiers, and misfits sought to respond to Mao's call for militarism. On a final note, worker-rebel leader Dai Liqing explained in a confession, "My constant thought was: 'People must follow the king's law like the grass must move with the wind.' . . . I had one desire: to obey Chairman Mao."[18] In 1966, the martial mentality that Mao had instilled in the young men of Shanghai would unfurl across much of eastern China, manifesting in the uncontrollable ire of the Red Guards.

Like the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, the Communist Revolution promoted women's entry into another field to which they had historically had no access: working in industry. The PRC introduced a number of reforms such as the Marriage Reform Law in 1951, which gave women equal rights in the management and ownership of land and abolished forced marriage; other reforms guaranteed women equal rights in education and equal pay.[19] These reforms carried significant economic overtones, as Mao Zedong sought to smoothly integrate women into the labour force by releasing them from the restrictive bonds of the traditional female archetype.[20] Moreover, women who began to integrate into the workforce, primarily in agriculture and heavy industry, were referred to as "iron girls" or 铁姑娘 (*tie guniang*). This term characterized this new class of women as iron-willed, broad-shouldered, and physically strong. They worked with heavy machinery in crude industries and embodied stereotypically masculine characteristics such as the aversion to discussing love and inner feelings.[21] To be feminine no longer required women to remain confined in the household and behave as mild and submissive.
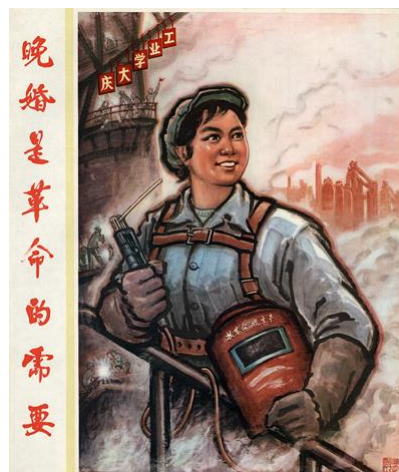
Above: A Communist propaganda poster depicting an "iron girl." The bordering text reads, "To marry late is a revolutionary necessity." A new take on women's physical attributes, career paths, and disinclination towards stereotypically female obligations is presented here.[22]

Furthermore, the Communist Revolution was instrumental in reconstructing gender identities and role expectations for women in mid-20th century China. When women were given the right to work in industry alongside men, traditional gender norms were effectively

[17] Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, *Chinese Femininities and Chinese Masculinities: A Reader* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 271-272.
[18] Brownell et al., *Chinese Femininities and Chinese Masculinities*, 277.
[19] Alice Hu, "Half the Sky, But Not Yet Equal," http://hir.harvard.edu/article/?a=13799 [accessed 1 Nov 2017].
[20] Hu, "Half the Sky, But Not Yet Equal," http://hir.harvard.edu/article/?a=13799 [accessed 1 Nov 2017].
[21] Zhang Meifang and Liu Bing, "Technology and gender: A case study on "iron girls" in China," *Technology in Society* 43, (2015): 87-88.
[22] 凤凰, "这些海报见证了世界计划生育热潮" (Posters that evidence the birth of a global revolutionary tide), http://finance.ifeng.com/a/20151102/14052026_1.shtml [accessed 3 Nov 2017].

reversed and gender equality was further promoted in Chinese society; Mao's slogan of "women hold up half the sky" indeed rang true.

In conclusion, the Xinhai Revolution of 1911 and the Communist Revolution of 1949 were pivotal events that redefined what it meant to be a man and a woman in 20th century China. The Xinhai Revolution released women from the bonds of ancient Chinese tradition, giving them access to education never before possible; in hopes of modelling the idealized Western male, men were given the freedom under a new political era to pursue independence and success for themselves. The Communist Revolution broke more barriers for women, giving them an entryway into historically male-dominated industries. In doing so, what it meant to be feminine in mid-20th century China was no longer defined by the archetypical submissive woman; women were free to define femininity for themselves. As Mao proclaimed in a famous slogan, "The times have changed, men and women are the same."[23] In an increasingly militaristic society, the Communist Revolution militarized masculinity, serving as the framework for the Red Guards' unbridled violence during the Cultural Revolution. In other words, revolutions throughout Chinese history have not only toppled dynasties, destroyed social equilibria, and reconceived Chinese identity, but also created blank slates on which men and women could newly construct their gendered identities. And in increasingly revolutionary times for China during the 21st century, what transformations masculinity, femininity, and gender roles may undergo remain to be seen.

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[23] Brownell et al., *Chinese Femininities and Chinese Masculinities: A Reader*, 255.

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