The Attic

The St. Mary's University
Journal of Undergraduate Papers

Fall 2018, Volume 5, Number 1

St MARY'S
UNIVERSITY

The Attic
The St. Mary's University Journal of Undergraduate Papers

Table of Contents

The Attic
The St. Mary's University Journal of Undergraduate Papers

Table of Contents

The Attic
The St. Mary's University Journal of Undergraduate Papers

A Note from the Editor

&❦ **I am pleased** to announce that *The Attic* is available once again! To serve the broadest possible audience we have made the journal available not only in print but also in digital format on our STMU website.

Last year we received a record number of such absolutely stellar submissions that it was very difficult to decide which ones to select for publication in our Fall 2018 issue. First of all, we want to thank all of you who responded so generously to the call for papers. Secondly, we encourage you to continue to submit your most outstanding work for inclusion in the next journal. To this end, we have issued a call for papers for the 2018 issue.

It is gratifying to receive so many truly excellent submissions that reflect the diverse range of your interests and pursuits. Welcome to *The Attic!*

Warm wishes,

Dr. Gayle Thrift
Editor of *The Attic*

The Attic:
The St. Mary's University Journal of Undergraduate Papers

Editorial Statement of Purpose

❧ **Attic:** the prestige dialect of Ancient Greek spoken and written in Attica and its principal city, Athens; *Attic purity:* special purity of language; *Attic style:* a style pure and elegant; *Attic faith:* inviolable faith; *Attic salt/Attic wit:* a poignant, delicate wit.

The Attic: The St. Mary's University Journal of Undergraduate Papers is a journal devoted to the publication of exceptional undergraduate papers. By providing students a public forum for expressing their intellectual pursuits, *The Attic* promotes increased student engagement in research and scholarship, while also fostering a scholarly community of emerging researchers.

The Attic has undergone significant change since its first publication in 2008. Three volumes were published under its former name, *Salvia*. A revised mandate reflects our intent to be inclusive by publishing submissions from across the disciplines. In recognition of St. Mary's undergraduates' varied scholarly explorations, the journal welcomes submissions of all kinds such as essays, laboratory assignments, field notes, reviews, and explications. *The Attic* strives to encourage students' interest in the pursuit of excellence in research and scholarship throughout their undergraduate careers.

Standards of Publication

The papers adhere to the scholarly and stylistic expectations of the respective field, with a minimal amount of grammatical and mechanical errors. The writers present compelling and timely material in the ideas themselves and in the manner in which they present them. Submissions subscribe to the citation format assigned to each discipline.

Meet the Press: The Rise of Victorian Era Newspapers

Tim Collard

∞ **The nineteenth century in Britain** saw a period of rapid technological advances, social change, and the expansion of empire. All aspects of society were affected by this period of rapid industrialization and urbanization. The growing middle class provided a new market for consumer goods, as did the working class which produced these goods. It was also an era that produced a proliferation of new ideas, advances in science, and the rise of a new level of political engagement as more and more Britons received the right to vote. The dissemination of these new ideas helped to fuel a rapid development of the newspaper industry in the Victorian era. This elevated pace of development was enabled by technological advances and changes in public policy. As the industry advanced, the focus of the press and the way that news was presented changed to appeal to shifting demographics, the growing middle and working classes provided an increased audience and over the course of the Victorian period, and newspapers gradually shifted from being primarily edifying to serving a greater role as a form of entertainment.[1] The first development to spur the growth of the newspapers was the application of new, industrialized processes in the manufacture of newspapers and their transportation around the country.

The first English language newspapers to reach England were imported from Amsterdam in 1620, with the first publication on native soil the following year.[2] The development of the Penny Post in 1680 helped to spread newspapers throughout the country and was an early instance of transportation and communication technologies expanding the reach of the press.[3] By the nineteenth century, "[t]hanks to improvements in roads and the growth of railways, the newspaper market extended geographically across urban and, increasingly, rural areas of Britain."[4] Advances in transportation, particularly the railway, allowed newspapers to reach a much wider geographical audience, and warranted the idea of a national press. Despite this geographic reach, the number of newspapers that could be produced was still relatively small. Traditional hand presses could produce 250 – 300 impressions per hour. With the invention of steam presses this number would increase dramatically. In 1814 *The Times* introduced the Koenig steam press, which allowed the printers to produce "at a rate of 1000-1,200 an hour,

---

1 Martin Conboy, *Journalism in Britain: A Historical Introduction,* (London, UK: Sage, 2011), 14.

2 Jeremy Black, *The English Press 1621-1861,* (Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2011), 4.

3 Ibid, 7.

4 Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England,* (Aldershot, UK: Scholar Press, 1996), 7.

and later up to 2,500 an hour, ten times the speed of hand presses."[5] As advances in technology continued through the early Victorian period, the speed of print technology would climb even higher. The Great Exhibition of 1851 saw the unveiling of Applegarth's cylinder machine, and the subsequent Hoe machine increased production up to 20,000 copies per hour.[6] Inversely affected by the increase in printing technology was the number of workers required to produce papers. By 1870, with the invention of the web rotary for the feeding of paper, seven men could deliver an output that would have required forty-eight men to achieve previously.[7] These increases in printing technology would allow printers to meet the growing demand for newspapers in the second half of the 19th century.

The increasing demand for newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century was due to a culmination of a rise in disposable incomes for the middle and working classes, and dramatic shifts in public policy which allowed papers to be produced at much cheaper rates and with less political interference. One of the most significant developments in the history of newspapers in the 19th century was the repeal of the 'taxes on knowledge' in the 1850's and 1860's. The three taxes which particularly affected the newspaper industry were "the advertisement duty, the newspaper stamp and the excise on paper [which] became the focus of the 'taxes on knowledge' campaigns of the period 1849-61."[8] In 1847, prior to the repeal of the 'taxes on knowledge', newspaper prices were quite high. Eighty-nine percent of newspapers in England cost 4d or more and only one percent of newspapers cost less than 3d.[9] The main component of these high prices was the taxes charged on papers. "The newspaper stamp…had by 1815 been raised to 4d per paper."[10] The stamp, which allowed the unfettered transmission and retransmission of the paper through the post, by 1851 was producing £397,000 in government revenue.[11] The high revenue generated for the government made repeal of the taxes a thorny political issue, however, in February 1851 a group of parliamentary radicals formed the Association for the Promotion of the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge to agitate parliament to act.[12] Eventually they, and other groups, were able to push reform through parliament. In 1853 the tax on advertising was abolished.[13] The Crimean War of 1854-1856 increased pressure on parliament to repeal the remaining taxes due to high public interest in the War.[14] The newspaper stamp tax was removed in 1855 and, as Martin Conboy states, this began "to release the full force of competition into newspaper production."[15] Finally, in 1861 the paper duties were repealed, removing the last major tax on newspapers in Britain.[16]

[5] Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press 1855-1914,* (London, UK: Croom Helm, 1976), 55.

[6] Jones, *Powers of the Press,* 14.

[7] Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers,* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1985), 9.

[8] Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain,* (London, UK: Bloomsbury, 2014), 6.

[9] Ibid, 13.

[10] Ibid, 6.

[11] Ibid, 7.

[12] Ibid, 31.

[13] Black, *The English Press,* 183.

[14] Ibid, 183.

[15] Conboy, *Journalism in Britain,* 8.

[16] Hewitt, *Cheap Press,* 97.

The removal of these taxes had a profound effect on the newspaper industry. By 1860, sixty-one percent of newspapers were sold for 2d or less.[17] This increased to eighty-eight percent in 1869.[18] This dramatic reduction in price gave rise to the cheap press in Britain. Not only were newspapers becoming cheaper, but wages for the working classes were growing. In the final three-quarters of the nineteenth century it is estimated that real wages for the working class grew between one and one and a half percent annually.[19] This provided more disposable income to the working classes and thus made it possible for them to purchase newspapers on a regular basis. Newspapers now had access to a wider audience as the lower middle class' and the working classes' purchasing power increased. The increase in audience and distribution in the second half of the nineteenth century changed not only the reach and the scope of news coverage, but also the way that the news was presented and the relationship between the publisher and the audience.

The repeal of the 'taxes on knowledge' ushered in an era of accelerated growth for the newspaper industry, not just in an increasing number of readers, but also in an increasing number of papers. The number of daily newspapers in Britain rose from sixteen in 1846 to one hundred and sixteen by 1870.[20] New weekly papers also arose in the wake of the tax reductions. In its inaugural edition, the *Penny Illustrated Paper* directly references the repeal of the paper duty as a factor in its creation: "We have said that a new era is opened to us by the Repeal of the Paper Duties. It is one that none of us can yet hope rightly to estimate."[21] It is obvious, however, that the publishers of the *Penny Illustrated* expected the effect to be profound, in the same editorial they state that, "a new era opens upon the people. In producing an illustrated paper for the million, let us plainly say, we want to be esteemed the friend of the million."[22] The rise of the cheap press also allowed the established papers to increase their readership. Most, if not all, of the major papers saw increases in circulation, although accurate circulation numbers during the Victorian period can be notoriously hard to come by and may not accurately reflect the true scope of newspapers' reach. Despite this caveat, Lucy Brown provides some statistics that show an overall trend of increasing readership. The *Daily News* saw its readership increase from 50,000 in 1868 to 150,000 by 1871; the *Daily Telegraph* went from 141,700 in 1861 up to 300,000 by 1888; and *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* increased its audience from 612,902 in 1879 to 910,000 by 1893.[23] The increase in readership would have generated increasing profits for publishers, but that was not their only source of revenue. Advertising in the Victorian era became increasingly profitable for newspaper publishers.

---

[17] Ibid, 106.

[18] Ibid, 107.

[19] Emma Griffin, "Patterns of Industrialization" in *The Victorian World,* Ed. Martin Hewitt, (London, UK: Routledge, 2012), 91.

[20] Hewitt, *Cheap Press,* 101.

[21] *The Penny Illustrated Paper* (London, England), Saturday, October 12, 1861; pg. 1; Issue 1. *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900.*

[22] Ibid.

[23] Brown, *Victorian New,* 52.

The repeal of the advertising taxes allowed papers to tap into a lucrative revenue stream. By 1882, advertising accounted for around half of the content in British newspapers. The *Morning Post* devoted forty-six percent of its space to advertisements, the *Standard* fifty percent, and, in the *Daily Telegraph*, a whopping sixty-three percent of the paper was given over to advertisements.[24] In the January 10, 1871 edition of the *Daily News* most of the first three pages of the paper are filled with advertisements, with only one small section, which lists births, deaths, and marriages, to break up the onslaught of advertising.[25] While advertising revenue was clearly important to the *Daily News,* other papers of the period chose to provide a different emphasis to their cover page. The January 7, 1871 issue of *The Illustrated Police News* is devoted to large illustrations showing an individual being flogged, and "two Poles shot by a Frenchman"[26] Obviously the two newspapers were looking to appeal to a different audience.

Literacy statistics from the Victorian era are difficult to ascertain, one estimate put literacy at about two-thirds of men and half of women at the beginning of Victoria's reign, however the criteria was that the individual could write their own name, which is not an accurate indicator of their ability to read a newspaper.[27] The general consensus, however, is that literacy rates increased during the Victorian era. Alan Lee purports that literacy rates in England grew from sixty-one percent in 1850 to seventy-six percent in 1868, finally reaching ninety-seven percent in 1888.[28] The combination of increased literacy rates, falling newspaper prices, and increases in real wages for the middle and working classes contributed to a gradual change in the make-up of the newspaper audience and in the specific content emphasized in the newspapers over the nineteenth century.

The rapid growth in newspapers in the 1850s and 1860s created "an enhanced potential for political influence."[29] Politicians sought to use the growing press as a platform, and the newly enfranchised middle and working classes, following the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, were quick to espouse a political preference. The affiliation of newspapers with political party reached its peak in 1874, when only seven percent of English provincial newspapers were independent. By 1887 forty-seven percent of provincial newspapers were independent of political parties.[30] In a survey of *Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory* in 1870 twenty-five newspapers were advertised as having a political affiliation and a working class readership, by 1880 more than half of the newspapers had stopped asserting their political affiliation or their connections to the working classes.[31] The shift away from political affiliation and politics as

[24] Brown, *Victorian News,* 16.

[25] *Daily News* (London, England), Tuesday, January 10, 1871; Issue 7706 Pg. 1-3. *British Library Newspapers, Part I:1800-1900.*

[26] *The Illustrated Police News,* (London, England), Saturday, January 7, 1871; Issue 360. *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900.*

[27] Robert Anderson, "Learning: Education, Class and Culture" In *The Victorian World,* Ed. Martin Hewitt, (London, UK: Routledge, 2012), 495.

[28] Lee, *Popular Press,* 33.

[29] Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: The Nineteenth Century,* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 1.

[30] Lee, *Popular Press*, 290.

[31] Brown, *Victorian News,* 73-74.

the main focus of newspapers can also be seen in the layouts of the newspapers themselves. In the January 17, 1867 issue of the *Daily News* four of the first six articles on the second page (the first, of course, being devoted to advertising) are related to politics.[32] By January 10, 1871 political news has been relegated behind war correspondence, sporting intelligence and an article detailing the experiences of Parisians in London.[33] In tandem with this move away from politics as the primary topic for newspapers was a shift towards 'new journalism', although this was initially seen as a political movement, which aimed to reemphasize politics, it quickly became a movement towards a more commercial focus for newspapers.[34]

New Journalism represented a change in style for newspapers. Alan Lee summarizes the changes:

> [t]he most conspicuous feature of this mixture was typographical innovation aimed at making the paper more readable. Cross-heads, shorter paragraphs, larger and more informative headlines, and the increasing use of illustration all helped to break up the drear monotony of the mid-Victorian daily. There was no sharp break with tradition, and compared to post-1914 developments it all seemed very staid, but compared to the newspaper of the 1850s, that of the 1890s looked very different.[35]

An example of this can be seen in *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* which in the 1880s and 1890s had the largest circulation of any newspaper in the Britain.[36] The January 8, 1854 issue consists of twelve pages of tightly packed text, small headlines and no illustrations.[37] The January 6, 1895 version now has twenty pages, and, although the text is still quite tight, it is broken up by several illustrations and larger headlines.[38] In addition to the change in layout, the content of the papers was also changing. Throughout the newspapers of the 1880s and 1890s greater space was being given to police news, celebrity gossip and excerpts from novels.[39] In 1889 the *Penny Illustrated Paper* introduced a column titled 'How the World Wags' which provided updates on the movements of, and happenings within, the royal family. This was characteristic of the lightening in tone of newspapers in Britain towards the end of the Victorian era as New Journalism took hold and newspapers moved towards an increasingly commercial outlook.

[32] *Daily News* (London, England), Thursday, January 17, 1867; Issue 6460. *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900.*

[33] *Daily News* (London, England), Tuesday, January 10, 1871; Issue 7706. *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900.*

[34] Lee, *Popular Press*, 118-120.

[35] Ibid, 120.

[36] Brown, *Victorian News,* 52-53.

[37] *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (London, England), Sunday, January 8, 1854; Issue 581. *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900.*

[38] *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (London, England), Sunday, January 6, 1895; Issue 2720. *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900.*

[39] *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900.*

The newspaper industry in Britain changed dramatically over the course of the nineteenth-century. Technological advances and changes in public policy allowed newspapers to be produced cheaply and in increasing numbers. The proliferation of new and growing newspapers, in conjunction with increases in literacy and wages amongst the middle and working classes of Britain saw a substantial growth in readership. As newspapers moved from a politically motivated platform to an increasingly commercial one changes in content, style and layout moved print media further away from its seventeenth century origins and towards the modern press of the twentieth century. The Victorian Era, with its rapid industrialization and urbanization would provide the ideal conditions for the birth of modern journalism and the rise of an independent and commercial press.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900 – Accessed through University of Calgary Library.

Secondary Sources

Anderson, Robert. "Learning: Education, Class and Culture" *In The Victorian World,* Ed. Martin Hewitt, London, UK: Routledge, 2012.

Black, Jeremy. *The English Press 1621-1861,* Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2001.

Brown, Lucy. *Victorian News and Newspapers,* Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1985.

Conboy, Martin. *Journalism in Britain: A Historical Introduction,* London, UK: Sage, 2011.

Griffin, Emma. *"Patterns of Industrialization" in The Victorian World,* Ed. Martin Hewitt, London, UK: Routledge, 2012.

Hewitt, Martin. *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain,* London, UK: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Jones, Aled. *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England,* Aldershot, UK: Scholar Press, 1996.

Koss, Stephen. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: The Nineteenth Century,* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.

Lee, Alan J. *The Origins of the Popular Press 1855-1914,* London, UK: Croom Helm, 1976.

Literacy and Agency: An Alternative View of Nineteenth Century British Pauper Emigrants

Darren Crawley

‽ **There has been** an unkind assumption that nineteenth century British emigrants to Australasia were an illiterate, uneducated, unskilled degenerate mass that spilled out of the very lowest level of industrial Britain's social pyramid, being manipulated and directed away from North American colonies that had received the best of Britain's labor force. Possibly more important and connected to such an assumption is the question of whether emigrants were passive respondents to the socio-economic conditions and manipulations of both British and Australian societies and authorities or, whether they were active participants in the emigration process and to what degree emigrant agency had on the direction of their migration. Evidence provides for an alternative interpretation that suggests that far from merely reacting to social and economic conditions in nineteenth century Britain as pawns in the development of new colonies, emigrants were aware of and actively engaged in the direction of their own lives. It can be argued that for lower class nineteenth century British Emigrants to Australia and New Zealand literacy was key in their desire for mobility and that they were just as motivated and capable of and interested in mobility as their middle and upper class contemporaries.

The view of nineteenth century British working poor emigration to Australia as a migration of paupers and criminals seems to have its origin in the motivations of both British authorities who wished to rid themselves of the rising expense of poor laws by sending the most dependant members of the poor to colonial regions and, the needs of Australian colonial authorities to filter only the most valuable British workers into an increasingly demanding colonial economy. Some authorities in nineteenth century Britain saw a convenient solution to both the increasing burden of poor relief and the perceived social and moral failure of colonies by transferring British social hierarchy to the colonies in an effort to rebuild them in the image of the parent nation.[1] The failure of the British Empire's colonies was seen as the result of a divergence from the established social and economic hierarchy of the British nation and, was connected to the independence of poor working class emigrants who it was believed, needed the guidance of aristocratic land owners.[2] In an 1832 letter to Lord Earl Grey, Dublin's Archbishop Richard Whately expressed the idea that to leave such poor working-class emigrants to develop "plebeian"[3] colonies without aristocratic supervision or a familiar social hierarchy would result in a barbaric tribe of equals that would deviate from the parent nation.[4] Whately stressed that too much money and labor was expended to maintain colonies that did not thrive and develop as models of the parent nation[5] and he specifically pointed to colonies of the needy supposedly populated by paupers and criminals who were "unfit to

perpetuate [Britain's] national character".[6] His judgement of the quality of emigrants implied a belief in the inferiority of lower working class poor as they were not deemed suitable to be trusted with the development and administration of the British model of civilization in colonial possessions.[7] As paupers and criminals dependant on poor aid and the guidance and administration of aristocratic capitalist superiors the lower-class emigrants were not seen to possess the same agency and engagement in their own lives as was evident in middle and upper class British capitalists.[8]

The view of the poor as a subservient mass of labor with more modest aspirations befitting an inferior status was shared by others who sought to recreate the social and economic structure of Britain in colonial territories. In 1831 British politician and colonial administrator Edward Gibbon Wakefield shared a similar view with Whately as was seen in his proposition of an emigration scheme that would implement the "…replication of English conditions in new systematic colonies that would meet the aspirations of respectable capitalists and working migrants alike".[9] Wakefield's focus appeared to be less on emigration as a means for colonial development and concerned more with emigration of the lower unemployed strata of British society as a sort of "safety valve"[10] to relieve the social and economic pressures of unemployed agricultural workers[11]. For Wakefield, the poor and unemployed as an inferior class, respondent to social and economic pressure represented a problem that could be disposed of through emigration. Wakefield, like Whately, would have understood the unemployed poor as a class that was dependant on a social hierarchy without the same degree of agency that was perceived to be evident closer to the top of the social pyramid.

Such negative views of British emigrants extended to the colonies themselves as Australian colonial authorities' perception was that they were receiving immigrants that were below average specimens of poor quality[12], illiterate, unskilled, and a residue[13] that was left after the United States had selected the best candidates. Colonial authorities' demand for workers from the upper strata of potential British working class emigrants could be seen as evidence that the assumptions of men such as Whately and Wakefield were not limited to the British parent nation. Whately, Wakefield and Australian colonial authorities saw working poor emigrants as unconscious paupers and pawns in a greater scheme being selected and directed based on perceived qualities, however; this view can be challenged by revealing that lower-class emigrants were not merely an overflow of unwanted criminals from the lowest level of society but that they were in fact literate and skilled, and were actively engaged participants in and knowledgeable of the emigration process.

In 1831 the increasing economic demands of Australia coincided with a surplus population of skilled agricultural workers in Britain. As a way to meet the needs of both economies and societies emigration was put forth as a solution; however, the idea that agricultural workers were directed by the push of unemployment alternatives such as industrial or poorhouse labor and the pull of higher wages in and free passage to Australia and New Zealand is not an accurate observation. The problem with such an observation is that Australia and New Zealand did not seek immigrants only from the extremely poor unskilled British proletariat who would have been most prone to changing economic and social conditions but rather, favored the upper strata of British agricultural and domestic labor[14] found in

12

what Rosalind R. McClean described as "…high wage industrial counties where wages from agriculture were also high and unemployment in the agricultural sector generally low'.[15] The implication of this geographic and economic selection is that such secure and well paid agricultural labor would need incentives other than socio-economic factors to influence migration. Factors such as the great distance to Australasia would have been weighed against potential financial assistance available to cover the cost of passage in order to justify migration and this suggests that potential emigrants of the upper levels of the poor were able to be self-selecting to some degree rather than being directed toward emigration.[16] Although emigration agents from Australia and New Zealand preferred to induce emigration in what they perceived as more suitable workers by implementing a system of assistance that was biased against the very poor as a form of quality control[17], the agency of less fortunate potential emigrants was also a part of the selection process. For agricultural workers who lived in times and regions where cyclical overpopulation and unemployment were present the process of being selected could be difficult but the desire for mobility and the agency of such potential emigrants can still be seen in their knowledge and utilization of agencies, destinations, and selection processes suggesting at least a practical degree of education and literacy.

The connection between literacy and emigration is considered by Eric Richards to be the main contributing factor to the ability of British nineteenth century poor emigrants to influence the direction of their emigration.[18] Literacy statistics from 1841 provide evidence that British emigrants to Australia were at a much greater level of literacy than either their home or destination populations and this suggests a link with a more educated origin in the upper levels of the poor.[19] For Richards the implication of literacy is that it was related to a potential emigrant's capacity to understand and take advantage of opportunities available through poor law, parish aid, and colonial emigration agencies. Literacy allowed for a greater understanding of emigration schemes and the overall process as well as providing valuable specific information regarding geography, benefits and costs.[20] Richards suggests that literacy gave potential emigrants a greater confidence and impetus to explore the idea of migrating as he comments that the more literate who were considering emigration "…had a greater inclination to migrate, possessed a greater opportunity to do so, and knew better how to take advantage of the opportunity when it was offered by the agents of New South Wales".[21] Education and literacy were the products of urbanization and industrialization and that far from limiting emigrants such urbanization and industrialization were as Eric Richards remarks the "…liberating factor[s]…"[22] in the potential mobility of the working poor of Victorian Britain.[23]

The idea that education and literacy made it possible for potential emigrants to have readily made use of information in the selection process suggests that there had to be a diffusion of information to begin with and this is counter to the view that only the push and pull of economic variables was causal in nineteenth century British emigration. In contrast to Richard's reliance on empirical data Paul Hudson suggests that rather than providing an account of emigration based only on observed quantitative statistical data that points to socio-economic factors, additional evidence for emigrant agency can be seen in how they utilized available information.[24] For Hudson understanding emigrant agency involved examining how they

chose destinations as the result of the diffusion of information related to destination colonies and selection processes compared with other socio-economic factors.[25] Hudson goes further by suggesting that it was not only the availability of information but to what degree it existed as a "…catalyst for emigration"[26] compared with other influences such as chain migration implying a greater degree of self-selection and participation by potential emigrants in the direction of their emigration.[27] Potential emigrants' agency was evident in their utilization of various forms of information including emigration agencies, personal contacts, and correspondence. A relationship between emigration agents and emigrants evolved out of several methods of information diffusion as it related to selecting possible destinations. Although emigration agencies such as the New Zealand Company were skilled at marketing Australasian colonies to potential emigrants in an attempt to direct them away from North American destinations potential emigrants were adaptive in their selection of information sources. Australasian colonial agencies made extensive use of the local press, clergy, and parish officials in Britain as well as delivering lecture tours that provided potential emigration applicants with information through direct personal connections.[28] The diffusion of information regarding the particulars of destinations in Australia and New Zealand also took the form of emigrants themselves who had purchased land in Australia, New Zealand, or the Cape Colonies. Such land owners were sought out by potential emigrants not only for colonial information but also for their potential as employers for other emigrants once they had arrived in a colony.[29] The exchange of information between emigrants in the form of chain migration also presented the potential emigrant with a personal and valuable insight into the process of emigration as well as experience of colonial prospects through correspondence with relatives who had already migrated.[30] Historian Robin Haines observation that the correspondence between colonists and their British relatives who lived in very diverse and geographically distant locations throughout Britain stimulated emigration[31] is evidence that not only were emigrants literate but that they did not rely only on information from government or colonial agencies who targeted specific regions or populations. Evidence that literate emigrants were actively and, more importantly, independently seeking other forms of information through correspondence suggests as Charlotte Erickson claims that "…it was the flow of information that was concomitant with chain migration that propelled further movement abroad".[32] Emigrant literacy as a necessary part of correspondence appeared to be an important factor in the ebb and flow of information and people between Britain and Australasia. Such diffusion of information from various sources was seized upon by emigrants with the capacity to use it to make informed choices[33] rather than respond only to economic or social forces. Emigration agencies may have used various methods to attempt to direct emigrants to particular destinations, however; potential emigrants could be seen as self-selecting in that they were educated, discerning, and strategic in their use of information supplied by agencies. Paul Hudson emphasizes the capacity of potential emigrants to astutely probe agencies for more information when he says that "[m]any letters from applicants mention the benefits of South Australia compared to New Zealand, or the opportunities available in the United States…"[34] implying that they were attempting to educate themselves by extracting more information from agencies in an effort to decide on the destination that would provide them with the best prospects.

Which destination presented the best prospects was generally determined by what type of employment or skills were required from those wishing to emigrate and in this regard

literacy is again seen to have played a significant role in the movement of people. An example can be seen in the high literacy rates of women employed as skilled servants and shopkeepers in eastern Australia between 1837 and 1850.[35] Among female servants and shopkeepers seventy seven percent were able to both read and write at a high level suggesting literacy as a preferred skill of employers in particular occupations and an important consideration in potential emigrants' choice of destination.[36] The connection of literacy to gender appears to have been an important factor in emigration as Robin Haines notes that among poor emigrants women were more likely to be literate than their husbands.[37] Greater literacy among poor and working class women presents the possibility that it provided them with a tool to better assess the employment potential of destinations than men and by accessing information published in various emigrant hand books and guides were able to a significantly influence a family's choice of destination implying that women had a greater role in mobility.[38] Emigrants then were more than passive respondents concerned only with escaping social or economic conditions as the choice of where to emigrate to was as Paul Hudson observed equally important as the decision to emigrate at all.[39]

Contrary to Richard Whately's view that emigrants from the bottom of the British social pyramid did not perpetuate the national character of the parent nation it could be argued in retrospect that they exhibited many of the same qualities as their middle and upper class countrymen. An earnestness and desire for mobility, literacy as evidence of their membership in the urbanization and industrialization of Britain, Agency as seen in their resourcefulness and engagement in the emigration process, and an awareness of the direction of their lives rather than being reactive pawns in the social and economic schemes and manipulations of elites all point to a movement of people that were far more than paupers and criminals.

Notes

[1] Richard Whately, "Some Observations on Colonization" in *Thoughts on Secondary Punishments in a Letter to Earl Grey,* 190, 197. London: B. Fellowes, 1832. www.hathitrust.org/access

[2] Ibid, 190.

[3] Ibid, 195.

[4] Ibid, 196.

[5] Ibid, 190.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid, 194.

[8] Ibid, 194-195.

[9] Eric Richards, "How did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?" Journal of British Studies, 32, no. 3 (1993): 258-259. http://www.jstor.org/stable/176082.

[10] Ibid, 259.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Eric Richards,. "An Australian Map of British and Irish Literacy in 1841," *Population Studies,* 53, no. 3 (1999): 346. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2584704.

[13] Haines, Robin. "Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia", 1831-1860." Population Studies 48, no. 2 (1994): 237. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2174890

[14] Eric Richards,. "How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?" *Journal of British Studies* 32, no. 3 (1993): 260. http://www.jstor.org/stable/176082.

[15] Rosalind R McClean, , *Scottish Emigration to New Zealand, 1840-1880: Motives, Means and Background* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1990, p. 205, quoted in Eric Richards,. "How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?" Journal of British Studies 32, no. 3 (1993): 276. http://www.jstor.org/stable/176082.

[16] Eric Richards,. "How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?" *Journal of British Studies* 32, no. 3 (1993): 276-277. http://www.jstor.org/stable/176082.

[17] Ibid, 263.

[18] Eric Richards,. "An Australian Map of British and Irish Literacy in 1841," *Population Studies,* 53, no. 3 (1999): 355-356. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2584704.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Paul Hudson,. "English Emigration to New Zealand, 1839-1850: Information Diffusion and Marketing a New World," *The Economic History Review* 54, no. 4 (2001): 681-682. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3091627.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid, 684-685.

[29] Ibid, 686,691.

[30] Robin Haines,. "Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia", 1831-1860." *Population Studies* 48, no. 2 (1994): 223-224. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2174890

[31] Ibid.

[32] Charlotte Erickson, *'Emigration from the British Isles to the U.S.A. in 1841, Part II, Population Studies,* 44 (1990), 27, quoted in Robin Haines, "Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia", 1831-1860." *Population Studies* 48, no. 2 (1994): 224. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2174890

[33] Paul Hudson. "English Emigration to New Zealand, 1839-1850: Information Diffusion and Marketing a New World," *The Economic History Review* 54, no. 4 (2001): 692-693. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3091627.

[34] Ibid, 695.

[35] Robin Haines,. "Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia", 1831-1860." *Population Studies* 48, no. 2 (1994): 235. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2174890

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Paul Hudson, "English Emigration to New Zealand, 1839-1850: Information Diffusion and Marketing a New World," *The Economic History Review* 54, no. 4 (2001): 695. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3091627.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Whately, Richard. "Some Observations on Colonization" in *Thoughts on Secondary Punishments in a Letter to Earl Grey,* 189-204. London: B. Fellowes, 1832. www.hathitrust.org/access

Secondary Sources

Briggs, Asa. *The Age of Improvement, 1783-1867.* 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1959.

Haines, Robin. "Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia", 1831-1860." *Population Studies* 48, no. 2 (1994): 223-47. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2174890.

Hudson, Paul. "English Emigration to New Zealand, 1839-1850: Information Diffusion and Marketing a New World," *The Economic History Review* 54, no. 4 (2001): 680-98. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3091627.

Richards, Eric. "An Australian Map of British and Irish Literacy in 1841," *Population Studies,* 53, no. 3 (1999): 345-59. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2584704.

Richards, Eric. "How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?" *Journal of British Studies* 32, no. 3 (1993): 250-79. http://www.jstor.org/stable/176082.

Richards, Eric. "Human Traffic" in *The Victorian World,* edited by Martin Hewitt, 141-159. Abingdon: Routledge, 2012.

Controversy, Conditions, and Caring for Captive Nonhuman Animals

Chelsea Gimson

  ⬎ **Controversy** around the captivity of [nonhuman] animals has increased over the past few decades as humans further acknowledge the harm that can be done to animals in certain captive conditions. The extent to which certain captive settings are viewed as acceptable, or non-acceptable, has a large range. Some forms of captivity, such as laboratories, are usually viewed more negatively than captivity in the form of household pets; whereas zoos and aquaria become more complicated as there are seemingly more factors to consider, depending on the specific species and enclosure conditions. All animals, human and nonhuman, should be entitled to their own lives and the right to avoid suffering. The fact that humans cannot communicate with nonhuman animals in the same way that they can with other humans has led many to objectify animals and disregard the fact that nonhuman animals, though they may not be able to speak to us using human language, can suffer. When an animal is taken into captivity by humans, the animal is no longer in control of where they can go and are limited to what they can do and when they can do it. If humans are going to continue to restrict such basic daily activities of animals by keeping them in captivity, then as humans, we need to assume responsibility for these animals and ensure that everything necessary is done to optimize their well-being.

  Many forms of nonhuman animal captivity exist in our contemporary world. Billions of animals are held captive and killed in the food industry; thousands are kept in laboratories, zoos, and aquaria; and millions as pets in our households.[1] Numerous captivity institutions – such as laboratories and factory farms – are essentially invisible to people because of their locations in remote, often desolate areas that cannot be readily located.[2] This differs from other normalized institutions of captivity that individuals are encouraged to be a part of, such as pet-keeping, zoos, and aquaria. This normalization has made it difficult for individuals to view pet-keeping, zoos, and aquaria in the same category of captivity as factory farms and laboratories.[3]

  Though the nature of captivity differs, some sort of confinement is a required element of a captive life. This includes both literal confinement [such as a cage] and figurative confinement [uncaged but kept by humans].[4] To hold an animal captive is to keep them in a condition where they are confined and controlled, and are reliant on their captors to satisfy their basic needs.[5] Different animals respond differently to being captives: domesticated animals like cats and dogs live with us as companions and often are well-cared for, living happy lives in captivity if they are well fed, have companionship, enough exercise, and other interests satisfied.[6] Other

domestic animals have lives filled with suffering as they are raised and slaughtered for food, or live miserably in laboratories.[7] The types of captivity that will be focused on primarily are household pets and zoo animals. Both have become normalized in our contemporary world and because of this, a lot of people seem to neglect how these animals came to be, the unsuitable conditions some of them are kept in, and that their well-being ultimately depends on how we provide for them.

Many people, without a doubt, view and refer to their household companions as friends and family before they would consider them captives. One of the most common household pets is the domestic dog, *Canis familiaris*. Through selective breeding, humans have designed dogs, over thousands of years [at least 14,000], to become domesticated and dependent on us for their survival.[8] Dogs were originally kept for work [to hunt, herd, and guard], but during the nineteenth century, dogs transitioned from working animals to companions and family animals.[9] Keeping a pet is a voluntary choice that has continued to last due to strong human-animal bonds.[10] Having a pet can satisfy the human need for companionship, as well as provide emotional attachment and support, happiness, entertainment, physical activeness, and social interaction with other people.[11]

Although few people consider their dogs to be captives, this does not change the fact that they easily meet the criteria of living a captive life. Pet dogs are "constitutionally captive" as domestication has produced a resultant captive species that lives within human society, where no "wild" dog truly exists anymore.[12] A dog who is not captive, wouldn't really be a dog at all. Even if we desired so, we cannot give most of our household pets the "freedom" to be wild. For a domesticated species to roam free and live a life without human attachment would be more dangerous for them. Dogs are so social that even if they were let free they would choose to remain with humans or at least within human society where they know they can get a reliable source of food. For dogs, there is no option to "return to the wild" and no future for a "wild-domestic" dog – this species was selected to be kept. Thus freedom, in this sense is not relevant for such deeply domesticated animals.[13]

While having dogs in captivity has in an obscure sense enabled their existence, there are also many negative consequences of recent artificial selection to obtain particular breeds of dogs. Dog breeds have differing physical features and behavioral tendencies but many disorders have resulted because of selective breeding for particular features, especially via inbreeding.[14] We have bred dogs [and other domesticated animals] to have characteristics that are pleasing to us, but harmful to them.[15] For example, Sryingeomyelia occurs in Cavalier King Charles spaniel, where the brain grows too large for its skull resulting in brain swelling, neurological damage, and severe pain because of the human preference for a small-headed dog.[16] One of the more contemporary examples is that of "Teacup" dogs – Toy dogs that are bred to be tinier versions of already small dogs, making them extremely fragile and prone to health issues.

Other types of pets, such as fish are often overlooked. But fish are intelligent animals who can feel pain and require environmental stimulation. Fish are treated more as merchandise and ornamental pets than any other animal. This becomes especially apparent through studies that show that many people do not mourn at all for their fish once it has passed on since they

can be easily replaced.[17] The bond between humans and fish in this case just doesn't seem as strong as the bond between humans and dogs, primarily because of their low maintenance and the lack of our sociability with them. Since fish are meant to dwell in large bodies of water, it seems wrong to keep them for decoration purposes, in bowls or aquariums. Even if they are well-maintained aquariums, they cannot compare to open waters.[18] Additionally, exotic animals [such as some birds, primates, large wildcats, and snakes] should not be captured and kept in household settings – the space available to them is simply too small compared to what they are used to in the wild. Many individuals falsely believe that it is fine to release their exotic pets back into the wild if they no longer want them. Having been raised by humans, these animals often have no survival skills and usually die from starvation, exhaustion, predators, or vehicle contact.[19] However, if they do survive after release, these animals can become invasive species, having serious implications on the balance of the ecosystem and often negatively impacting the species that are already present.

Unfortunately, not all people take care of the animals they have brought into their homes. Human control over domesticated animals has, in some cases, led to their mistreatment and abuse. There are many cases where people take in an unusually large number of animals, leading to animal hoarding. These animals are not provided with adequate care and their living conditions are filthy and unsafe for their well-being.[20] Others simply get bored of their pets, but instead of trying to rehome them, they simply get neglected. These are the types of extreme situations that make pet-keeping seem so wrong. But until, due to some unforeseen reason, people stop breeding domesticated animals, ceasing them to exist, we have a responsibility and obligation to care for them and provide them with all their needs. These domestic animals were created by humans, and only exist because of us, so providing them with love and care when they are brought into our vicinity is the least we could do for them.

Other forms of captivity are zoos and aquaria. Modern zoos that display captive animals for education purposes and public amusement emerged in the mid-eighteenth century.[21] Most of these early zoos did not know how to care for wild animals and kept them [alone] in enclosures that were too small and indoors with limited access to air and sunlight, and that were not being fed appropriate foods.[22] Most artificial environments did not provide the opportunity for animals to interact with their surroundings in ways that were essential to their sensory and cognitive development, or that allowed them to engage in their essential species-typical behaviors.[23] These animals did not live long and if they did, they developed abnormal behaviors, known as stereotypies. This includes behaviors such as repetitive pacing [common in large carnivores], monotonous swaying [common in elephants], hair-plucking or over-grooming [common in primates, birds, and cats], head-rolling, and rocking – behaviors that are rarely, if ever, seen in animals in the wild.24 Stereotypies in zoo animals are indicative of discontent and stress and can have deleterious effects on animal reproduction and health. This behavior is not only an indicator of poor animal welfare but it also brings concern to the public.[25]

As zoos became more established, zoo staff learned more about caring for captive animals, improving the enclosures in attempts to closely match the animals' wild habitat.[26] However, while these changes were an improvement, many zoos still did not have optimal

conditions. The unsuitable conditions that many zoos kept their animals in, along with the abnormal animal behaviors that resulted because of it, became an animal welfare concern, and eventually led to the development of *environmental enrichment.* This is a concept that describes how captive animals' environments can be enhanced to better suit the inhabitant based on their behavioral biology and natural history.[27] The goal is to enhance animal welfare by making changes to enclosures. This includes identifying and providing key environmental stimuli; providing a naturalistic environment – that is, one that accurately represents an animal's natural wild environment; providing a realistic environment – one that allows the animal to function naturally; and husbandry practices to increase behavioral diversity, normal species behaviors, and reduce abnormal behavior.[28]

Even though many environmental enrichment strategies have improved captive conditions, artificial environments still have a negative impact on the sensory behavior of these animals, mainly because humans are still, in most cases, unaware of captive environmental sensory elements that an animal may find stressful.[29] Such sensory elements include unnaturally intense or constant sound, exposure to irregular lighting conditions, the odor or sight of adversaries, the elimination of scent-marks during cage cleaning, and/or rough substrates [such as wire, concrete, tiles] used in enclosures.[30] In the wild, animals can generally avoid stressful sensory stimuli and carry out behavioral activities when they desire. In contrast, captive animals have limited to no control over the timing, duration, and/or nature of sensory elements they are exposed to and are unable to escape from them.[31]

In terms of sound, a lot remains unknown about most species' auditory ranges. This lack of knowledge does not allow for adequate assessment of the auditory risks to animal welfare. Our own limited human capacity to detect sounds differs from animals and thus anthropogenic sound that is not detectable by humans may be extremely stressful to nonhuman animals in captivity.[32] In modern facilities that hold captive animals, high levels and varying frequencies of unnatural noise are commonly produced.[33] Behavioral and physiological arousal are common stress responses exhibited by animals in response to intense noise. This impacts some animals' blood pressure and heart rate and can also negatively impact pregnant animals and their offspring.[34]

Lighting conditions in captive settings also pose potential problems for nonhuman animals as they are normally designed for human convenience. The photoperiod is artificially altered to suit human requirements and not to represent natural light conditions.[35] The intensity and composition of the lights used can also have a negative effect on animal welfare as they can restrict access to specific wavelengths of light essential for the optimal well-being of many animals. For example, many bird species detect ultraviolet wavelength and use these wavelengths to receive information about foraging, social interactions, and mate choice. Thus, these short wavelengths of light are necessary for optimal perception of the birds' surroundings and for interactions with other birds.[36]

For many animals in captivity, the odors they are exposed to can be a great source of distress. This is seen in prey animals in captivity that are exposed to the smell of predators. This has been highly observed in animals such as rats, hedgehogs, and cotton-top tamarins

upon exposure to predator odor, causing increased blood pressure, anxiety-like behavior, and increased defensive behavior. For animals who use odors to mark territory and as chemical cues to indicate reproductive status, the removal of such scent cues by routine cage cleaning, can cause an animal to be stressed.[37]

When ambient temperatures deviate from a captive animal's preferred range, they do not have the ability to migrate to a more comfortable location elsewhere. It is common for zoo animals to be exposed to temperatures that their species is not adapted for such as elephants, lions, and giraffes, who evolved in warmer climates, that are kept in temperate zone zoos with significantly colder temperatures at certain times of year. Same goes for colder climate species such as penguins and polar bears, who are kept in locations where snow rarely occurs.[38] Extreme temperatures that an animal does not prefer are proven to be well-known sources of discomfort and distress. Not only do optimal temperatures differ between different species of animals, but also between conspecifics, depending on their body weight.[39] Choice of substrates for enclosures also affect temperature by potentially hindering an animal's ability to thermoregulate as different substrates gain and lose heat at different speeds. Providing captive animals with complex and diverse ranges of substrates can help with thermoregulation as well as support a more diverse range of behavioral opportunities, and thus reduce stress.[40]

One of the greatest potential stressors for animals in captivity is restricted movement due to small cage size.[41] Species home range size in the wild is usually always larger than it is in captivity. An animals' overall activity diminishes when they are in enclosures that are too small. It is also common for suppressed growth to occur – a common physiological consequence of chronic stress.[42] Ensuring captive animals have the space they require is essential to avoid these problems. However, for some animals, changing enclosure size can have little to no effect on behavior, and not all animals prefer the largest available living areas. Species natural history is thus an essential predictor of an animal's response to confinement as well as their required enclosure size. Unfortunately, many animals in captivity [especially domestic ones] have limited to no data regarding natural habitat use. If this is the case, then the focus of importance should shift from the *quantity* of space available to the animal, to the *quality* of that space.[43]

In captivity, animals have limited ability to distance or conceal themselves from one another and/or from human caretakers. This lack of sufficient retreat space can be a stressor for many species of captive animals and hinder their well-being.[44] Adding retreat spaces to animal enclosures improves many indicators of animal welfare. These retreat spaces also become useful for remedying the "visitor effect" observed in some animals – occurring when visitor behaviors affect animals' behavior and level of arousal.[45] This has been best documented with nonhuman primates who have been known to direct more behavior and higher activity at active audiences. However, in other animals, human presence leads to reduced species-typical behaviors and activity levels [as seen in cotton-top tamarins], as well as increased pacing [as seen in leopards].[46]

For zoos and aquaria, retreat space becomes an issue in terms of trying to balance what might be best for an animal's well-being and the expectation to provide guests with visible animals that they paid to see. In some cases, zoos employ forced lockouts, where animals are barred from entering their off-exhibit holding areas [their retreat space] during the hours that

the zoo is open to the public.[47] To also be as fair as possible to zoos regarding this matter, many zoos' underlying intention is to increase *guest-animal interactions* to encourage a sense of empathy and connectedness that is essential to improving humans' attitudes and behaviors towards conservation. Most accredited zoos aim to present animals to visitors in a way that conveys information regarding their natural history and promotes positive attitudes towards these animals and their natural environments, with the hope of using this connection to make more environmentally friendly choices that will benefit wildlife.[48] However, no matter what the intention is, forced proximity and contact with humans can be detrimental to animal well-being.[49]

Due to the inescapable physical and/or psychological suffering that many captive animals experience, many individuals believe that unless there is a very good, justified reason for keeping animals captive, we should release them.[50] However, for most captive animals, release would only result in their death. A lot of the animals' wild habitats are being destroyed, so in some cases they may have no wild home they can return to. Even if there are wild environments where they can be returned, most captive animals have lost their independence and would not be able to survive on their own.[51] This has been seen with orca whales, such as Keiko, who was captured from the Atlantic Ocean at the age of two, to star in *Free Willy*. At the age of 20, the attempt to have him rehabilitated for release ended up being unsuccessful. He began following fishing boats, seeking human care, and choosing to stay alongside them, even though he could live a free life in the ocean.[52] In many cases, once animals have grown accustomed to being around humans, they no longer see them as a threat and believe that humans will continue to provide for them. This dependence on humans is one of the many difficulties associated with reintroduction to the wild. In fact, success rates of reintroduction are fairly low, never going above 50 percent.[53]

The contemporary purpose and justification of zoos focuses on research, education, and conservation.[54] However, research done in zoos, primarily behavioral research, is highly questionable, as captive animals behave quite differently from their wild counterparts. While this research doesn't allow for accurate "wild" behavioral representations, it has allowed zoos to learn about how an animal behaves in captivity and in turn, keep the animals in better conditions.[55] However, as Dale Jamieson says, "the fact that zoo research contributes to improving conditions in zoos is not a reason for having them. If there were no zoos, there would be no need to improve them."[56] With currently more than 800,000 captive animals in [The Association of Zoos and Aquariums] AZA-accredited facilities, zoo conservation efforts don't always justify keeping animals captive either.[57] That is a lot of animals to hold captive – surely keeping this many animals captive is not essential and should not be justifiable to keep conservation efforts in order. While some zoos have helped fund research and conservation efforts, most haven't, and many other organizations support conservation efforts *without* holding animals captive. As mentioned previously, many zoos respond to this criticism by claiming that their major goal is not direct conservation, but educating zoo visitors so that they can become actively engaged in conservation efforts.[58]

Zoos will continue to exist for many years to come. For some species, such as chimpanzees, remaining in zoos may be the best option if there is really nowhere else for them to go. Rescue

animals in zoos fall under this situation. The Calgary Zoo's grizzly bear, Skoki, went from a wild bear, to a problem bear, to a rescue bear. He was introduced to human food and became acclimated to them and reliant on them for food. After countless negative encounters with humans, he was relocated to the zoo.[59] Instead of euthanizing the bear, relocating him seemed like the more responsible choice since it was careless human actions that put Skoki in this position. Some endangered species are extinct in the wild and can only be found in captivity, such as the Guam Kingfisher. This bird was endemic to the United States Territory of Guam Island in the Pacific Ocean but has been extirpated due to the introduction of brown tree snakes. It is now extinct in the wild and can only be found in zoos' captive breeding programs.[60] However, for large mammals such as elephants, who are long-lived, socially complex, and highly intelligent animals, continued captivity is not the best option as no zoo environment is adequate to satisfy their need for space and companionship.[61] In addition to elephants, large carnivores, cetaceans, and many birds cannot thrive in captivity.62 Many cetaceans die during capture, but if they make it to captivity, they display their own types of stereotypies, similar to captive land animals.[63] Orca and beluga lifespans are commonly reduced by between 10-50 years when they are kept in captivity.[64]

One of the most controversial animals to keep in captivity are polar bears. Since they spend their lives roaming the Arctic, no enclosure is large enough to satisfy their space requirements. In 1999, the Calgary Zoo closed its controversial polar bear exhibit after the death of their last polar bear, Misty. Now, nearly 18 years later, they are considering having polar bears return. Misty was a good example of why polar bears should not be kept in captivity – she suffered from arthritis, a bad back, and loneliness until she was euthanized.[65] Both Misty, and the other polar bear, Snowball, who died in 1996, were given the human anti-depressant drug Prozac to control their erratic behavior and try make them "happier."[66] Many conservation groups say that zoos need to stop trying to focus on bringing in "box office" animals.[67] Even though zoos claim they have certain animals for conservation [which might be partially true], their underlying motive seems to be drawing in an audience to pull in more money.[68]

Lastly, all forms of captivity raise questions pertaining to animals' liberty, autonomy, and dignity.[69] When our options are constrained or we are forced to do something, then our liberty is being violated. Captivity deprives an individual of their freedom – of their liberty – and can easily make one's life go poorly as they cannot satisfy their desires and live the lives they want. Even if one is provided with the basic necessities to live a good life, and their liberty is denied, their life is not necessarily bad, but it would be *better* if they were able to provide themselves with these things, free from captive control, despite how much love or kindness they may be receiving.[70] Animals that are in captivity experiencing stress and stereotypies are often the direct result of their liberty being violated. They are not free to choose when to eat, who to be around, and are limited in their ability to avoid disturbing sensory stimuli in their enclosure, causing them to suffer.[71]

However, to recognize liberty as *intrinsically* valuable, one must be autonomous. It can be argued that animals are not autonomous, as it is not clear if they possess the advanced cognitive capacities required, making pain-free captivity not objectionable.[72] Instead, it is proposed that animals are non-autonomous as their interest in liberty is only instrumental, not

intrinsic as it is for humans.[73] In terms of dignity, when animals are forced to look or behave like something that they are not, they are being denied their dignity.[74] When animals become part of a human context [such as in captivity], we prevent them from controlling their own lives by altering their appearances and trying to change how they behave, but by doing so we deny them their dignity, even if it doesn't cause obvious suffering.[75] Captive animals are made to become "decent for human society" and this is precisely what it means to deny them their dignity.

Overall, many ethical questions concerning animal welfare are raised when it comes to captivity. Whether it be animals kept in our households or animals locked in zoos, they are dependent on us for everything they need to survive. Even if there was enough money, knowledge, and desire to create environments where all captive animals had their behavioral, physical, and psychological needs met – nutritious food, socialization opportunities, adequate space requirements, the ability to engage in species-typical behaviors and avoid stressful stimuli – there are still other factors, such as an animals' liberty, autonomy, and dignity, that makes keeping animals in captivity seem unacceptable in most cases. Although there is opposition towards household and zoo animal captivity, most individuals acknowledge that neither of these practices will yet cease to exist. Thus, humans need to do their best to ensure that captive animals are taken care of professionally and humanely to maximize their well-being.

[1]   Alexandra Horowitz, "*Canis familiaris,* Companion and Captive," in *The Ethics of Captivity,* ed. Lori Gruen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1. See also Lori Gruen, *Ethics and Animals: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 133. See also Steven Wise, *Drawing the Line: Science and the Case for Animal* Rights (Cambridge: Perseus Publishing, 2002), 9.

[2]   Horowitz, "*Canis familiaris,*" 1.

[3]   Ibid., 2.

[4]   Ibid., 9.

[5]   Gruen, *Ethics and Animals*, 133. See also Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka, *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal* Rights (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 73, 78.

[6]   Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 134. See also Donaldson and Kymlicka, Zoopolis, 78.

[7]   Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 134.

[8]   Horowitz, "Canis familiaris," 7, 10. See also Christine Künzl et al., "Is a Wild Mammal Kept and Reared in Captivity Still a Wild Animal?," *Hormones and Behavior* 43, no.1 (2003): 187. doi: 10.1016/S0018-506X(02)00017-X. See also Donaldson and Kymlicka, *Zoopolis,* 75.

[9]   Sara Staats, Heidi Wallace, and Tara Anderson, "Reasons for Companion Animal Guardianship (Pet Ownership) from Two Populations," *Society and Animals* 16, no.3 (2008): 280. doi: 10.1163/156853008X323411. See also Hal Herzog, *Some we Love, Some we Hate, Some we Eat: Why It's So Hard to Think Straight About Animals* (New York: HarperCollins, 2011), 73, 75.

[10]   Ibid. See also Horowitz, "*Canis familiaris,*" 14. See also Donaldson and Kymlicka, *Zoopolis,* 73.

[11]   Staats, Wallace, and Anderson, "Reasons for Companion Animal," 285-286. See also Janaya Langfield and Carole James, "Fishy Tales: Experiences of the Occupation of Keeping Fish as Pets," *British Journal of Occupational Therapy* 72, no.8 (2009): 350. doi: 10.1177/030802260907200805. See also Lisa Wood et al., "More Than a Furry Companion: The Ripple Effect of Companion Animals on Neighborhood Interactions and

Sense of Community," *Society and Animals* 15, no.1 (2007): 44-45, 52. doi: 10.1163/156853007X169333.

[12] Horowitz, "*Canis familiaris,*" 7, 9.

[13] Ibid., 18.

[14] Ibid., 11, 17. See also Künzl, "Is a Wild Mammal," 187.

[15] Donaldson and Kymlicka, *Zoopolis,* 78.

[16] Horowitz, "*Canis familiaris,*" 13.

[17] Langfield and James, "Fishy Tales," 352.

[18] George Iwama, "The Welfare of Fish," *Diseases of Aquatic Organisms* 75, no.2 (2007): 155. doi: 10.3354/dao075155.

[19] Jessica Pierce, *Run, Spot, Run: The Ethics of Keeping Pets* (US: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 195-196.

[20] Randy Frost, Gary Patronek, and Elizabeth Rosenfield, "A Comparison of Object and Animal Hoarding," *Depress Anxiety* 28, no.10 (2011): 1. doi: 10.1002/da.20826.

[21] Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 136. See also Wise, Drawing the Line, 17.

[22] Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 136-137.

[23] Kathleen Morgan and Chris Tromborg, "Sources of Stress in Captivity," *Applied Animal Behaviour Science* 102, no.3-4 (2007): 264. doi: 10.1016/j.applanim.2006.05.032. See also Georgia Mason et al., "Plastic Animals in Cages: Behavioral Flexibility and Responses to Captivity," *Animal Behavior* 85, no.5 (2013): 1113. doi: 10.1016/j.anbehav.2013.02.002.

[24] Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 137. See also R. Swaisgood and D. Shepherdson, "Environmental Enrichment as a Strategy for Mitigating Stereotypies in Zoo Animals: A Literature Review and Meta-analysis," in *Stereotypic Animal Behaviour: Fundamentals and Applications to Welfare,* 2nd ed, ed. Georgia Mason and Jeffrey Rushen (Trowbridge: Cromwell Press, 2006), 256-59.

[25] Swaisgood and Shepherdson, "Environmental Enrichment," 256. See also Georgia Mason, "Species Differences in Responses to Captivity: Stress, Welfare and the Comparative Method," *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 25, no.12 (2010): 713. doi: 10.1016/j.tree.2010.08.011.

[26] Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 137. See also Swaisgood and Shepherdson, "Environmental Enrichment," 263.

[27] Robert Young, *Environmental Enrichment for Captive Animals* (USA:Wiley-Blackwell, 2003), 1-2.

[28] Ibid., 2, 8-9. See also Swaisgood and Shepherdson, "Environmental Enrichment," 259. See also Morgan and Tromborg, "Sources of stress," 265.See also Irus Braverman, *Zooland: The Institution of Captivity* (California: Stanford University Press, 2012), 34-35.

[29] Morgan and Tromborg, "Sources of Stress," 264. See also Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 143.

[30] Morgan and Tromborg, "Sources of Stress," 265. See also NseAbasi Etim, Edem Offiong, Glory Eyoh, and MetiAbasi Udo, "Stress and Animal Welfare: An Uneasy Relationship," *European Journal of Advanced Research in Biological and Life Sciences* 1, no.1 (2013): 10.

[31] Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 134.

[32] Morgan and Tromborg, "Sources of Stress," 268.

[33] Ibid., 265.

[34] Ibid., 267.

[35] Ibid., 268.

[36] Ibid., 270.

[37] Ibid., 271-72. See also R. Clubb and S. Vickery, "Locomotory Stereotypies in Carnivores: Does Pacing Stem from Hunting, Ranging or Frustrated Escape?," in *Stereotypic Animal Behaviour: Fundamentals and Applications to Welfare,* 2nd ed, ed. Georgia Mason and Jeffrey Rushen (Trowbridge: Cromwell Press, 2006), 72.

[38] Morgan and Tromborg, "Sources of Stress," 272.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid., 273. See also Swaisgood and Shepherdson, "Environmental Enrichment," 263.

41 Morgan and Tromborg, "Sources of Stress," 277.

42 Ibid., 278.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid. See also Mason et al., "Plastic Animals in Cages," 1113.

45 Morgan and Tromborg, "Sources of Stress,"280.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Swaisgood and Shepherdson, "Environmental Enrichment," 257.

49 Morgan and Tromborg, "Sources of Stress," 280.

50 Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 134.

51 Ibid., 134. See also Donaldson and Kymlicka, *Zoopolis,* 75.

52 Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 134-35.

53 Ibid., 135.

54 Ibid., 138. See also Ben Minteer and James Collins, "Ecological Ethics in Captivity: Balancing Values and Responsibilities in Zoo and Aquarium Research under Rapid Global Change," *ILAR* 54, no.1 (2013): 44. doi: 10.1093/ilar/ilt009.

55 Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 138.

56 Ibid., 138-139.

57 Horowitz, "*Canis familiaris,*" 140.

58 Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 139. See also Minteer and Collins, "Ecological Ethics," 44.

59 *Calgary Zoo,* "Lost Bear - Sharing Skoki's Story," October 11, 2011, https://www.calgaryzoo.com/keep-it-wild/lost-bear-sharing-skokis-story.

60 U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, *Final Revised Recovery Plan for the Sihek or Guam Micronesian Kingfisher (Halcyon cinnamomina cinnamomina)* (Oregon: Region 1, U.S. Fish&Wildlife Service, 2008): IV. https://ecos.fws.gov/docs/recovery_plan/081114.pdf.

61 Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 130-33, 140.

62 Ibid., 134.

63 Lori Marino, "Cetacean Captivity," in *The Ethics of Captivity,* ed. Lori Gruen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 24, 30.

64 Ibid., 31.

65 *Calgary Herald,* "Animal deaths at Calgary Zoo," August 19, 2006, https://www.pressreader.com/canada/calgary-herald/20060819/281573761168858. 66 CBC News, "Calgary Zoo Employees Disciplined for Giving Pants to Otter, Resulting in its Death," February 16, 2016, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/otter-pants-calgary-zoo-employees-disciplined-1.3451863.

67 *CBC News,* "Calgary Zoo Makes Room for Polar Bears, Pandas in New Plan," April 25, 2013, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/calgary-zoo-makes-room-for-polar-bears-pandas-in-new-plan-1.1346630.

68 Ibid.

69 Horowitz, "*Canis familiaris,*" 2. See also Minteer and Collins, "Ecological Ethics," 43.

70 Gruen, *Ethics and Animals,* 141-143. Liberty can be thought of as "the state of being free from restraint," the ability to control our actions, or having the freedom to do what one desires.

71 Ibid., 144.

72 Ibid. An autonomous being can create their own conception of what constitutes a good life for themselves; and involves being able to revise and pursue that conception depending on new information and desires that arise.

73 Ibid., 145.

74 Ibid., 154.

75 Ibid., 154-55. See also Braverman, *Zooland,* 36.

Bibliography

Braverman, Irus. *Zooland: The Institution of Captivity.* California: Stanford University Press, 2012.

Calgary Herald. "Animal deaths at Calgary Zoo." August 19, 2006. https://www.pressreader.com/canada/calgary-herald/20060819/281573761168858.

Calgary Zoo. "Lost Bear – Sharing Skoki's Story." October 11, 2011. https://www.calgaryzoo.com/keep-it-wild/lost-bear-sharing-skokis-story.

CBC News. "Calgary Zoo employees disciplined for giving pants to otter, resulting in its death." February 16, 2016. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/otter-pants-calgary-zoo-employees-disciplined-1.3451863.

CBC News. "Calgary Zoo makes room for polar bears, pandas in new plan." April 25, 2013. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/calgary-zoo-makes-room-for-polar-bears-pandas-in-new-plan-1.1346630.

Clubb, R., and S. Vickery. "Locomotory Stereotypies in Carnivores: Does Pacing Stem from Hunting, Ranging or Frustrated Escape?," in *Stereotypic Animal Behaviour: Fundamentals and Applications to Welfare,* 2nd ed, ed. Georgia Mason and Jeffrey Rushen, 58-85. Trowbridge: Cromwell Press, 2006.

Donaldson, Sue, and Will Kymlicka. *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Etim, NseAbasi, Edem Offiong, Glory Eyoh, and MetiAbasi Udo. "Stress and Animal Welfare: An Uneasy Relationship." *European Journal of Advanced Research in Biological Life Sciences* 1, no.1 (2013): 9-16. http://www.idpublications.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/STRESS-AND-ANIMAL-WELFARE-AN-UNEASY-RELATIONSHIP.pdf.

Frost, Randy, Gary Patronek, and Elizabeth Rosenfield. "A Comparison of Object and Animal Hoarding." *Depress Anxiety* 28, no.10 (2011): 885-891. doi: 10.1002/da.20826.

Gruen, Lori. *Ethics and Animals: An Introduction.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Herzog, Hal. *Some we Love, Some we Hate, Some we Eat: Why It's So Hard to Think Straight About Animals.* New York: HarperCollins, 2011.

Horowitz, Alexandra. "*Canis familiaris,* Companion and Captive," in *The Ethics of Captivity,* ed. Lori Gruen, 7-21. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Iwama, George. "The welfare of fish." *Diseases of Aquatic Organisms* 75, no.2 (2007): 155-58. doi: 10.3354/dao075155.

Künzl, Christine, Sylvia Kaiser, Edda Meier, and Norbert Sachser. "Is a wild mammal kept and reared in captivity still a wild animal?." *Hormones and Behaviour* 43, no.1 (2003): 187-196. doi: 10.1016/S0018-506X(02)00017-X.

Langfield, Janaya, and Carole James. "Fishy tales: experiences of the occupation of keeping fish as pets." *British Journal of Occupational Therapy* 72, no.8 (2009): 349-356. doi: 10.1177/030802260907200805.

Marino, Lori. "Cetacean Captivity, in *The Ethics of Captivity,* ed. Lori Gruen, 22-37. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Mason, Georgia. "Species differences in responses to captivity: stress, welfare and the comparative method." *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 25, no.12 (2010): 713-21. doi: 10.1016/j.tree.2010.08.011.

Mason, Georgia, Charlotte Burn, Jamie Dallaire, Jeanette Kroshko, Heather Kinkaid, and Jonathan Jeschke. "Plastic Animals in Cages: Behavioral Flexibility and Responses to Captivity." *Animal Behavior* 85, no.5 (2013): 1113-1126. doi: 10.1016/j. anbehav.2013.02.002.

Minteer, Ben, and James Collins. "Ecological Ethics in Captivity: Balancing Values and Responsibilities in Zoo and Aquarium Research under Rapid Global Change." *ILAR* 54, no.1 (2013): 41-51. doi: 10.1093/ilar/ilt009.

Morgan, Kathleen, and Chris Tromborg. "Sources of stress in captivity." *Applied Animal Behaviour Science* 102, no.3-4 (2007): 262-302. doi: 10.1016/j.applanim.2006.05.032.

Pierce, Jessica. *Run, Spot, Run: The Ethics of Keeping Pets.* US: The University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Staats, Sara, Heidi Wallace, and Tara Anderson. "Reasons for Companion Animal Guardianship (Pet Ownership) from Two Populations." *Society and Animals* 16, no.3 (2008): 279-291. doi: 10.1163/156853008X323411.

Swaisgood, R., and D. Shepherdson. "Environmental Enrichment as a Strategy for Mitigating Stereotypies in Zoo Animals: A Literature Review and Meta-analysis," in *Stereotypic Animal Behaviour: Fundamentals and Applications to Welfare,* 2nd ed, ed. Georgia Mason and Jeffrey Rushen, 256-285. Trowbridge: Cromwell Press, 2006.

U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service. "Final Revised Recovery Plan for the Sihek or Guam Micronesian Kingfisher *(Halcyon cinnamomina cinnamomina)*." Oregon: Region 1, U.S. Fish&Wildlife Service, 2008. https://ecos.fws.gov/docs/recovery_plan/081114.pdf.

Wise, Steven. *Drawing the Line: Science and the Case for Animal Rights.* Cambridge: Perseus Publishing, 2002.

Wood, Lisa, Billie Giles-Corti, Max Bulsara, and Darcy Bosch. "More Than a Furry Companion: The Ripple Effect of Companion Animals on Neighborhood Interactions and Sense of Community." *Society and Animals* 15, no.1 (2007): 43-56. doi: 10.1163/156853007X169333.

Young, Robert. *Environmental Enrichment for Captive Animals.* USA:Wiley-Blackwell, 2003.

Sir Gawain and The Green Knight:
Is it Right for a Knight to be Submissive?
An Analysis of Lines 1290-1318

Emily Grant

⇗ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is an Arthurian romance originating in the late fourteenth-century. In that time, people were very familiar with the genre of romance, the duty of a knight, and the notion of courtly love. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is the account of Gawain, a knight from the court of King Arthur, who finds himself playing games that challenge his knightly honour and personal freedom. Some of these games have clear rules and a winner, while others have unspoken or unclear terms. Throughout the poem, and particularly in the section of lines 1290-1318, the author of the text uses literary techniques such as a demanding tone and passive diction to convey a tense interaction between Gawain and the Lady of the Castle. This tension is seen through Gawain's idleness and unwillingness to take control in his dealings with Lady Bertilak. These seemingly unknightly and submissive responses draw the reader's attention to the question of whether a knight should act of his own accord or if it is better that he always be submissive to someone else's command. Through tone and word choice, the author features Gawain's inferiority to Lady Bertilak thus highlighting his belief that a knight's due place is in a submissive role.

A Knight is to be brave, noble, and defend the honour of himself and others. However, in Fitt II, along with these common terms, Gawain sets his own standards of what it means to be a knight through the description of the pentangle on the shield he wears. With five sets of five precepts, Gawain places upon himself an extraordinary amount of pressure in what a knight should look like and how he should behave. A Knight, according to Gawain, must be "virtuous, loyal, and kind" (634-635). His senses must be flawless, his "fingers never at fault," (641) his faith must be grounded in the wounds of Christ and the joy of Mary, he must be friendly to his fellow men, and have a politeness that is based on purity and pity. There is limited room for error and personal unwillingness in the standards Gawain has set. These precepts become a struggling point for Gawain as the author explores what it means to be a knight.

A common theme up to this point in the story is that Gawain never has a say in the games he finds himself playing. He is a pawn in the court of King Arthur. Stepping up to take the place of Arthur against the Green Knight was his duty; it was what, as a knight, he was made to do. Once again, Gawain finds himself powerless in a game arranged by Lord

Bertilak. With no say in the matter, Gawain is forced to play a game in which he is told they will swap winnings at the end of the day. It is because of his duty Gawain has no choice; he must be polite and obey. The author addresses the theme of knightly autonomy and whether happiness is rooted in submission to the will of others or personal power and freedom. The poem consequently shows that in the times when Gawain is alone and has power his emotional state is no happier than when he is around others. This is demonstrated by a change in tone and diction in lines 1309- 1318. There is movement from passive language, where Gawain responds "Very well, … Let it be your wish" (1302) to an active and demanding tone with word choices like "Rapidly" (1309) and "Marches" (1311). Within this change, the author shows no signs of contentment for Gawain. The tone implies that Gawain is tense and uneasy; it also suggests that autonomy is not something the author believes brings happiness.

Throughout the poem there is great emphasis on overcoming obstacles and challenges, however the number of challenges or games a knight can handle at one time is unknown. Nevertheless, in this text the author implies that any more than two is paralyzing to a knight. The passage starts with the author of the poem attempting to grasp at what it means to be a knight in a tone that is belittling of Gawain. Evidence of this is seen in the line "she glanced at him, laughed and gave her good-bye" (1290). Gawain should have wished the lady well in return because politeness is a virtue he seeks to embody. The tone of the author and lack of response from Gawain leads the reader to believe that Gawain has been almost paralyzed by the game the Lady has forced upon him. It confirms that Gawain is in an inferior position because he was unable to end their interaction on his own terms. This line sets the tone for the remainder of the passage and his game with Lady Bertilak. Gawain has found himself in his own room as merely a pawn for the amusement of the Lady.

The knightly code Gawain has established puts forth the notion that in all a knight does, they should take pride in their performance and use their abilities to uphold their dignity and status. Lady Bertilak continues to taunt Gawain by saying, "May the Lord repay you for your prize performance" (1292). The reader is then left to question what performance Gawain has given. Gawain is polite, but it is important to note that he is given no other choice in the matter. It would have been unknightly for him to refuse the lady's presence because to be uncharitable goes against his personal code of virtue. Gawain is challenged to look at his actions. He is forced to think not just of the game in which he has found himself presently, but also of the wagers he made with the Green Knight and Lord Bertilak and how he has performed in them. Gawain must evaluate the consequences of the game he has found himself playing and the impact it will have on in his game with Lord Bertilak. Gawain assumes an idle response because he never actually gave a "prize performance" to the Lady, to the Green Knight, or as of yet, to Lord Bertilak. Gawain receives a sobering reality check that even his responses have been sanctioned for him, and that to remain polite, he must be docile.

Tension is caused by the question of whether a knight can ever be in control of his own choices, let alone his own fate. Gawain is not the only one who questions his actions and responses. Lady Bertilak continues to taunt him by saying "but I know that Gawain could

never be your name" (1293). The response Gawain gives is far from one of bravery and honour. Once again Gawain assumes a submissive and idle role in questioning her, "but why not?" (1294). Gawain is so "afraid that some fault in his manners had failed him" (1295) that he fails to defend his own honour. Perhaps Gawain recognizes that he is at the Lady's disposal and it would do him no good to try to use words to defend his own name. It is also possible that Gawain does not defend his own honour because he does not know how to take control of a situation. He has always acted out of submission and duty and this situation is no different. If Gawain were to try to defend his name and honour he would not be pitiful. Pity is a knightly standard he set for himself. The paradox of his knightly title is that he will never be able to satisfy all the sanctions he has given himself or that others have put on him. Therefore, he will always be in a submissive state. Lady Bertilak acknowledges Gawain's passivity and continues to assume a dominant role in the conversation. Gawain's lack of response is evident of the toll that responsibilities and games have taken on him. Gawain is trapped in a position in which no matter how he responds he is in the wrong. Therefore, it is best that he be polite and submissive to whoever's presence he is in. This is seen in his response, "Let it be as you wish. I shall kiss at your command, as becomes a knight" (1302-1303). Gawain's duty is to respond and not to act.

The knightly code that Gawain has set for himself abides in purity, politeness, and all friendliness but leaves out how he views himself in relation to others. Gawain's autonomy is once again called into question. By his nature, as a knight, he is expected to kiss her, and when called out on that fact he must submit to her wish. Gawain easily submits because he has no choice. His idle responses in earlier situations allowed him some autonomy and to hold his own ground, but Gawain now has a chance to win something to trade with Lord Bertilak. This kiss, however, has deep implications. If he kisses Lady Bertilak, it challenges his purity, but if he stands his ground, it tests his politeness. To solve this dilemma for Gawain, Lady Bertilak acts and "cradles him in her arms … then kisses the Knight" (1305-1306). The author reveals that in the end Gawain was okay with his submissiveness to temptation and breaking his code of purity through the change in tone, diction, and emotion in line 1313. The author says he "was merry and amused till the moon had silvered the view". This could signify Gawain is confused or simply that he felt no remorse for his action. This second option signifies that the author believes a knight should not feel guilty for their actions if they are in response to power other than their own. Through this, the author suggests that when knights are subject to courtly love and a lady's desire they are to be submissive in every situation because it takes away the problem of trying to decide which precept to obey.

The author of the poem suggests that a knight's due place is not in a dominant role and that there is no benefit for a knight to act on their own accord. This is finally demonstrated through the change in tone at the end of the passage. Much like how the passage feels rushed when the Lady is not around, when Gawain is in the presence of others, the tone becomes light once again. This is demonstrated when the author says, "No man felt more at home tucked in between those two, … their gladness grew and grew" (1315-1318). Gawain is at ease while being submissive. This seemingly unknightly attribute of submissiveness becomes a shining

example of knighthood because of the element of dutifulness that it contains. Through submission, Gawain can better serve the people around him.

Through the diction and word choice of the author, Gawain's autonomy is brought into question, and it is perhaps highlighted best within this passage. As his interaction with the Lady of the Castle suggests, he feels obliged to consistently submit to the wills of those around him, despite the potential complications of other relationships or the bigger picture. When his character is brought into question, he yields to the will of the Lady and in doing so he "wins" (in this case, by gaining a kiss and something to trade with Lord Bertilak). Gawain's actions, because of his status in King Arthur's court, become the symbol of collective knightliness and reflects the author's stance on all knights. The interaction between Gawain and the Lady of the Castle, temptation, and by defect Lord Bertilak, draws out the author's belief that it is proper for a knight to be submissive to everything in every situation.

Feel the Beat: Reverberations of Gary Snyder's Ideology Traced in the Writing of Raymond Williams and Monique Wittig

Steven Defehr

&ppppp; **Beat Generation** writer Gary Snyder's political manifesto "Four Changes" and his later poem "The Bath" both contain elements that foreshadow Feminist theory and Marxist ideology. Close readings from Snyder's work in historical context shed light on the evolution of hegemony[1] in America which influenced the writing of both Raymond Williams and Monique Wittig. Furthermore, comparisons drawn from authors and scholarly critiques of the pervasive theories will augment discussion of how Snyder's writing possesses rudiments of Marxist ideology and Feminist theory that augur the second wave of feminism in America.

In order to understand why Snyder's statements in "Four Changes" and poetics in "The Bath" foreshadow the evolution of hegemony in America during the 1950s and 60s, one must first understand the dominant ideology of the period. Following World War II, America had the task of reforming its national identity and it did so by prompting a style of nationalism which encouraged citizens to conform to the American dream. A steady, well-paying job for the man of the house, a house equipped with every modern appliance, a white picket fence around the yard and the nuclear family glued to the television watching baseball were the epitome of this dream. This was the dream that had been sold to the American public since the 1930s through Herbert Hoover's famous slogan "a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage" which demonstrates how Americans were encouraged to take part in a society built on consumption and the acquisition of material goods (Hoover 1). In essence, America was formed into a consumer society. Not only did hegemonic thinkers in America stress consumption, but they corralled people into heterosexual nuclear families which they deemed the "norm". Americans were motivated by images they saw on television and heard on the radio to comply with the country's ideas of nationalism and inclusion. Furthermore, anything outside the norm of the American dream was labelled negatively and discouraged. As the country's nationalism grew, a counterculture formed in opposition to the national hegemony that occupied mainstream America since the late 1920s. Many scholars, including Barbara Ehrenreich in her book *The Hearts of Men*, trace this counterculture movement back to Beat

---

[1] Hegemony is "a specific organization, a specific structure, and that the principle of this organization and structure can be seen as directly related to certain social intentions, intentions by which we define the society, intentions which in all our experience have been the rule of a particular class." (Williams 1427)

Generation writers like Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg (and of course) Gary Snyder, who at this time of intense pressure to settle into the American dream, "rejected both job and marriage" (Ehrenreich 52). In the decade that followed the "Beats", the tension between conformists (who believed in maintaining hegemonic structures in American) and forward thinkers (who were seeking a new American dream) heated up and in the late 1960s the civil rights movement boiled over and the streets of the American South flowed with blood.[2]

In the wake of this tense moment in American history, Gary Snyder penned his "Four Changes" in 1970 in which he unveiled his political and social ideology professing a new approach to the hegemony of the American dream. In fact, his later poem "The Bath" furthers his political and socialist thinking by adding women's liberation and the dissolution of normative gender roles to his arsenal.

In his poem "The Bath", Snyder challenges the oppression of women and the hegemony of the American dream. He achieves this effect through the use of concrete imagery that challenges gender stereotypes. For example, in "The Bath," Snyder explores the male-female dichotomy by questioning the limits of gender and the concept of family. The first stanza describes a scene in which Snyder bathes with his family. At the end of the stanza, which contains controversial taboo imagery according to the American dream of him in the bath with his sons, Snyder poses the question "is this our body?" (Snyder 468). The question "is this our body?" becomes significant in the poem because Snyder repeats it at the end of each stanza, though the questions undergoes a transformation by morphing as the poem progresses into the statement "this is our body" (Snyder 469). Through the statement "this is our body," Snyder reveals his counterculture ideology regarding the nuclear family and assigned gender roles. Instead of reaffirming the values of the American dream—the heterosexual hierarchy of the American nuclear family—Snyder forges a new example. Snyder's vision of the family does not limit the husband to being the breadwinner and the wife to maintaining the household and rearing children. The statement "this is our body," in reference to the family, implies a more communal approach with man and wife not being forced into the traditional hegemonic roles of the American dream. The idea that "this is our body" suggests that the family is one body contradicting the American dream's conception of the family as a hierarchy with the father at the top making the decision and the mother taking secondary role.

Conversely, the majority of the country was following America's central hegemony, emphasized in wildly popular president John F. Kennedy's inaugural speech when he preached to Americans "ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country"(Kennedy). In light of this conformist propaganda, it is easy to see how Snyder's idea of the family as one body contradicts the idea of an American dream that asks its citizens to put

---

2 March 25, 1965 thousands of people marched from Selma to Montgomery protesting segregation. However, as marchers left Selma, by order of the governor of Alabama, "troopers attacked the crowd with clubs and tear gas. Mounted police chased retreating marchers and continued to beat them. Television coverage of "Bloody Sunday 'as the event became known, triggered national outrage.(Martin Luther King Jr. and The Global Freedom Struggle)

their country first. By emphasizing the need to consider the country's well-being before one's own family, hegemonic structures in America created the perfect climate for Snyder's form of counterculture. With the phrase "this is our body," Snyder reveals the emerging counterculture that was strengthened by writers like Monique Wittig and rivalled the central political and social ideology of the 1950s and 60s in America. Examining first the writing of Monique Wittig, and then the work of Raymond Williams, reveals the concepts Snyder employs that foreshowed both author's literary theory and also the second wave of feminism.

In Wittig's *One is not Born a Woman,* she, like Snyder, calls for the dissolution of normative gender. Snyder touches on this point, but Wittig however, and more specifically, targets the assigned gender roles that oppress women (Wittig 1909). Wittig is concerned with counteracting the hegemony in America that, she asserts, forces women into the heterosexual relationship of the nuclear family in order to oppress them. Thus, Wittig declares that "a new personal and subjective definition for all humankind can only be found beyond the categories of sex" (Wittig 1912). Looking back to Snyder's poem "The Bath," it is clear how he augured this concept of dissolving the categories of sex with his poetic transformation of the question "is this our body?" into the statement "this is our body" (Snyder 468-69). However, the statement "this is our body" suggests a combining of the sexes, similar to Virginia Wolfe's concept of androgyny[3], whereas conversely, Wittig is calling for "the destruction of heterosexuality as a social system" altogether (Wittig 1913). What defines women as women, in Wittig's opinion, is their relationship to men and she maintains that only by challenging this definition can women free themselves from the oppression of the hegemonic structure of the American dream.

Joanne Hollows' work on the second wave of feminism in her book *Feminism, Femininity and Popular Culture* supports Wittig's concept of freedom from oppression for women. In the same vein as Wittig, and eerily reminiscent of Snyder, Hollows writes that women in America "struggle for equal pay, equal access to education and equal job opportunities" (Hollows 2). Furthermore, like Wittig, Hollows calls for a woman's right to define her sexuality and, therefore, choose the right to forgo her role as mother and wife into which the American dream seems to force women. Wittig and Hollows also take Snyder's thinking one step further. Not only do both authors challenge the hegemonic structure of the American dream and its nuclear family, but they also stress the need for women to value and love one another (Hollow 2 & Wittig 1912). In this way Snyder's initial message "this is our body" resurfaces and asserts its relevance. Wittig wishes to overcome stereotypical heterosexual norms and in doing so creates a new concept of the human body where men and women alike can claim "this is our body" and be free from assigned gender roles and the oppression of the hegemony of the American dream. Furthermore, Snyder recommends that society should "try to correct traditional cultural attitudes that tend to force women into childbearing" thus trapping them

---

[3] Androgyny is the idea that in each person's mind there is male and female power. In the male mind the male portion predominates the female and vice versa (Wolfe 901).

in their role as mother in the stereotypical American family of the 50s and 60s (Snyder 1). Freeing women from America's cookie cutter connotation of them, Snyder considered the dissolution of the family unit, proposing American's seek alternative family structures like adoption, shared parenting and communal living (Snyder 1). Not only does Snyder capture the essence of the counterculture movement of the 50s and 60s, but his writing also foreshadows the emergence of the second wave of feminism and Marxist ideology as described by Raymond Williams.

As well as carrying messages that defy gender roles typical of hegemony in America during the 1950s and 60s, Snyder's "The Bath" subtly challenges consumption theory. Part of the hegemonic American dream and a cornerstone of consumption theory as implemented in America is the nuclear family's desire to own all the available modern luxuries for the home like the dishwasher, refrigerator, microwave and television (Bresky, Jan. 19, 2016). In "The Bath", Snyder's use of imagery paints an alternative picture. For example, instead of electricity providing light for the home, the family uses a "kerosene lantern set on a box" and replacing the electric stove is a wood-burning unit that radiates the "scent of cedar" embers (Snyder 469). The tone Snyder creates in the poem—the joy, the closeness and the love within the family— highlights the value of family connections rather than material goods. The best example of how Snyder utilizes tone is featured toward the end of the poem when Snyder "go[es] in the house… Kai scampers on the sheepskin/ Gen [is] standing hanging on and shout[s], /'Boa! boa! boa! boa! boa!'" (Snyder 469). Without the conveniences of contemporary technology of the 50s and 60s, Snyder's family in "The Bath," (however unconventional when compared to the nuclear family of the American dream) exhibits a thriving atmosphere. Snyder is highlighting the need to value closeness between family members instead of cherishing technologies that only serve to drive members apart. Therefore, along with challenging the structure of the American nuclear family and its assigned gender roles, he also challenges the American addiction to consumption.

Snyder does so by inking his political manifesto the "Four Changes". In "Four Changes" Snyder continues his questioning of the hegemonic structures of the American dream. First, Snyder's "Four Changes" directly addresses the frivolity of consumption theory and points out that the American dream of the 1950s and 60s, "well intentioned as it is", cannot be sustained (Snyder 1). Snyder writes that "most of the production and consumption of modern societ[y] is not necessary or conducive to spiritual and cultural growth, let alone survival" (Snyder 1). Rejecting the hegemony of consumption in American, Snyder suggests "transform[ing] the five-millennia-long urbanizing civilization tradition into a new ecologically-sensitive, harmony-oriented [and] wild-minded scientific culture" (Snyder 1). In doing so, he calls for a revival of a more traditional living style which is the same approach he uses in "The Bath". For example, instead of purchasing new clothes, cars and prepared food, Snyder suggests recycling fabrics, walking between destinations and gardening all as activities of the community. Therefore, Snyder's aversion to America's central ideology demonstrates how he foreshadowed Raymond Williams and his work on Marxist theory.

In Williams' 1973 work *Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory,* he describes Marxist ideology as representing a similar "coming to consciousness of a new class" which would

forge its own hegemonic structures (Williams 1432). Snyder uses comparable terminology in "Four Changes" to Williams'. Underpinning Williams's statement, Snyder prophetically writes in 1970 that there is a need for a "continuing 'revolution of consciousness' which will be won not by guns but by seizing key images, myths, archetypes, eschatologies, and ecstasies" from conformists' doctrines which sought to perpetuate the status quo (Snyder 1). Williams also takes direct aim at the American social and political ideology surrounding consumption, explaining in *Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory* how consumption theory presented "consumption" as a "sensibility" which transformed it into a "norm" (Williams 1434-35). This normative ideology in which mass consumption was validated and promoted formed the backbone of the American dream. Investigative Snyder's ideas on consumption shows that Williams' argument echoes his view closely. In showing that consumption theory constitutes the "norm" for the American dream, Williams argues, like Snyder before him, that there can be a different approach to life. Williams proclaims that hegemony of consumption is considered the "norm" and this "implies no presumption about its value" (Williams 1429). The idea of valuing cultural "norms" as the proper way to live is seen by Williams as "selective traditions" (Williams 1429). This concept closely resembles Snyder's challenging of the American dream.

Williams, however, takes Snyder's thinking a step further. He claims that the power structures of the American dream oppress the individual by promoting the domination of one class over another and suggests that hegemony in America should be rejected. Looking to a section of Williams' 1973 work *Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory,* the connection to Snyder's writing becomes clear:

> The processes of education; the processes of a much wider social training within institutions like the family; the practical definitions and origination of work; the selective tradition at an intellectual and theoretical level: all these forces are involved in a continual making and remaking of an effective dominant culture (Williams 1429).

Both Snyder and Williams look at the nuclear family and its ability to force people to conform to societal norms as being the foundation of hegemony. Williams' writing suggests that the emphasis the American dream places on the nuclear family structure (man as father and breadwinner and woman as mother and home maker) creates an oppressive dominant culture. This is precisely the dominant culture Snyder's "The Bath" and "Four Changes" are rebelling against. Looking to Williams' quote once again, it is the "making and remaking of an effective dominant culture" that he is concerned with. In the 1950s when the Beats (which included Snyder) preached cultural revolt against the mainstream American dream, they were calling for a remaking of the hegemonic structures. This is a key difference from the thinking of Raymond Williams. Williams believed that trading one dominant structure for another or simply rejecting hegemony, as suggested by Snyder, was an ineffective solution. He thought that the "effective dominant culture, is always passed off as '*the* tradition', '*the* significant past'. But always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded." (Williams 1429). Thus Williams sees what Snyder fails

to interpret, that anytime a hegemonic structure is employed, a counterculture forms through this process of *selectivity* or, to use another term, *differentiation*. As Williams points out, the selective process creates neglected or excluded ways of living and thinking which do not fit the norm, thus again forming a counterculture to the central hegemony. However, while Williams connects Snyder's view regarding consumption theory and hegemonic structures he fails to weave the rights of women into his Marxist theory. It should be mentioned that Wittig also points out the lack of gender distinction in Marxist theory, claiming that the theory, while insightful, continues to perpetuate the hegemony that oppresses women and places them in a secondary role to men.

Gary Snyder's social and political ideologies certainly shine through in his writing. Whether he is challenging the hegemony in America that convinces people to consume materials or he is contesting normative gender roles, Snyder remains a prominent figure in the counterculture of the 1950s and 60s. Against the backdrop of the civil rights movement and the first wave of feminism, it is clear that Snyder captures the emotion and zeal of the period. Evidence presented here, has shown that Snyder's prose and poetry underpin many of the emerging theories of the 1970s. From suggesting equal treatment of women to boycotting of consumable goods, Snyder had his finger on the pulse of anti-conformist ideology in America. Although small in scope, Snyder's (as well as other Beats) way of thinking permeated popular culture, and by the time Williams and Wittig were writing many of Snyder's prophetic claims had become mainstream. Monique Wittig's insights in *One is not Born a Woman* show that while Snyder's ideas lacked the foresight of Williams' Marxist theory, they certainly foreshadowed the second wave of feminism. Snyder challenges the assigned gender roles of the American dream's nuclear family in "The Bath," but he also confronts wasteful mass consumption in "Four Changes." Again Snyder, like Wittig in *One is Not Born a Woman,* contests assigned gender roles in "Four Changes" by stating that "women [in America should be] totally free and equal." (Snyder 1)

As a Beat Generation writer, Snyder's ultimate goal for writing was most likely not political change; thus, as has been described here, he displays flickers of Marxist ideology and Feminist theory which Raymond Williams and Monique Wittig expand, inflate and at times conflate in their politically motivated manifestos. Wittig goes as far as to condemn heterosexuality and the powerful hegemonic structures attached to it should be abolished, consequently destroying "the oppression of women by men… which produces the doctrine of the difference between the sexes to justify oppression" (Wittig 1913). It would appear, by looking at the examples presented here, that Wittig and Williams have the same argument. However, there is one key difference between the two philosophies which Snyder seems to be able to circumvent in his writing. Wittig's theory is entirely focused on women and she makes little to no allowance for men's role in the dissolution of the genders. Williams's theory also has a flaw as he focuses solely on class domination and he does not account for the apparent oppression of women that is clear to Wittig and Snyder. Therefore, while Snyder's writing leaves some loose ends that Wittig and Williams tie up, both Williams and Wittig take such strong positions that their respective theories contain the oversights just mentioned.

The second wave of feminism, which was gaining prominence during Wittig's and Williams' time, spurred discourse that helped to expand women's rights as well as breaking down barriers created by consumption theory as part of the American dream. As Snyder foresaw, many people moved away from the traditional roles that had been created for them, roles that would push them into the categories of wife/husband and mother/father. Advances in thinking, encouraged by writers like Snyder, Williams and Wittig, gave rise to movements that created birth control, male contraceptives and allowed people to choose their own futures (Hollows 2). However, the changes in ideology, culture and attitude that these three writers so adamantly called for in their texts have been slow to take effect in mainstream America and the same issues surrounding women's rights and oppression are still apparent and prevalent in today's society.

Works Cited

Bresky, Luke. U.S. Popular Culture Literature 397.5. Lecture. January 19, 2016.

Duchon, Deborah. "A Chicken in Every Pot: Food and Presidential Politics". *The American Thinker.* Sept. 23, 2012.

Ehrenreich, Barbara. *The Hearts of Mean American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment.* Anchor Books. New York. 1984 pp. 52- 61.

Ehrenreich, Barbara. *The Hearts of Mean American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment.* Anchor Books. New York. 1984 pp. 1-13.

Hollows, Joanne. *Feminism, Femininity and Popular Culture.* Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp.1-10. Print.

Snyder, Gary. "Four Changes". The Beat Patrol. Web. Pp.1 Feb. 4. 2016.

Snyder, Gary. "The Bath". *The Gary Snyder Reader Prose, Poetry, and Translations.* Counter Point Berkley. 1999. Pp. 468-70. Print.

William, Raymond. *Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory.* The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism. Second Edition. 2010. Pp. 1423-1437. Print.

Witting, Monique. *One Is Not Born a Women.* The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism. Second Edition. 2010. Pp. 1906 -1913. Print.

Martin Luther King Jr. and the Global Freedom Struggle. *Selma to Montgomery March (1965).* Kingencyclopedia Stanford University.com. Web. Feb 4. 2016.

Kennedy, John F. "Inaugural Address". John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum. January 20, 1961. Video Clip.

42

Language, Culture, and Identity in
Elementary English Language Arts

Kaitlyn Hladik

❧ **I think that without exposure** to English Language Arts in elementary education, children miss out on important developmental processes that contribute to their understanding in areas of language, culture, and identity. I will argue that children should study English Language Arts at the Elementary level with regards to these three aspects because they are essential for children to become successfully functioning individuals in society. Because of literacy in the English language, we are able to communicate effectively in one language common to our culture. Culture is where we learn about each other's differences and commonalities, with thanks to our individual identities. Our ability to take part in this community through the English language shapes who we are and helps us to develop our individualities.

The Alberta Programs of Study (2000, p. 2-3) in English Language Arts outlines that learners at the elementary level develop their skills in areas of listening and speaking, reading and writing, viewing and representing, and in multimodal textual analysis and comprehension. In addition to this, Inspiring Action on Education (2010, p. 7) values opportunity, citizenship, and diversity, among other principles, which are reflected in language, culture, and identity. I think that it is no coincidence these objectives are included in the curriculum, as "we use different types of literacy practice to achieve different goals" (Hill, 2016), and need a variety of these practices to use in different life and school contexts. I believe that learning English language literacy fulfills the basic needs of communication essential for students throughout their lifetimes, making them "life long learners" (Hill, 2016) who are fully equipped to take anything on. Practicing English Language Arts is not limited to the classroom, and in fact extends into many aspects in life, helping students to "develop and apply strategies for comprehending, composing and responding in a variety of situations" (Programs of Study, 2000, p. 2). One of the first, and most important, aspects we encounter in the classroom and in life is language development through English literacy.

I think it is evident how the use of language is endlessly useful in a world that depends on communication in order to be successful. While languages differ and communication can occur in diverse forms, its importance is never minimized when it comes to development and success. I think that students are able to find common ground with each other and with their studies by becoming literate in a language common to everyone here in Alberta - English. Children begin learning at home, which Cambourne (1995, p. 184) elaborates on when he says that "learning one's native language [is] probably the most universal exemplar of highly

successful complex learning ... outside of formal educational institutions." Therefore, most students at the elementary level arrive in their English Language Arts classes with some understanding of the English language no matter their background. Ultimately, I think the goal in elementary school is as such: "It is through mediation with more competent members of their surroundings that children learn to appropriately use symbolic tools to solve problems, participate in social activities, and, most important, engage in embodied meaning making" (Razfar & Yang, 2010, p. 114). I think that this is an essential skill to build on in children because it is not just used to read books and write papers. English language literacy is about being able to communicate with others and make sense of the world though a variety of means and materials. Without English Language Arts, I think that elementary students would be much less proficient in being able to express themselves and their understanding, which contributes to the next important aspect - culture.

Once a classroom can establish common ground with its English language, which I think enables them to communicate and collaborate much more effectively as a community, a sense of culture can begin to grow among the students. In a classroom in which sociocultural principles were added to the "phonemic and phonics-based activities curriculum," Razfar and Yang (2010, p. 121) note that "over time, the children were empowered as they used written language to represent their thoughts and communicate with others effectively" as a small "community of learners" (Miller, 2000). It is important that students at the elementary level learn how to be socially responsible citizens of the classroom before they are launched into more responsible roles outside of their academic environment. To elaborate, the Alberta Programs of Study (2000, p. 1) outlines how "The ability to use language effectively enhances student opportunities to experience personal satisfaction and to become responsible, contributing citizens and lifelong learners," which I think is a skill best learned earlier, at the elementary level, rather than later. I also have to note that there is a socio-political responsibility in becoming part of a culture, which is not attainable without the use of language to communicate. Giampapa (2010, p. 412) emphasizes this when talking about critical literacy and how "understanding not only linguistic codes but a critical language awareness of how language as a form of capital intersects with power and functions within society" is important for students to become functioning individuals in society. With the ability to communicate sociopolitical views within the classroom, students at the elementary level are able to engage with their culture in meaningful ways with the help of English Language Arts to promote critical awareness and understanding of diverse perspectives.

Aside from being able to effectively communicate through a common classroom language and to feel part of a "community of learners" (Miller, 2000, p. 190) in and out of school, learning English language arts at the elementary level provides students with an important opportunity to start developing their identities. Razfar and Yang (2010, p. 115) note that "learning can be viewed as the transformation of individual, social, and discursive [identities] through participation in culturally organized activities," which is important in realizing how English Language Arts is never limited to the classroom. Indeed, I think it is brought home with students, where it shapes their identities and creates cultural individuals because they are able to effectively use the English language with others. While the collective is

seen as being cultural and the individual is called identity, Giampapa (2010, p. 422) illustrates how the two aspects are combined:

> When teachers and students create an interpersonal space within the English-medium classroom, they create and re-create identity options to permit students' linguistic and cultural identities to enter, thus challenging educational power dynamics. Thus change opens up the possibility for collaborative engagement in learning that leads to cognitive development and academic achievement.

With this concept, it is evident how language and culture are both crucial in shaping identity, which empowers students to be successful in both their academic and personal lives.

Ultimately, "literacy is a shared responsibility" (Hill, 2016) among teachers of all subjects at the elementary level, but I believe that emphasis on language, culture, and identity in English Language Arts provides students with the ability to be much more successful in all aspects of school and life development and learning. While other subjects at the elementary level could provide some support in developing students' identities, I think that it is English Language Arts that emphasizes its growth and encourages its expression in creative ways unlike any other institutional program. I believe that it is so important that all of these aspects are given the proper attention when children are just beginning to learn how to be citizens of the world, and English Language Arts helps to achieve this goal by placing those principles at its focus, as we have analyzed in our text by Larson & Marsh (2014). In conclusion, the development of identity is essential to personal growth and in contributing to a culture, which in turn helps to shape the individual, all of which is made possible through literacy in the English language. Without elementary English Language Arts, I believe that these things would go largely ignored and therefore undeveloped, leaving students unprepared for individual expression and articulation, without the ability to communicate and engage in society in meaningful ways, and lacking a proper sense of self that is so important for personal growth.

Works Cited

Cambourne, B. (1995). Toward an educationally relevant theory of literacy learning: Twenty years of inquiry. *The Reading Teacher,* 49.3, Retrieved from globalconversationsinliteracy. files.wordpress.com/2011/08/cambourne-towardsedrelevanttheorylitlearning.pdf

Giampapa, F. (2010). Multiliteracies, Pedagogy and Identities: Teacher and Student Voices from a Toronto Elementary School. *Canadian Journal of Education,* 33.2. Retrieved from files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ895577.pdf

Hill, L. (2016). *Alberta Curriculum Basics 1A* [PowerPoint slides]. Retrieved from Lecture Notes Online Web site: moodle.stmu.ca/course/view.php?id=480

Larson, J. & Marsh, J. (2014). Making literacy real: Theories and practices for learning and teaching. London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications.

Miller, R. (2000). Holistic Education for an Emerging Culture. *The Heart of Learning: Spirituality in Education.* Ed. Steven Glazer. New York, United States: J.P. Tarcher/Putnam.

Razfar, A. & Yang, E. (2010). Digital, Hybrid, & Multilingual Literacies in Early Childhood. *Language Arts,* 88.2. Retrieved from blc.uregina.wikispaces.net/file/view/Hybrid+Language.pdf

(2000). English Language Arts (K-6). *Alberta Programs of Study.* Retrieved from education.alberta.ca/english-language-arts-k-6/program-of-studies/

(2010). *Inspiring Action on Education.* Retrieved from www.oecd.org/site/eduilebanff/48763522.pdf

A Story of Tom Thomson: A Graphic Novel

Dan Huard
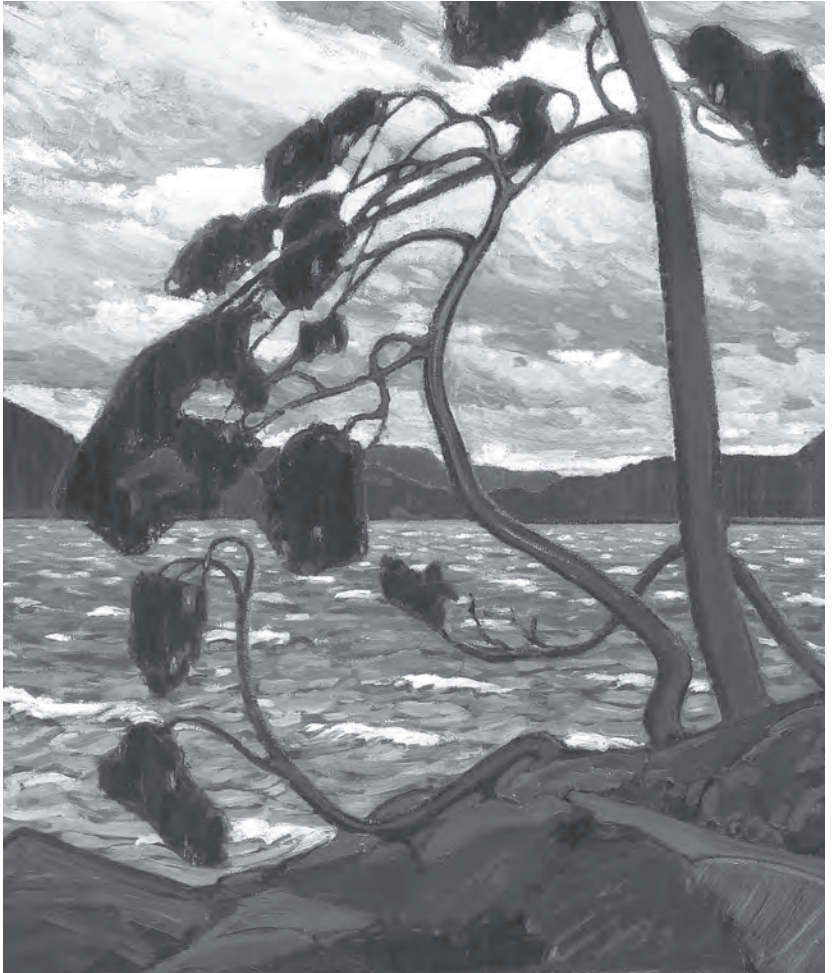
1) Article 1. 'Rosehill' Farm in Leith, 1877

4) "Later Tom joined the village band, as one of the cornet players. […] George playing the clarinet, Henry and Ralph, violins and Tom on the mandolin. There was also a cornet, a brass viol, a slide trombone and piano. They played rather intoxicating dance music and with a flawless maple floor in the hall, a good time was a foregone conclusion.

- Minnie Thomson, older sister (2 years)

(Library and Archives Canada/Biblioteque et Archives Canada, MG30 D38 'Blodwen Davies fonds', Vol. 11)

1. Places. *Leith, Ontario 1897-1900. West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.* (White Pine Studios. 2012. Accessed March 07, 2017). http://www.tomthomsonart.ca.
2. David Silcox. *Boyhood Years.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien." (ACI. 2015. Accessed March 07, 2017). http://www.aci-iac/tom-thomson/credits.
3. Article 1. Life Story. *'Rosehill' Leith 1877. West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
4. Life Story. The Thomson Children, *1877. West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
5. Joan Murray. "Tom Thomson." The Canadian Encyclopedia. (August 27, 2013. Accessed February 05, 2017). http://www.thecanadian encyclopedia.ca/en/article/tom-thomson/.
6. Ibid.
7. David Silcox. *Boyhood Years.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
8. Ibid.
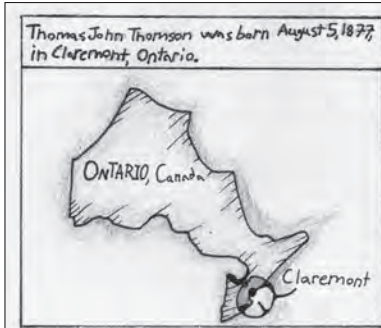
12) Article 2. Thomson's business card from Seattle, c. 1904

14) Article 3. Alice Elinor
Lambert

15) Article 4. Pioneer Square,
Seattle WA

9.   David Silcox. *Early Adult Years.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
10. Ibid.
11. Places. Seattle, Washington 1900-1904. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
12. Article 2. David Silcox. *Early Adult Years.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
13. Life Story. Alice Elinor Lambert, 1904. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
14. Article 3. Alice Elinor Lambert. Places. Seattle, Washington 1900-1904. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
15. Article 4. Pioneer Square, Seattle WA. Places. Seattle, Washington 1900-1904. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
16. "West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson." (TVO. November 30, 2015. Accessed April 02, 2017). http://tvo.org/video/documentaries/west-wind-the-vision-of-tom-thomson.
17. Life Story. 'Women Are Like That', 1904. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
18. Joan Murray. "Tom Thomson." The Canadian Encyclopedia.
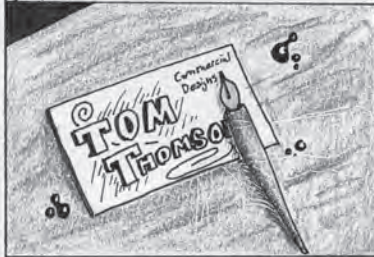
Panel 9: In 1901, Tom Thomson moved to Seattle. RAILWAY

Panel 10, 11: He attended the Acme Business College, which was run by his brother George. Shop!!

Panel 12: While in Seattle, Tom Thomson found work as a Graphic Artist at the local engraving companies. Commercial Designs TOM THOMSO

Panel 13, 14, 15, 16: It was during his time working in Seattle that Tom Thomson met Alice Lambert... His first love.

Panel 17: The two spent as much time as they could together, and would often take street-car rides to the ocean in the summer.
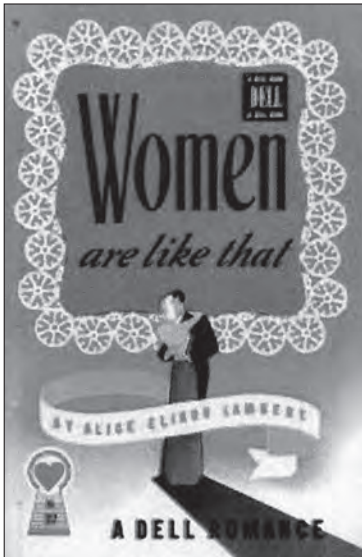
Panel 18: Tom Thomson was deeply in love with Alice, and finally decided that it was time...

22) Article 5. Women Are Like That by Alice Elinor Lambert

23) "For one disturbing year, she has been desperately in love with a tall, dark boy named Tom, a commercial artist, who in the summer used to take her on street-car rides to Alki Point and in the winter time to the musty dimness of the Public Library where he would pour over prints and reproductions of the Masters. When finally, darkly morose and determined to suceed, Tom had gone East, the girl unversed as she was in the art of pursuit and capture, had let him go, powerless to hold him or call him back.

Not once after he had left had she been able to pass Pioneer Square with its ancient gaudy Totem Pole, where they had been wont to meet, without tearing pain in her heart. When later she learned that Tom had been drowned while on a sketching trip in Canada, she sealed up a section of her heart, never again to open it."

- Women Are Like That, page 20

---

19. Joan Murray. "Tom Thomson." The Canadian Encyclopedia.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Article 5. Women Are Like That. Life Story. 'Women Are Like That', 1904. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
23. Life Story. 'Women Are Like That', 1904. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*

24) Article 6. Toronto Skyline, 1905

29) Article 7. Studio at The Grip, 1909

33) Article 8. Old Lumber Dam by
Tom Thomson.

24. Article 6. Toronto Skyline. Life Story. Moving to Toronto, 1905. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
25. Life Story. Moving to Toronto, 1905. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
26. David Silcox. *Graphic Design in Toronto, 1905-13.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
27. Ibid.
28. Life Story. Moving to Toronto, 1905. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
29. Article 7. Studio at The Grip, 1909. Life Story. Life at The Grip, 1909. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
30. "West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson." (TVO. November 30, 2015). http://tvo.org/video/documentaries/west-wind-the-vision-of-tom-thomson.
31. Life Story. Moving to Toronto, 1905. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
32. David Silcox. *Discovering Algonquin Park.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
33. Article 8. *Old Lumber Dam.* David Silcox. *Discovering Algonquin Park.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
34. David Silcox. *Discovering Algonquin Park.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."

Tom Thomson returned to Canada in 1905, and worked at a number of commercial design firms in Toronto.

24, 25

In his spare time, Tom Thomson took evening painting classes at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design.

26

When Tom Thomson was hired at Grip Limited, he came into the company of many skilled artists.

27, 28, 29, 30

Tom's peers saw that he had great potential as an artist, and worked with him to improve his technique and style.

31

The artists, now including Tom, would often leave work for extended periods of time to go on painting trips.

32, 33

It was following one such trip that Tom Thomson began to make the transition from commercial designer to full-time painter.

34

55

36) Article 9. Portrait of
Dr. J.M. MacCallum, by
A. Curtis Williamson, 1917

40) Article 10. Artist's Camp, by Tom Thomson.

"One day, Dr.MacCallum brought to Harris's studio a shy young fellow by the name of Tom Thomson, who had just returned from Algonquin Park wit a number of sketches,meticulous but faithful records of rough bush country. Thomson like Lismer, Varley and MacDonald was an employee of The Grip Company, and Dr. MacCullum was trying to persuade him to drop commercial art and devote himself to painting. Thomson was dubious about his ability to make a living out of his painting, doubtful also of his own talents. MacCullum made him the same offer he had made to me: to guarantee his expenses if he would devote a year to painting. At first Thomson would not entertain the idea. He wanted to paint for his own pleasure and to earn his living at commercial art. He enjoyed going off with his canoe and tent for three or four months of the year to paint but to make painting his life work he felt was to take his abilities too seriously. However in his boarding house on Isaella Street, we talked it over on several occasions and finally he decided to try it for a year."

- A.Y. Jackson

35. David Silcox. *Discovering Algonquin Park.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
36. Article 9. Portrait of Dr. J.M. Mac Cullum, by A. Curtis Williamson, 1917. David Silcox. *Discovering Algonquin Park.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
37. David Silcox. *Discovering Algonquin Park.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
38. Life Story. Meeting A.Y. Jackson 1913. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
39. Ibid.
40. Article 10. Artist's Camp. David Silcox. *Gathering Momentum.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
41. David Silcox. *Painting Full Time.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
42. David Silcox. *A Startling Debut.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
43. Joan Murray. "Tom Thomson." The Canadian Encyclopedia.

57

45) Article 11. Campfire, 1916.

47) Article 12. Pencil Sketch of The Shack,
    A.Y. Jackson, c 1915.

50) Article 13. The West Wind,
    by Tom Thomson.

54) Article 14. Mowat Lodge,
    by Tom Thomson.

44. David Silcox. *A Startling Debut.* "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
45. Article 11. Campfire 1916. Places. Algonquin Park, Ontario 1912-1917. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
46. Joan Murray. "Tom Thomson." The Canadian Encyclopedia.
47. Article 12. Pencil Sketch of The Shack, by A.Y. Jackson, c. 1915. Life Story. Move to the Shack, 1915. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
48. Life Story. Move to the Shack, 1915. *West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson.*
49. David Silcox. Painting Full Time. "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
50. Article 13. *The West Wind.* David Silcox. At Full Speed 1916. "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
51. David Silcox. At Full Speed 1916. "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
52. "West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson." (TVO. November 30, 2015. Accessed April 02, 2017). http://tvo.org/video/documentaries/west-wind-the-vision-of-tom-thomson.
53. Joan Murray. "Tom Thomson." The Canadian Encyclopedia.
54. Article 14. Mowat Lodge, by Tom Thomson. David Silcox. A Mysterious Death. "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."

Tom Thomson was greatly admired by his peers for his ability as an outdoorsman.

44, 45

Tom continued to spend more and more time Painting in Algonquin Park.

46

He would spend months out painting in the wild, rugged, wilderness. Only returning to the city in the winter.

47, 48

As Tom's love of nature grew, so did his love of capturing it.

49

Tom would paint anything in nature. From Clouds and lakes, to berry bushes and the wind.

50, 51

Tom Thomson quickly became a local at Algonquin Park, and could often be found at Mowat Lodge.

52, 53, 54

59

Bibliography

Klages, Gregory. *Many Deaths of Tom Thomson: Seperating Fact from Fiction.* Toronto: Dundurn. 2016. http://deslibris.ca/ID/450490.

Murray, Joan. "Tom Thomson." The Canadian Encyclopedia. August 27, 2013. Accessed February 05, 2017. http://www.the canadian encyclopedia.ca/en/article/tom-thomson/.

Silcox, David. "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien." ACI. 2015. Accessed March 07, 2017. http://www..aci-iac.ca/tom-thomson/credits.

West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson. White Pine Studios. 2012. Accessed March 07, 2017. http://www.tomthomsonart.ca

"West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson." TVO. November 30, 2015. Accessed April 02, 2017. http://tvo.org/video/documentaries/west-wind-the-vision-of-tom-thomson.

---

55. David Silcox., Gathering Momentum, 1915. "Art Canada Institute - Institut de l'art canadien."
56. "West Wind: The Vision of Tom Thomson." (TVO. November 30, 2015. Accessed April 02, 2017). http://tvo.org/video/documentaries/west-wind-the-vision-of-tom-thomson.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Gregory Klages. Many Deaths of Tom Thomson: Seperating Fact from Fiction. (Toronto: Dundurn. 2016). http://deslibris.ca/ID/450490

Key Issues Confronting Adolescent Males

Amy Johnson

❧ **Canada is a diverse nation** which is culturally distinct from other nations including its youth demographic. It is important to understand how both adolescent-specific concerns within Canada and global matters affect adolescence for males and females and to recognize the similarities and differences between male and female adolescents. Just as it is essential to understand which issues adolescent males find significant and why, it is also necessary to understand the specific attitudes male youth hold about these topics. There are relatively few studies which tackle adolescent issues, specifically issues facing male youth within a Canadian context, thus, it is difficult to understand how concerns pertaining to the adolescent demographic influence Canadian youth. There are many issues that young males must confront in adolescence, however, three of the most crucial issues facing male youth today are: suicide, risky sexual behaviour, and transgender sexual identity.

Adolescence is a developmental period which constitutes notable physical changes, as well as changes in emotional, mental, and social functioning (Delany-Moretlwe et al., 2015; Kim, Moon, & Kim, 2011). Along with such changes, adolescence is also associated with an intensified frequency of health risk behaviours, such as risky sexual behaviour and substance use (Hale, Fitzgerald-Yau, and Viner, 2014). Youth between the ages of 10-24 comprise nearly 25 percent of the global population (Delany-Moretlwe et al., 2015). It is important to understand how health-related risky behaviours affect these youths by recognizing which factors contribute to adolescents engaging in these behaviours and, by acknowledging the potential consequences and outcomes for adolescents. It is also necessary to identify preventative measures and interventions which can help and support adolescents in making better informed decisions when it comes to participating in health-risk behaviours, especially considering that young people are important indicators of future health and social and economic development for both domestic and global populations (Delany-Moretlwe et al., 2015).

Suicide

Every year, nearly one million people globally commit suicide which places it as the tenth leading cause of death worldwide (Karaman and Durukan, 2013). In Canada and Europe, suicide is the second leading cause of death among all populations, including adolescents (Hepp , Stulz, Unger-Köppel, & Ajdacic-Gross, 2012; Saewyc & Chen, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2009). In the United States suicide is ranked as the third leading cause of death (Gassman-Pines, Ananat, & Gibson-Davis, 2014; Karaman & Durukan, 2013).

According to Soor et al. (2012) "Canadians are seven times more likely to die from suicide than homicide" (p. 180). The high suicide rates among young people make suicide and suicide-related behaviors a serious global health concern (Bennett et al., 2015; Gassman-Pines et al., 2015), which according to Kim et al. (2011) has been regarded as a "critical and increasing problem among adolescents" (p.421). Suicide is a crucial issue for adolescents as this particular time in development is associated with a high degree of impulsiveness not present in any other age demographic. According to Guan, Fox, and Prinstein (2012), the rates of completed suicide among the adolescent population are nearly seven times higher between the ages of 15-19 years old compared to between the ages of 10-14 years old. This increase in rates may be a reflection of the trend that, with the onset of puberty suicide becomes more common (Kim et al., 2011). In order to develop adequate and sustainable interventions and preventive measures it is necessary to gain a better understanding of suicide behaviours for the adolescent demographic (Hepp et al., 2012).

Suicidal behaviour can be described as any intentional act, performed by an individual towards oneself, which could result in the death of that individual (Karaman & Durukan, 2013). Karaman and Durukan (2013) also describe the term suicidal ideation as the "intent to commit suicide" (p.31), which can include behaviours such as thinking about committing suicide and making a plan to commit suicide. On the other hand, some self-harm behaviours, more commonly labelled as non-suicidal self-injury (NSSI), can be the same as behaviours intended to result in death of an individual, such as cutting.

NSSI behaviours are also deliberate and directed towards the self, although, these particular behaviours do cause damage to the body the individual engages in these behaviours without the immediate intent to die (Guan et al., 2012). Reisner, Biello, Perry, Gamarel, and Mimiaga (2014) note that deliberate NSSIs include a wide array of "complex and dangerous… behaviors" (p. 552) such as cutting, hitting, burning, and severe scratching, each of which is performed without the intent to be fatal to the individual. According to Hepp et al. (2012), NSSI behaviours are not commonly used as a method to commit suicide among adolescents because such acts are often associated with mental conditions of older age populations. Self-harm behaviours are commonly performed among the adolescent population (Guan et al., 2012), and are considered predictors of suicide attempts and ideation among adolescents (Reisner et al., 2014) along with prior suicide attempts (Guan et al., 2012). Because NSSIs cause harm to the individual Guan et al. (2012) argue that engaging in self-harming behaviours may be allowing adolescents the capability to attempt a suicide as NSSIs may increase and adolescent's tolerance for pain and decrease their fears of death. There is also a high incidence of NSSIs among sexual minorities (Reisner et al., 2014), nonetheless, self-harm behaviours are likely to pose similar risks among all adolescents regardless of sexual identity, orientation, or gender (Guan et al., 2012).

There are striking gender differences in suicide rates among adolescents. Male youth are consistently reported to have higher rates of suicide completion than female youth, however, female adolescents are more likely to attempt suicide than male adolescents (Gassman-Pines et al., 2014; Kim et al., 2011). These differences though, do not follow from direct links of gendered behaviour to resulting actions nor do the differences simply follow directly from

risk factors typical of either males or females, but are the result of complex interacting factors which allow for distinctions in suicide rates between genders. There are a variety of factors that may be related to these differences, one being the function that the male gender role plays in regards to attitudes towards help seeking behaviours. Suicide has unique implications for young males as this group tends to hold more permissive attitudes towards suicide and the conflicting male gender role predisposes male youth from seeking out prevention strategies (Arnautovska & Grad, 2010). The male gender role prescribes a negative attitude toward help seeking behaviours which can be displayed as males having a tolerant attitude toward suicide (Arnautovska & Grad, 2010), resulting from the gendered norms of men being charged with the responsibility of being strong, fearless, and emotionless; whereas women are expected to be emotional and the caretakers of society. Thus, women are more likely to reach out to an individual displaying signs of suicidality and are more likely to believe in suicide prevention and hold negative views towards suicide in general (Arnautovska & Grad, 2010).

Male youth are also less likely than females to report thoughts, plans, and attempts of suicide (Gassman-Pines et al., 2014), which may be explained by the low numbers of male adolescents who survive suicide attempts, thus, making less information available as to the thought processes male youth experience in regards to suicide. It may also be, however, that males in general are simply less likely to report their thoughts, plans, and attempts of suicide or that this tendency of underreporting may be linked either directly, or indirectly to the concept of the male gender role.

Another reason for the difference in suicide rates between males and females is that males tend to use more lethal methods when attempting suicide than females do, which increases the suicide completion rate for male youth (Kim et al., 2011; Soor et al., 2012). Men tend to use methods such as firearms or hanging to attempt suicide, whereas females are more likely to use non-lethal methods such as ingesting prescription pills (Hepp et al., 2012; Kim et al., 2011). Firearms also happen to be the leading method of suicide compared to all other methods, accounting for nearly one in four suicides for adolescent males, (Hepp et al., 2012; Karaman & Durukan, 2013). Male youth using violent methods to attempt suicide may also be attributed to the impulsiveness of adolescent behaviours. Hepp et al. (2012) argue that those youths who use violent methods to attempt suicide are more likely to be impulsive, as found in the high rate of suicide attempters who reported that they had spent little time, if any, between their decision to commit suicide and the actual act of suicide itself. High impulsiveness is a characteristic of adolescence but may be more representative and specific to young males, which may account for the higher rates of suicide completion as compared to females. As argued by Soor et al. (2012), male youth have a predisposition to be more aggressive and more impulsive, which could be the result of higher testosterone levels in males than in females.

Experiencing violence and physical, emotional, or psychological victimization increases suicide risk for adolescents (Saewyc & Chen, 2013), particularly within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) demographic (Abel, 2014; Delany-Moretlwc et al., 2015; Maticka-Tyndale, 2008). According to Saewyc and Chen (2013) the most common form of victimization among adolescents is peer violence, such as bullying, and cyberbullying via social networking sites also contributes to victimization (Cash, Thelwall, Peck, Ferrel, & Bridge,

2013). Saewyc and Chen (2013) note that any young persons who have been victimized are more likely to report a suicide attempt, and that "frequency, severity, and persistence of violence exposure" (p. 90) is also linked to increased suicidal behaviour. Especially important is violence and victimization as it relates to male youth. Young adolescent males who experience sexual violence are three times more likely to attempt suicide than female youth who are only twice as likely (Saewyc & Chen, 2013).

Particularly as victimization pertains to sexual minorities, sexual violence leads to higher rates of suicide among this population as compared to heterosexual youth (Maticka-Tyndale, 2008). Sexual minority boys are more likely than sexual minority girls to be harassed and victimized because of their sexuality and gender, which may be the consequence of male youth having more negative attitudes towards sexual minorities than female youth (Martin-Storey & Crosnoe, 2014). Sexual minority youth, particularly transgender youth, are at an increased risk for suicidal ideation and suicide attempts than are heterosexual adolescents (Johnson & Amella, 2014; Mueller, James, Abrutyn, & Levin, 2015). This is predominantly due to sexual minority adolescents experiencing disproportionately more rejection from their family and peers and experiencing more victimization and harassment than their heterosexual counterparts (Travers et al., 2010). The overall conclusion that can be made in regards to victimization and violence as experienced by all youth is that bullying and victimization is associated with increased risk for suicide among adolescents, and that male youth are at a greater risk of suicide than female youth. For sexual minorities though, even when violence and bullying are taken into account and controlled for, these youths continue to experience an even greater risk of suicide regardless of gender (Mueller et al., 2015), which is alarming considering sexual minorities comprise a small percentage of the adolescent population. Moreover, not only does being a sexual minority youth significantly increase victimization, victimization is also associated with increased rates of risky behaviour for adolescents (Martin-Storey & Crosnoe, 2014).

Risky Sexual Behaviour

Risky sexual behaviour is an important issue for adolescents because in 2008 the age of sexual consent in Canada increased from 14 years old to 16 years old (Miller, Cox, & Saewyc, 2010), which may not be general knowledge for this age demographic, even today. Chen, Thompson, and Morrison-Beedy (2010) define risky sexual behaviour as being "any sexual activity that puts individuals at risk for HIV/STI due to direct contact with semen, blood, or vaginal secretions of infected sexual partners" (p. 513). In particular, Chen et al. (2010) cite unprotected sexual activity, multiple sexual partners and high-risk partners, and inconsistent condom use as being risky sexual behaviours. Because adolescents are less likely to seek out sexual health resources they are at an increased risk for contracting and transmitting STIs compared with adults. This is a necessary concern for youth since patterns of sexual behaviour that have developed in adolescence are likely to continue into adulthood, and may become a stable pattern of sexual activity throughout the rest of life; consequently, risky sexual behaviour may increase negative sexual health outcomes later in life (Hale et al., 2014; Scott et al., 2011). Chen et al. (2010) explain that risky sexual behaviour is a "global concern because of the unwanted consequences for adolescent health, such as sexually transmitted infections, and

human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)" (p. 513). A concern made even more alarming by the knowledge that the adolescent demographic continues to contribute up to a third of new HIV infections (Delany-Moretlwe et al., 2015).

Just as there are gender differences between males and females for the issue of suicide among adolescents, there are also gender differences for risky sexual behaviour. Male adolescents engage in sexual activities earlier than female adolescents (Rew, Carver, & Li, 2011; Wickrama, Merten, & Wickrama, 2012). Early sexual engagement threatens adolescent sexual health because it increases the chances of having a high number of sexual partners, which increases the chances of pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (Miller et al., 2010). Rew et al. (2011) argue that adolescents who engage in sexual risk behaviours, such as inconsistent condom use, also tend to participate in more additional health risk behaviours than adolescents who do not take part in risky sexual behaviours. This is a concerning trend for male youth as they are more likely to engage in risky behaviours than female youth are (Martin-Storey & Crosnoe, 2014).

According to Scott et al. (2011) every additional sexual risk factor which adolescents involve themselves in is associated with a 10 percent increase in their odds of contracting an STI in early adulthood. Some factors which contribute to sexual risk are: inconsistent contraceptive use, age at first sexual intercourse, having an older sexual partner, non-monogamous relationship, and nonromantic partners. Scott et al. (2011) argue that adolescent males tend to have between three or four cumulative risks, which greatly increases the odds of male youth contracting and STI. Adolescent males also have marginally higher rates of having an inappropriate younger partner as compared to female adolescents, however, female adolescents have much higher rates of having an inappropriate older partner (Miller et al., 2010). Miller et al. (2010) also note that the majority of male youth participate in sexual intercourse with peers who are of similar age.

The notion that adolescents engage in sexual activity with partners who are much older or younger than themselves is partially the reason the sexual consent laws in Canada were changed, as it was argued by some that younger adolescents are at greater risk of sexual exploitation than are older adolescents (Miller et al., 2010). This statement may be entirely accurate, but more so as it applies to exploitation of young adolescents by adults and not older adolescents. It has been found that the age at which youth participate in sexual intercourse occurs between 16 and 18 years of age, and this rate has remained relatively constant since the 1970s (Maticka-Tyndale, 2008). Thus, even though male youth tend to initiate sexual relationships at an earlier age than female youth, which poses male youth to have more sexual experiences than female youth (Travers et al., 2010), young adolescent males are still more likely to than older adolescent males to use condoms and practice safer sex behaviours (Miller et al., 2010). As explained by Maticka-Tyndale (2008), in Canada, there is a trend of adolescents taking more serious responsibility of their own sexual health, which has included accessing contraceptives and using condoms, more than previous generations of Canadian youth. Sexually transmitted infections though, are still a serious concern for adolescents, particularly for younger males, and many STIs carry long-term consequences, such as HIV, herpes, chlamydia, and human papilloma virus (Maticka-Tyndale, 2008).

There are also multiple risk factors for contracting STIs and engaging in risky sexual behaviour beyond participating in sexual intercourse early or having multiple partners, such as living in a disadvantaged community. As noted by Wickrama et al. (2012), youth from socioeconomic disadvantaged communities and families have higher rates of STIs than youth from communities and families which are considered to have socioeconomic advantages. Thus, community disadvantage may contribute to risky sexual behaviour within the adolescent demographic (Chen et al., 2010; Wickrama et al., 2012). Wilson, Asbridge, Kisely, and Langille (2010) explain that youth who come from low income families are more likely than youth who come from high income families to be sexually active, which consequently leads to an increase in negative sexual health outcomes. Therefore, it appears that a youth's socioeconomic environment can be a predictor of risky sexual behaviour (Wilson et al., 2010), which has implications for male youth to be even more at risk for negative sexual health outcomes due to practicing risky sexual behaviours. Adolescent males are more likely to engage in sexual risk behaviours and are thus more susceptible to contracting STIs; when male youth also live in disadvantaged communities or families, (e.g., single-parent families) negative sexual health outcomes become even more of an increased risk.

In Canada, Maticka-Tyndale (2008) had found that in provinces and territories where there were substantially greater populations of families with lower incomes, and families living in more isolated and rural areas had adolescents with poorer sexual health than other adolescents. In contrast, though, Rew et al. (2011) had found that rural youth with low socioeconomic status were no more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour than rural youth with high socioeconomic status. Thus it appears that socioeconomic disadvantage is more of a sexual health risk when youth live in urban environments than if youth live in rural environments, which is still concerning considering there is a continued trend of youth moving to urban centers from rural areas because of increased opportunities. Nevertheless, Rew et al. (2011) also point out that adolescents who are engaged in risky sexual behaviour did feel less connected to their communities. A common factor of both rural and disadvantaged communities is lack of resources, particularly for adolescents. In both these environments there is a lack of available and accessible resources for health and educational services (Wickrama et al., 2012) which means that youth are unable to be properly educated on the risks of sexual activity which only continues the cycle of being misinformed and engaging in risky sexual behaviour. Related to community disadvantage as a risk factor for sexual risky behaviour is depression among youth (Wickrama et al., 2010).

Depression among youth is of serious concern because not only is depression related to risky sexual behaviour (Chen et al., 2010; Wickrama et al., 2010), depression is also related to youth violence (Cash et al., 2013), and suicide (Kim et al., 2011; Saewyc & Chen, 2013). Youth already have to deal with the multiple stresses the adolescent development brings, such as school performance, relationships and the many physical changes brought on by puberty, all which increase the chances of adolescents developing depression (Kim et al., 2011). The consequences of depression as it relates to risky sexual behaviour in male youth is that depression has been linked with young males having more than one sexual partner and having unplanned sexual intercourse (Wilson et al., 2010). The link between depression and

risky sexual behaviour in adolescent males however, is not direct. Even though risky sexual behaviours may lead to depression, it was also found by Wilson et al. (2010) that having depression first was most strongly linked to engaging in sexually risky behaviours.

Depression not only has significant consequences for adolescent males in general, but depression is also a concern for sexual minorities, particularly transgender youth, who have higher rates of depression and other mental health issues, most of which stem from being harassed and victimized by their peers (Dargie, Blair, Pukall, & Coyle, 2014; Maticka-Tyndale, 2008). Male-to-female transgender youth experience the most severe victimization by peers and experience victimization more often than other sexual minorities due to their gender expression (Milrod, 2014), which puts male-to-female transgender youth at an increased risk of depression, suicide, and risky sexual behaviour. Male-to-female transgender youth may be susceptible to engaging in sexual risk behaviours more so than male-to-female transgender and other sexual minority youth because of the expectations outlined in the female gender role. Delany-Moretlwe et al. (2015) explain that because of the understanding of the female gender role in society, and its notion of women needing to be 'sexually available,' that male-to-female transgender youth are more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour to "validate their gender identity" (p. 32). Society's expectations surrounding gender norms and roles places transgender male-to-female youth at an increased risk of unhealthy sexual maturity and emotional development (Milrod, 2014), as these youths struggle with concepts of personal sexual identity and reconciling their gender identity with their physical appearances.

Transgender Sexual Identity

The term 'transgender,' according to Johnson and Amella (2014) is used to refer to individuals whose "psychological self differs from the social expectations for the physical sex they were born with" (p. 525). In other words, transgender individuals do not conform to the established views of the male of female gender roles (Pollock & Eyre, 2012), but, encompass a variety of identities which may range from viewing oneself as heterosexual, homosexual, transsexual, gender queer, intersex, two-spirited, asexual, etc. (Dargie et al., 2014; Pollock & Eyre, 2012). The concepts of gender and sexual identity cannot describe the fluid nature of transgender identities, therefore, it is more acceptable to view transgender youth as simultaneously occupying many roles attached to gender and sexual identity (Dargie et al., 2014). Because of the variations in gender and sexual identities experienced by transgender youth, labeling transgender youth as part of the LGB umbrella may actually do more harm than good (Travers et al., 2010). Transgender labeling can cause others to generalize trans youth experiences with those of the lesbian and gay community (Dargie et al., 2014), thus, increasing the likelihood that trans youth will continue to be marginalized, underserved and remain an invisible population among the adolescent demographic (Pollock & Eyre, 2012).

Transgender youth often face the feeling that they are not 'normal' individuals within society because of the discrimination that continues to exist around crossing gender lines, which is exaggerated by the lack of positive transgender role models (Pollock & Eyre, 2012). This discrimination leads many trans youth to seek out gender reassignment surgery to reconcile

their sexual identity with a physical representation of their self-affirmed gender. Surgery may not be a necessary step, however, as some trans youth already feel genuine in their own skin (Dargie et al., 2014), nonetheless there are several trans youth who feel uncomfortable in their own bodies, especially as they approach puberty (Pollock & Eyre, 2012).

One of the main factors leading trans youth to gender reassignment surgery is that they want to be able to have physical sexual experiences that match their gender, which in turn, validates their sexual and gender identities (Kennedy, 2008; Pollock & Eyre, 2012). Gender reassignment surgery also has the most impact on transitioning youth because they face complex rules and legislation regarding the age at which one can legally consent to medical procedures and also the legal age at which one can legally begin hormonal treatments (Milrod, 2014). There is also an incongruence between the legal age of sexual consent in Canada, which is currently 16 years of age, and the legal age of consent for medical procedures, which is currently 18 years of age (Milrod, 2014). These discrepancies place trans youth in a precarious emotional dilemma because they message they are receiving about being a trans youth is that they are within their legal rights to be sexually active as an adolescent but not with the appropriate genitals to match their self-identified gender. According to Kennedy (2008), these inconsistencies prevent trans youth from living their life in a way that conform to their gender identity.

The arguments against allowing adolescents to consent to such invasive surgeries is not without merit. Adolescence is a developmental period in which there are significant changes in brain functioning and maturation, which limits an adolescents' ability to evaluate long-term consequences associated with such a life changing surgery (Abel, 2014). For male-to-female transgender youth gender reassignment surgery carries with it the consequence of foregoing the capacity of being able to sexually reproduce in the future, as gender reassignment surgery leaves individuals sterile (Abel, 2014). Nonetheless, transgender youth should be allowed to have greater involvement in the decision-making processes which will allow them to align their physicality with their sexual identities (Kennedy, 2008). Furthermore, according to Abel (2014), transgender youth consider that the ability to feel comfortable in one's own skin is a benefit that is much greater than the disadvantage of not being able to sexually reproduce.

There is also the argument that delaying gender reassignment surgery until the age of 18 limits the possibility that adolescents may have future regrets on changing their physical gender, as adolescence is a period in development associated with experimentation of gender roles and behaviours, which may not continue into adulthood (Milrod, 2014). This hold particular importance for male-to-fame transitioning youth as gender reassignment surgery is an irreversible procedure (Milrod, 2014). The aforementioned argument, however, may be unfounded as children who strongly indicate the wish to be a different gender continues into adolescence, there is a high probability that it will also continue into adulthood (Abel, 2014). Therefore, it is of particular importance to make resources available to transgender youth which help decrease their feelings of segregation and increase their feelings of being valuable members of society.

Prevention and Support

The question that remains is what can be done to prevent adolescent males from experiencing the risks associated with adolescent development, and what can be done to support these youths to ensure they live healthy lives in the future. There are many proposed interventions aimed at helping youth, most of which surround the importance of school as a supportive and preventive factor, along with family and peer support, and the media as a preventive factor; each of which are most effective when combined together to form a cohesive and multi-dimensional system of support.

Chen et al. (2010), note that as school is a primary socializing factor for adolescents and thus, significantly influences how youth come to develop their ideas and beliefs and attitudes about sexual behaviour. Thus, it makes sense that schools should be of primary focus when it comes to combating sexually risky behaviours, suicide, and sexual identity issues. Mueller et al. (2015) suggest that schools should develop anti-bullying campaigns and anti-homophobia campaigns to help educate adolescents on the risks associated with each. Creating Gay Straight Alliances is one helpful tool in the fight against homophobia and harassment based on sexual identity, which is of particular importance for transgender and sexual minority youth (Martin-Storey & Crosnoe, 2014). It has been noted that school-based intervention programs have yet to show reduced rates of suicide deaths, but intervention programs are reducing the number of suicide attempts and suicidal ideation among adolescents (Bennett et al., 2015). To help support adolescents, particularly males, it is recommended that schools increase the amount of time these youths are able to spend with trained professionals and for trained professionals to provide care to adolescents based on evidence-based care practices (Bennett et al., 2015). It is also imperative that schools focus more on the value of healthy relationships within sexual education programs and classes, which is of specific consequence to male adolescents, who tend to have more than one sexual partner (Miller et al, 2010). A school-based approach to supporting adolescents makes adolescents feel as though they are being cared for and increases their satisfaction with school, which in turn decreases the likelihood of adolescents engaging in risky sexual behaviour (Chen et al., 2010).

The influence of peers is also a powerful support for adolescents. Thus, it is important to incorporate positive peer influences within the school system and through online social media platforms. In schools, positive peer influences can be found in the creation of peer support groups for adolescents (Kim et al., 2011), which, along with other preventive and support measures the school is utilizing peer support groups should be an influential moderator to decrease risky behaviour. As Delany-Moretlwe et al. (2015) argue, peers are in a unique position to reach out to youth who may be experiencing barriers such as discrimination and access to health care, particularly for sexual minority teens. As peers are influential to one another they offer support and guidance in a manner that is not attainable by caring adults because as peers, they understand more closely the issues facing the adolescent population more so than the rest of society. Even though many peers may express and posses all sorts of knowledge that may be beneficial to their peer group, the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours displayed by peers may be a more influential factor in moderating risky behaviours (Delany-Moretlwe et al., 2015).

Along with school and peers, the media is also a powerful support factor for adolescents. In response to the many suicides of adolescents that have been covered in the media, the media has created campaigns to "promote the message that suicide is not the answer" (Mueller et al., 2015, p.980). This is a welcomed response by many who have criticized the media for its outward displays of self-destructive behaviours and over-sensationalized news coverage, arguing that it is putting adolescents at increased risk of risky sexual behaviours, suicide, and discrimination against sexual minorities (Karaman & Durukan, 2013). The media tends to only show negative news stories as it relates to adolescent issues and therefore, many people develop a view that adolescent issues are more common and dangerous than they really are (Maticka-Tyndale, 2008). The media, however, can be a great social support for many adolescents. With respect to social networking sites, adolescents may in fact use these sites to bully others, however, social networking sites provide a place for adolescents to talk about and have conversations about sensitive issues that they do not feel comfortable having in person (Cash et al., 2013). Social networking sites also allow adolescents to reach out for help and support when dealing with issues (Cash et al., 2013). Through social networking sites, adolescents are able to connect with other youth who are having similar experiences, which becomes a powerful support and preventive mechanism for youth as peers have been shown to be influential supports to other peers. Not only do social networking sites connect peers, but other online sites directed and focused for youth are also available. These sites include up-to-date information on pertinent subject matters such as risky sexual behaviours and its consequences, suicide risks and hotline numbers, and peer groups or programs available for trans youth (Delany-Moretlwe et al., 2015). In response to the growing numbers of adolescents who use the internet and social networking sites on a daily basis, companies such as Google and Facebook have created keyword-search links directly to suicide prevention sites and hotlines (Cash et al., 2013). That is, if an adolescent types in a keyword associated with suicide in the search bars for either website, the first links to come up are direct resources to prevention sites and the national Suicide Prevention Lifeline hotline (Cash et al., 2013). Apple Inc. also has similar technology linked with its Siri app on the iPhone and iPad. All the user has to do is ask Siri 'Suicide help' and links to the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline come up as well as other links to suicide prevention website, unfortunately these are only US based services, even for users in Canada with Apple products, Siri does not bring up relevant Canadian resources.

Conclusion

Adolescence is a developmental period which has been associated with many different risk concerns, three of which are important to understand for today's male youth. By focusing in on how sexually risky behaviour, suicide and sexual identity issues affect male youth, it is possible to determine where resources should be considered to optimize prevention interventions and also support for this group of youth. Male youth are more likely to complete suicides than female youth and are more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour and be the victims of bullying and victimization, especially sexual minorities and transgender youth, than female youth. By dissecting these issues, it becomes clear that support systems need to be implemented to directly tackle these issues as they relate specifically to male youth. Support systems in schools and in the community are directly influenced by the risk factors which put adolescent

males in jeopardy to engage in these risky behaviours. Thus, it is imperative that potential risk factors are decreased, which will likely lead to less participation of risky behaviours, and adolescent males will potentially be less likely to be put into positions of susceptibility for risk. In decreasing the risk factors associated with these crucial issues which male adolescents face today, and by setting up comprehensive supports and prevention programs, male youth will reap the benefits of such changes and begin a path towards health future development and growth.

References

Abel, B. S. (2014). Hormone treatment for children and adolescents with gender dysphoria [Special report]. *Hastings Center Report, 44*(4), 23-27. doi: 10.1002/hast.366

Arnautovska, U., & Grad, O. T. (2010). Attitudes toward suicide in the adolescent population. *Crisis, 31,* 22-29. doi: 10.1027/0227-5910/a000009

Bennett, K., Rhodes, A. E., Duda, S., Cheung, A. H., Manassis, K., Links, P., Mushquash, C., … Szatmari, P. (2015). A youth suicide prevention plan for Canada: A systematic review of reviews. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry,* 60, 245-257.

Cash, S. J., Thelwall, M., Peck, S. N., Ferrell, J. Z., & Bridge, J. A. (2013). Adolescent suicide statements on MySpace. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking, 16,* 166-174. doi: 10.1089/cyber.2012.0098

Chen, A. C.-C., Thompson, E. A., & Morrison-Beedy, D. (2012). Multi-system influences on adolescent risky sexual behavior. *Research in Nursing & Health,* 33, 512-527. doi: 10.1002/nur.20409

Dargie, E., Blair, K. L., Pukall, C. F., & Coyle, S. M. (2014). Somewhere under the rainbow: Exploring the identities and experiences of trans persons. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality,* 23(2), 60-74. doi: 10.3138cjhs.2378

Delany-Moretlwe, S., Cowan, F. M., Busza, J., Bolton-Moore, C., Kelly, K., & Fairlie, L. (2015). Providing comprehensive health services for young key populations: Needs, barriers, and gaps. *Journal of the International AIDS Society, 18* [suppl. 1], 29-40. doi: 10.7448/IAS.18.2.19833

Gassman-Pines, A., Ananat, E. O., & Gibson-Davis, C. M. (2014). Effects of statewide job losses on adolescent suicide-related behavior. *American Journal of Public Health, 104,* 1964-1970. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2014.302081

Guan, K., Fox, K. R., & Prinstein, M. J. (2012). Nonsuicidal self-injury as a time-invariant predictor of adolescent suicide ideation and attempts in a diverse community sample. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 80,* 842-849. doi: 10.1037/a0029429

Hale, D. R., Fitzgerald-Yau, N., & Viner, R. M. (2014). A systematic review of effective interventions for reducing multiple health risk behaviors in adolescence. *American Journal of Public Health, 104,* 19-41. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2014.301874

Hepp, U., Stulz, N., Unger-Köppel, J., & Ajdacic-Gross, V. (2012). Methods of suicide used by children and adolescents. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 21,* 67-73. doi: 10.1007/s00787-011-0232-y

Johnson, M. J., & Amella, E. J. (2014). Isolation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth: A dimensional concept analysis. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 70,* 523-532. doi: 10.1111/jan. 12212

Karaman, D., & Durukan, i. (2013). Suicide in children and adolescents. Current Approaches in Psychiatry, 5, 30-47. doi: 105455/cap.20130503Kim, Y. J., Moon, S. S., & Kim, M. J. (2012). Physical and psycho-social predictors of adolescents' suicide behaviors. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 28,* 421-438. doi: 10.1007/s10560-001-0241-1

Kennedy, A. (2008). Because we say so: The unfortunate denial of rights to transgender minors regarding transition. *Hastings Women's Law Journal, 19,* 281-301.

Kim, Y. J., Moon, S. S., & Kim, M. J. (2011). Physical and psycho-social predictors of adolescents' suicide behaviors. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 28,* 421-438. doi: 10.1007/s10560-011-0241-1

Martin-Storey, A., & Crosnoe, R. (2014). Peer harassment and risky behavior among sexual minority girls and boys. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 84,* 54-65. doi: 10.1037/h0098854

Maticka-Tyndale, E. (2008). Sexuality and sexual health of Canadian adolescents: Yesterday, today and tomorrow. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality, 17(3),* 85-95.

Miller, B. B., Cox, D. N., & Saewyc, E. M. (2010). Age of sexual consent law in Canada: Population-based evidence for law and policy. *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality, 19,* 105-119.

Milrod, C. (2014). How young is too young: Ethical concerns in genital surgery of the transgender MTF adolescent. *Journal of Sexual medicine, 11,* 338-346. doi: 10.1111jsm.12387

Mueller, A. S., James, W., Arbutyn, S., & Levin, M. L. (2015). Suicide ideation and bullying among US adolescents: Examining the interaction of sexual orientation, gender, and race/ethnicity. *American Journal of Public Health, 105,* 980-985. doi: 10. 2105/AJPH.2014.302391

Pollock, L., & Eyre, S. L. (2012). Growth into manhood: Identity development among female-to-male transgender youth. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 14,* 209-222. doi: 10.1080/13691058.2011.636072

Reisner, S. L., Biello, K., perry, N. S., Gamarel, K. E., & Mimiaga, M. J. (20140. A compensatory model of risk and resilience applied to adolescent sexual orientation disparities in nonsuicidal self-injury and suicide attempts. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 84,* 545-556. doi: 10.1037/ort0000008

Rew, L., Carver, T., & Li, C.-C. (2011). Early and risky sexual behavior in a sample of rural adolescents. *Issues in Comprehensive Pediatric Nursing, 34,* 189-204. doi: 10-3109/01460862.2011.619861

Saewyc, E. M., & Chen, W. (2013). To what extent can adolescent suicide attempts be attributes to violence exposure? A population-based study from Western Canada. *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health, 32*(1), 79-94. doi: 10.7870/cjcmh-2013-007

Scott, M. E., Wildsmith, E., Welti, K., Ryan, S., Schelar, E., & Steward-Streng, N. R. (2011). Risky adolescent sexual behaviors and reproductive health in young adulthood. *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health, 43,* 110-118. doi: 10.1363/4311011

Soor, G. S., Vukin, I., Bridgman-Acker, K., Marble, R., Barnfield, P., Edwards, J., … Bhalerao, S. (20120. The effects of gender on adolescent suicide in Ontario, Canada. J*ournal of the Canadian Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 21,* 179-185.

Statistics Canada. (2009). Leading causes of death in Canada 2009. Retrieved from www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/84-215-x/2012001/tbl/T003-eng.pdf

Travers, R., Guta, A., Flicker, S., Larkin, J., Lo, C., McCardell, S., … Toronto Teen Survey Team. (2010). Service provider views on issues and needs for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality, 19*(4), 191-198.

Wickrama, T., Merten, M. J., & Wickrama, K. A. S. (2012). Early socioeconomic disadvantage and young adult sexual health. *American Journal of Health Behavior, 36,* 834-848. doi: 10.5993/AJHB.36.6.10

Wilson, K., Asbridge, M., Kisely, S., & Langille, D. (2010). Associations of risk of depression with sexual risk taking among adolescents in Nova Scotia high schools. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 55,* 577-585.

Doubting Thomas: A study of the Gospels of Thomas in Relation to the Gospel of Luke and early Church Heresy

Kristine Lehew

⁋ **The New Testament** canon excludes many of the texts written about the life and teachings of the historical Jesus. As a method of standardizing Christian beliefs, the early Church leaders decided that certain texts should be circulated among the followers of Jesus, as they were helpful tools in articulating Christian belief and practice. Other texts, however, were perceived as dangerous to the faithful as they presented conflicting theologies of the life and teachings of the historical Jesus. The *Gospel of Thomas* is one of these omitted texts which was seen as a heresy, though it was widely read. Irenaeus of Lyon in *Against Heresy* used the Old Testament, other accepted gospels and knowledge of the natural world to legitimize certain accounts of Jesus' life which are still believed today. Differences between the accepted synoptic gospels like the *Gospel of Luke* and *Thomas* portray the divided nature of the early Christians over what was seen as correct theology. Importantly, *Thomas* was not included as a part of the Christian canon because it showed an aspect of Gnosticism which was against Christian theology. Specifically, *Thomas* did not focus on the earthly life of Jesus and portrayed a secret divided notion of Christ's messages that does not align with the public message of Jesus, as was portrayed in the synoptic gospels. Ultimately, *Thomas* was not included because it focused on secret and elite knowledge of Jesus and not the universal and action-based life and faith that was supported by Church theology in *Luke*.

Conflicts of belief were prevalent within the early Christian communities. Communities had to decide what would be considered the correct account of Jesus' life and what texts aligned with his message. Understanding what Jesus did and said was fundamental in creating a uniform church and so different writers like Irenaeus warned people against deviant traditions. Irenaeus was the trusted bishop of Lyon during the second century who wrote *Against Heresies*. He discussed in this text the very nature of the disputes between gospels. Irenaeus focused on preventing the spread of Gnosticism, and elements of this beliefs system are prevalent in *Thomas*.[1] Irenaeus thereby established an outline of Christian beliefs which all followers should have and this focused on the earthly life of Jesus in unity to God the creator.[2] Any texts that did not preach these things were considered heresies. Based on Irenaeus' account of heretics, *Thomas* contained conflicting information about Jesus and went away from the main traditions of the faith, as supported in trusted gospels, like *Luke*. Irenaeus informed people of what he saw as the legitimized teachings of Christ so that "ignorance… [would be] driven out by knowledge."[3] His account of what makes a true gospel, like *Luke*, was and still is used to define what is considered heresy.

Danger for the Christian community came when divisions threatened the legitimacy of the faith.[4] *Thomas*, not *Luke*, encouraged division from accepted theology, but there are similarities in the texts. The *Gospel of Luke* is believed to have been written between 85 C.E. and 95 C.E.[5] The version of the *Gospel of Thomas* that contemporary scholars have access to is from 110-120 C.E.. Notably, scholars have highlighted how *Thomas* is connected to early oral traditions of Jesus (Q source) which most gospels also came from.[6] 68 of the 114 sayings within *Thomas* can be found similarly in other canon gospels.[7] For instance, Thomas discusses the parable of the Mustard seed in paragraph 20 which is also in *Luke* 13:18-21. Both of these are comparing the mustard seed to the Kingdom of God. Similarities also exist between the texts beyond them being from similar oral traditions. Importantly, Irenaeus argued that legitimate gospels come from those who were closer to the apostles and Church's formation.[8] Scholars argue that Didymos Judas Thomas, the claimed author of *Thomas*, was likely a follower of the apostle Thomas.[9] Comparatively Luke, was the "the companion of Paul, [who] recorded in a book the Gospel preached by him."[10] Thereby, both texts came from apostolic traditions as well as the oral stories of Jesus. Why then was *Thomas* not trusted? The early church at the time would have seen the writings of *Luke* as more reliable, as seen through Irenaeus, because it was legitimized by similarities in other gospels whereas *Thomas* contained key differences (as discussed below).[11] Thereby, these texts were similar, but *Luke* was closer to the understood theology of the faith at this time.

The introductions of these gospels portray the message and branch of Christianity that they came from. *Thomas* begins with "[t]hese are the secret saying which the living Jesus spoke and which Didymos Judas Thomas wrote down."[12] This places a great importance on Thomas, the words of Jesus, and secrets (a notable Gnostic claim), yet it refrains from discussing of Jesus' actions. *Thomas'* understanding of Jesus' messages as secret contradicts to how Christianity was an inclusive religion in which "all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Luke 3:6). Luke begins with noting that

> many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of the events that have been fulfilled among us, just as they were handed on to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitness… I too decided after investigating everything carefully… to write an orderly account for you… so that you may know the truth concerning the things about which you have been instructed (Luke 1:1-4).

In *Luke* the focus was on writing a universal historical account of Jesus' physical life. *Thomas* focused on the sayings of Christ, in a selective and secretive manner where only select people get to understand salvation. *Luke* comparatively wants to make an historical record for all to know salvation. Ultimately, *Luke's* account of Jesus' historical life would have been more beneficial to early Christians who believed in Jesus' earthly life and universal salvation. Also, the secretive nature of *Thomas* would have pointed Irenaeus and early Christians to the known group of Gnostics who had a different set of exclusive beliefs. This introduction alone would have led to *Thomas'* omission.

A very important difference between these texts are the details of Jesus' life that they included. *Luke* was written in a biographical fashion, while *Thomas* is merely a list of Jesus'

sayings.[13] In regard to style, Irenaeus claimed that "all who destroy the form of the Gospel are vain, unlearned and also audacious."[14] Thereby, having a consistent form was important to portraying the key messages that Jesus taught. Furthermore, Irenaeus focused the importance of believing in Jesus in regard to his earthly life.[15] Thereby, *Thomas* may have raised concerns for the early Church because it does not contain information on the life of Jesus and made him seem inhuman. This was dangerous, as it notably created separation from Jesus' teaching and his resurrection. The gnostic tradition thought of Jesus without a body or earthly life.[16] This is shown when the gospel of *Thomas* describes Jesus as "one who was not born of woman."[17] This is contradictory to *Luke* who describes the nativity and how "the time came for… [Mary] to deliver her baby" (Luke 2:6). The *Gospel of Luke* discusses Jesus' life from the birth of John the Baptist to the Ascension of the risen Jesus. Thereby, the early Church believed Jesus was both divine and human and not just spiritual as *Thomas* described him. Without mention of the life or resurrection, Jesus could not be seen as the Messiah or fulfillment of Judaism. *Thomas* thereby lacks the essential belief of Christianity: that Christ redeemed the world through his death. Gnosticism understood Jesus to be only a messenger of the spirit (of which they believed there were multiple) and a reminder of secret eternal messages which would grant select people the knowledge of salvation.[18] In *Luke* the author puts the sayings of Jesus within reference to the events of his life while Thomas is without context.[19] *Luke's* full descriptions of Jesus' life, death and resurrection ensured that followers understood him as the savior that Irenaeus, the apostles and the Church argued he was. Gnosticism's view of Jesus creates a whole different way of understanding the faith which focuses on secret knowledge not the actions of Christ (Luke 10:27). *Thomas* portrays an intellectual view of Christianity and thus misses the key notion that Christians believed Jesus suffered, died and resurrected for the world he cared for.

Both of these texts offer different descriptions of Jesus which show the diverse ways in which communities saw and used his teachings. This is shown by who mainly spoke in each gospel. In *Thomas* most of the speaking was done by Jesus himself and a few disciples with most of the entries starting off with "Jesus said." In the gnostic tradition, Jesus was seen as merely a messenger of the spirits who came to tell of these secrets and so this list of Jesus conveying messages followed this practice.[20] *Thomas'* Jesus was a messenger from where "the light came into being on its own accord."[21] *Luke* focuses on Christ being the savior while *Thomas* does not mention this. This can we easily notice when Jesus asked his disciples to describe him. In *Thomas* the apostles said he was "a righteous angel [or] a wise philosopher… not your master"[22] and in *Luke* they said Jesus was "The Messiah of God" (Luke 9:18-20). This directly conveys the heresies that Irenaeus would have been concerned about. The followers of *Thomas* lacked the understanding of Christ as saviour and God and this could not be considered coherent theology. *Luke's* portrayal of Christ was actions based Messiah who lead people to live justly (Luke 9:23) whereas the Jesus of *Thomas* was a philosopher who merely told secret parables and established rules.

The *Gospel of Thomas* offers a different perspective about faith and salvation which would have encouraged its omission from Church documents. Sayings which may have caused confusion are the following: "Jesus said, "It is to those [who are worthy of my] mysteries that I tell my mysteries."[23] Also, the gospel of *Thomas* starts off with "[t]hese are the secret

sayings which the living Jesus spoke."[24] Both of these passages connect to the Gnostic tradition which focused on salvation being gained through special knowledge which was obtained by a select few.[25] Jesus, in *Thomas*, takes Thomas aside "and told him three things. When Thomas returned to his companions they asked him "What did Jesus say to you?" Thomas said to them "If I tell you one of the things which he told me, you will pick up stones and throw them at me."[26] *Thomas* thus claimed there was specialized knowledge of Jesus' words and one had to be privileged to know these secretes and achieve salvation. In *Luke* "[i]f any want to become… [Jesus'] followers, let them deny themselves and take up their cross daily and follow me" (Luke 9:23). Thereby, the tradition of Jesus shown in *Luke* focuses more on the universal actions (ex. care, carrying one's cross and loving others) which should be taken in order for salvation, rather than just having secret knowledge. Furthermore, *Thomas* portrays an intelligence-based faith (as all you need to do is know these secrets to be saved) and lacks the action that Jesus talked about in *Luke* which would support people like the poor (Luke 12:33-34). In *Luke* Christianity is about action and mimicking Jesus and not about having found "the interpretation of these sayings."[27] *Luke* shows the universal and action-based nature of the Church which Irenaeus saw as Jesus' message.

The *Gospel of Thomas* is focused on secret messages of Jesus, whereas the *Gospel of Luke* is focused on showing people how Jesus lived and acted in order for them to follow him. *Thomas* and *Luke* thereby contain disconnected theologies. For early Christians, Jesus had to be about his universal salvation and not specialized knowledge. Early Church leaders, such as Irenaeus, would have discouraged Christians from following a faith which denied Jesus was both God and human. Thomas' sayings of Jesus, though often parallel with other gospels, took Christians away from understanding the importance of Christ's death and resurrection. The differences though do show the different factions and understandings that were existent within the early faith. As Irenaeus pointed out, there had to be unity in the gospels and their messages.[28] A church defining its theological messages could not afford to give legitimacy to a gospel which did not support the teachings that were widely agreed upon in synoptic gospels. Therefore, early Church leaders, like Irenaeus had to establish a defined and legitimized set of beliefs for Christians which created a standard understanding of Christianity that continues to today. Christians of the early Church evidently were doubting *Thomas*.

Bibliography

Cameron, Ron. "Thomas, Gospel Of." *The Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Vol. 6: Si-Z. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 535-540. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992.

Gonzalez, Justo L. *The Story of Christianity.* Volume I: The Early Church to the Dawn of the Reformation. Revised and Updated. New York, NY: HarperOne, 2010.

Gospel of Thomas. In Readings in World Christian History. Volume I: Earliest Christianity to 1453. Edited by John W. Coakley & Andrea Sterk. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004.

Irenaeus of Lyons. *Against Heresies. In Readings in World Christian History.* Volume I: Earliest Christianity to 1453. Edited by John W. Coakley & Andrea Sterk. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004.

McMahon, C. "Thomas, Apostle St." *New Catholic Encyclopedia Second Edition.* Vol. 14: Thi-Zwi. Edited by Berard L. Marthaler et al. 11-12. New York, NY: Thomson Gale, 2003.

Pokorný, Petr. Jewish and Christian Text: *A Commentary on the Gospel of Thomas: From Interpretations to the Interpreted (1).* New York, NY: T & T Clark International, 2009.

Tiede, David L. The Gospel of Luke. Revised by Christopher R. Matthews. Edited by Attirdge, et al. *The HarperCollins Study Bible Fully Revised and Updated (NRSV with the Apocryphal and Deuterocanonical Books Student Edition).* New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2006.

(Endnotes)

[1] Justo L. Gonzalez, The Story of Christianity Volume I: The Early Church to the Dawn of the Reformation. Revised and Updated, (New York, NY: HarperOne, 2010), 84.

[2] The understanding of Christian beliefs that Irenaeus argued for is that "there is one God, Creator of heaven and earth, announced by the law and prophets; and one Christ the Son of God." Irenaeus of Lyons, Against Heresies, in Readings in World Christian History. Volume I: Earliest Christianity to 1453, ed. by John W. Coakley & Andrea Sterk, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 59.

[3] Irenaeus of Lyons, Against Heresies, 62.

[4] Gonzalez, The Story of Christianity, 69.

[5] David L. Tiede, The Gospel of Luke, Revised by Christopher R. Matthews, ed. by Attirdge, et al. The HarperCollins Study Bible Fully Revised and Updated (NRSV with the Apocryphal and Deuterocanonical Books Student Edition), (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2006), 1760.

[6] Petr Pokorný, Jewish and Christian Text: A Commentary on the Gospel of Thomas: From Interpretations to the Interpreted (1), (New York, NY: T & T Clark International, 2009), 11.

[7] Ron Cameron, "Thomas, Gospel Of," The Anchor Bible Dictionary, Vol. 6: Si-Z, ed. by David Noel Freedman, (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), 536.

[8] Irenaeus of Lyons, Against Heresies, 59.

[9] Pokorný, Jewish and Christian Text, 25.

[10] Irenaeus of Lyons, Against Heresies, 59.

[11] Ibid, 58.

[12] Gospel of Thomas, in Readings in World Christian History. Volume I: Earliest Christianity to 1453, ed. by John W. Coakley & Andrea Sterk, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), introduction.

[13] Pokorný, Jewish and Christian Text, 6.

[14] Irenaeus of Lyons, Against Heresies, 66.

[15] Ibid, 61.

[16] Gonzalez, The Story of Christianity, 72. .

[17] Gospel of Thomas, #15.

[18] Gonzalez, The Story of Christianity, 72.

[19] Pokorný, Jewish and Christian Text, 5-6.

[20] Gonzalez, The Story of Christianity, 70-71.

[21] The light is referring to the eternal spirit that Gnostics argued sent Jesus to tell secret messages of salvation. This passage also contains controversial claims about how the world was created which disagrees with early Church theology. Gospel of Thomas, #62 and Cameron, "Thomas, Gospel Of," 539.

[22] Gospel of Thomas, #13.

[23] Ibid, #62.

[24] Ibid, introduction.

[25] Gonzalez, The Story of Christianity, 71-73.

[26] Gospel of Thomas, #13.

[27] Ibid, #1.

[28] Irenaeus of Lyons, Against Heresies, 66.

Constantine and Christianity: Deus ex Machina (God from the Machine)

Devin O'Brien

    ❧ **On 11 May 330,** the new capital of the Roman empire, Constantinople, was dedicated. This symbolic, architectural marvel was the masterpiece of the newly-declared Roman emperor, Constantine the Great. Before the construction of Constantinople, the area was a Greek city known as Byzantium. After being besieged by Emperor Septimius Severus in 196 CE, the city suffered extensive damage, and by 325 was nothing more than a mere fishing village. However, by that time, Emperor Constantine saw that it was an ideal site for a new imperial residence. Constantine himself marked out the boundaries of the celestial vision for his new empire and stronghold. It only took 40,000 Gothic foederati five years to complete the great emperor's vision and to turn it into a reality. Greece was ransacked for works of art to give it the appearance of being like Rome, the center of the ancient world. However, that is about where the similarities to the old Rome ended. This was to be the new and improved Rome that was designed in the hopes that it would be the imperial capital for thousands of years. This new capital not only required a new leader with a new vision, but it warranted a new faith. Constantinople was therefore ruled by two figures, the one supreme Constantine, and the one supreme Christian God. As far as the Christian inhabitants of the empire would have been concerned, these two figures may well have been one in the same person. Becoming the first-ever Christian Emperor, Constantine consolidated his power within the walls of Constantinople. This essay will look in-depth at how the Christian Emperor Constantine solidified his sole rule of the new Roman Empire in the fourth century by using the Christian faith to advance his political agenda. This will be furthered by showing how Constantine managed to control the vastness of his empire by using the Christian image of 'one God' and synthesize it to represent an image of 'one ruler', which was eventually exemplified in the symbolic city of Constantinople by the use of stunning architecture, formidable rhetoric, and monolithic imagery.

Eusebius

    Constantine the Great was born Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus, about 272-280, in Naissus, Moesia (now Niš, Serbia). His father, Marcus Flavius Valerius Constantius Herculius Augustus (Constantius Chlorus), native of Illyricum (the Balkans), was an officer in the Roman army, and originally served as an imperial bodyguard to the emperor,

Aurelian (r.270-5).[1] Constantine's mother, Helena, was from rather humble beginnings, and is often described as either a concubine, extremely lowly, or a mere stable maid.[2] Precisely when Constantine was born is not entirely clear, while other important dates in his life are also similarly disputed: "the date of his first war with Licinius (314 or 316?), the date of his grandiloquent *Oration to the Assembly of the Saints* (a broad range between 315 and 328), [and] the date of his refusal to perform public sacrifice in Rome (312? 315? 326?)."[3] The discrepancy between these dates and that which is missing from the historical record on Constantine's earlier life, will assuredly affect the interpretation of the entirety of Constantine's political life and the events throughout it.

Much of the written record that remains of Constantine's life has indeed appeared in panegyrics; in particular, in the works of Eusebius of Caesarea. Much earlier scholarship took Eusebius to be the most trustworthy source for Constantine, due to his seemingly 'close' relationship and close proximity to the emperor expressed in the *De vita Constantini (VC)*. This scholarship however, has since come under fire and great suspicion as untrustworthy. The author of a major study, T.D. Barnes, concluded "that the bishop [Eusebius] probably met and conversed with the emperor on no more than four occasions."[4] While, as noted by Drake, there is yet another mode of scholarship, one which confirms and explains the limited selection. It is therefore "assumed that Eusebius conceived and wrote the VC only in the brief interval between the emperor's death on 22 May 337 and his own death no more than two years later, probably leaving the manuscript unfinished."[5] Taken together then, "they promise a simple explanation of the inconsistencies and distortions that a century of critical scholarship has uncovered in the *VC*, for their effect is to leave the aged bishop little enough time to compose, much less conduct the research for, his work."[6]

Eusebius is well known to us via his numerous writings, the most significant of course is his *Ecclesiastical History,* in combination with the *Vita Constantini,* for Eusebius was a biblical scholar long before he became an historian, biographer and panegyrist.[7] Eusebius was born in Caesarea ca. 260 and died in 339. Eusebius served the church for approximately 26 years as the

---

[1] Noel Lenski,. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine.* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.59.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p.3.

[4] Drake, H. A. *What Eusebius Knew: The Genesis of the "vita Constantini". Classical Philology* 83 (1). (University of Chicago Press, 1988) p.20, from T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (1981), identifies the four occasions as (1) June July 325, during the Council of Nicaea; (2) December 327, the Council of Nicomedia; (3) November 335, at a meeting that led to Athanasius' exile; (4) July 336, delivery of the *De laudibus Constantini.* Barnes extends this last occasion to include the Council of Constantinople, which condemned Marcellus, dated to the summer of 336.

[5] Ibid., p.21.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Claudia Rapp, "Imperial Ideology in the Making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as `Bishop'" *Journal of Theological Studies* 49, no. 2 (October 1998): p.691. *Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost (accessed March 11, 2016)

Bishop of Caesarea Maritima, his home town. Oded Irshai notes that Eusebius was placed at a unique juncture in history, "between the days of the greatest onslaught on the church, and its legitimization and renaissance under Constantine at which stage it was no longer at the mercy of its persecutors."[8] This new-found freedom from persecution is said to have enabled Eusebius to be able to do two things: first, he was able to record the atrocities of the Roman 'heathen' against his fellow believers in Christ, which took the form of *The Martyrs of Palestine;* second, he "compiled his historic *magnum opus,* i.e. the Historica Ecclesiastica which set the future tone for the triumphal posture of the church."[9]

Eusebius pioneered a path for the church and focused not on retribution and vengeance, unlike Lactantius' *De Mortibus Persectorum,*[10] but instead created implicit messages for the appropriation of Christianity's rightful place in the empire, particularly in the *Vita Constantini.* In his early political life amongst the sees Eusebius became a major player, even an agitator, which led to much controversy and struggle over primacy within the Palestinian diocese.[11] Eusebius' scholarly training and employment in Pamphilus's research institute in Caesarea, and his emergence as a prominent churchman in the East qualified him to write about the major transition in the empire during the reign of Constantine. However, his proximity to events "has fed discussion about the extent to which his political views developed in response to changing circumstances" which played a role in shaping the conventional view of his now-ancient works.[12]

Eusebius succeeded Agapius as Bishop of Caesarea soon after 313 and was called on by Arius, who had been excommunicated by his bishop, Alexander of Alexandria. Arius taught the subordination of the Son (Christ) to God the Father, while following the principle that the Son is not the same substance as the Father. Therefore, Christ was created out of nothing and created before all the aeons, but is unlike any other creature. Arius believed Christ was also created apart from time, and lastly that "his form of creation from and by the Father was not in a manner of eructation or issue."[13] These principles were rejected outright by Alexander of

---

[8] Oded Irshai, "Fourth Century Christian Palestinian Politics: A Glimpse at Eusebius of Caesarea's Local Political Career and Its Nachleben in Christian Memory" in *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p.26.

[9] Ibid., p.26.

[10] See E. Digeser, *The Making of a Christian Empire: Lactantius and Rome* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000) *passim.*

[11] Oded Irshai notes the politics in Z. Rubin: "Rubin's initial work…focused on the backstage setting that led to the canon acknowledging the metropolitan rights of the Caesarean see while at the same time granting special honor to the apostolic see of Jerusalem was a product of compromise in the aim of ending the local bitter political strife: see his "The Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Conflict between the Sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem", in I.L. Levine (ed.) *The Jerusalem Cathedra,* II (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 1981). pp.79-105.

[12] Michael J Hollerich, "Religion and Politics in the Writings of Eusebius: Reassessing the First 'court Theologian'". *American Society of Church History,* 59, no. 3 (1990), p.311.

[13] Oded Irshai, "Fourth Century Christian Palestinian Politics: A Glimpse at Eusebius of Caesarea's Local Political Career and Its Nachleben in Christian Memory" in *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p.28.

Alexandria and Arius was forced to leave Alexandria. Eusebius was befriended by Arius and stood in strong support of him. Posterity suspected Eusebius of Arianism, but Eusebius had already made himself indispensable through his method of authorship and work with commentary and rewriting of primary sources.[14] Even though Eusebius was seemingly on the wrong side of the Arian Controversy he still managed to come out successful. Eustathius of Antioch strongly opposed the growing influence of the Alexandrian scholar, Origen Adamantius' theology,[15] as he deemed it to be the root of Arianism. An admirer of Origen, Eusebius was reproached by Eustathius for deviating from the Nicene faith. Eusebius prevailed and Eustathius was deposed at a synod in Antioch.[16]

It has also been noted that Eusebius' texts have gone through considerable transformations, traces of which are noticeable in the duplications and inconsistencies of the imperial narrative.[17] The original core of Eusebius' narrative was later developed into a biography about the emperor, designed to highlight his interaction with the Church, God and his overall religious role, "supported by full citations of the emperor's laws and his letters, on behalf of the Church."[18] Van Dam noted however, that in regards to using Eusebius as a reliable source:

> [Although it is] proper for us to disagree with Eusebius' interpretations, it is quite unfair to criticize him for doing exactly what we modern historians are supposed to do: argue a point of view…[because they] articulated a unique perspective that supported his own understanding of the importance of Christianity in the Roman world…compatible with his own theological stance.[19]

Such an investigation into the ancient world with only the few sources that we have, begs that we answer what those sources really mean or pertain to. What then is a *Vita?* Its meaning in Latin is "life", yet it is not so simple to say that a *vita* is a biographical sketch in narrative form. This may be its baser nature, however when used in the context which Eusebius uses it in, it can be much more complicated. Much debate surrounds its literary form,

---

[14] Colm Luibheid, *The Essential Eusebius: The Story of the First Centuries of the Christian Church in the Words of Its Greatest Historian* (Mentor-Omega Press, 1966), p.31.

[15] Origen's theology included the teachings on the pre-existence of souls, the final reconciliation of all creatures, including perhaps even the devil (*apokatastasis*), and the subordination of God the Son to God the Father, much like Arius. His views were extremely controversial as they deviated from the teachings attributed to the apostles. See: C.A Patrides, "The Salvation of Satan". *Journal of the History of Ideas* 28 (4) (1967), passim.

[16] Colm Luibheid, *The Essential Eusebius: The Story of the First Centuries of the Christian Church in the Words of Its Greatest Historian.* (Mentor-Omega Press, 1966), p.31.

[17] Claudia Rapp. "Imperial Ideology in the Making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as 'Bishop'" *Journal of Theological Studies* 49, no. 2 (October 1998), p.686. *Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost (accessed February 24, 2016)

[18] Ibid.

[19] Raymond Van Dam, *Roman Revolution of Constantine* (Cambridge, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.14. Accessed February 22, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.

"whether biography, panegyric, or history, or some kind of combination."[20] Yet, Eusebius already knew how to apply the biographic structure to suit a Christian use, as he had done so in his *Ecclesiastical History* on Origen in book six, where "as part of his apologetic aim, he had presented Origen as a Hellenistic divine man and sage."[21] Eusebius is seen as a literary pioneer; Cameron however, says that the *Life:*

> [is] certainly neither a conventional imperial panegyric, nor a history, nor yet a biography…There may well have been successive alterations to the work. But Eusebius knew what he was doing, as can be seen from the immensely detailed and careful way in which he has used, picked apart, and manipulated his earlier account of some of the same events in Constantine's life from the Ecclesiastical History and turned them in the Life into something different yet related.[22]

The *Vita Constantini* then appears as a declaration of the legitimacy of Christianity as written by Eusebius, and Constantine is used as the vehicle or vessel by which the faith is carried from persecution to prosperity. While at the same time however, Christianity is likewise the vehicle or vessel by which Constantine is able to legitimate his sole rule over the Roman empire, using its ideology, symbolism and rhetoric. The vita as a literary device is one that deliberately casts the emperor "in the guise of sage and prophet."[23]

For this research then, Eusebius will be used, not for historically accurate versions of events and chronological dates but instead, Eusebius' works and words of what appear to be recollection, will be used with the knowledge that they boosted the shaping of Constantine's image as the first supreme, divinely appointed, Christian Roman emperor. Evidently, this image would have been portrayed to the empire[24] which prevailed throughout the middle ages, leaving behind Constantine's impressive legacy, however embellished or subjective, that we would later receive of him through Eusebius.

Rise to Power, Conversion and the Rhetoric of Invincibility

Constantine's father, Constantius, played a pivotal role in his upbringing and the system with which he would later be a part of, and would subsequently dissolve: The Tetrarchy, (τετραρχία– Rule of Four). After the third century crisis and much death, despair, war and

---

[20] Averil Cameron, *Form and Meaning: The Vita Constantini and the Vita Antonii,* in: Tomas Hagg, Phillip Rousseau and Christian Hagel, *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity.* (California: University of California Press, 2000), p.72.

[21] Ibid., p.74.

[22] Ibid., p.72-73.

[23] Ibid., p.74.

[24] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XLI. — "Rejoicings throughout the Provinces; and Constantine's Acts of Grace", *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* p.952.
URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

illegitimate rulers, Diocletian became emperor of Rome and began to attempt to revitalize and control the empire through the tetrarchic structure. Two Augusti would rule as the head of the state and below them, would be appointed two Caesars to control more of the vastness of the empire. One of the main goals of the tetrarchy was a way to rid the empire of hereditary succession. However, this only worked until approximately 306, when Constantine was selected by his army as leader and became self-proclaimed Augustus. This took place after the death of his father in York, Britannia, who was Caesar in the West under Galerius. His father's death ultimately sparked the collapse of the tetrarchic system.

Prior to these events, junior emperor Constantine, in preparation for his role as Caesar in the system, spent time at the court of Diocletian in his preferred city of Nicomedia. During time spent at the court, Constantine saw the various efforts by Diocletian to attempt to reform the empire "–efforts that were largely unfruitful. [Perhaps] observing this futility, that would unfold in the years after the great triumph over Persia, [had] a great impact on Constantine."[25] It is quite clear to see that when Constantine made his ultimate move to rule the empire, he did so in a fashion very unlike Diocletian; he was most defiant in his toleration of the Christians, dissolved the persecutions against them and restored their churches. It is here where Constantine would have seen the limits of imperial power and witnessed the struggles of how multifaceted empires can be and usually are. The imperial courts of late antiquity were places of "vibrant communities…bringing together diverse individuals and agendas of all sorts",[26] both political and religious.

In 306 Constantine became a Caesar after his father's death, effectively securing him a spot as an emperor.[27] Constantine knew however, that he had to make a political statement by becoming self-proclaimed Augustus in the same year, which would enable him to rule as legitimate emperor throughout the Roman Empire. It is from this point forward where Constantine separated himself from the tetrarchy, and proceeded to rule as sole emperor. He claimed sole rule "from Hadrian's wall to Mesopotamia, from the Pillars of Hercules to the mouth of the Danube, from the lower reaches of the Rhine to the northern fringes of the Sahara Desert and beyond the cataracts of the Nile."[28] While claiming to hold the rank of Augustus in 306, and being perceived as such in the eyes of his subjects in Britain, Gaul and Spain, it was necessary that Constantine would have had to advertise this point to the rest of the empire, as he ruled jointly with others still under the tetrarchic system and the pagan gods. Author T.D. Barnes suggests that there would have been two obvious ways to advertise this claim to

---

[25] David Potter, *Constantine the Emperor* (Cary, NC, USA: Oxford University Press, USA, 2012), p.67 Accessed February 24, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XXII. — "How, after the Burial of Constantius, Constantine was Proclaimed Augustus by the Army", *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* p.941 URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[28] Timothy Barnes. *Blackwell Ancient Lives: Constantine Dynasty: Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire.* (Somerset, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2013), p.64. Accessed February 26, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.

being Augustus: "One would have been to issue coins in his name with the title Augustus. This, Constantine refrained from doing. The imperial mints which he controlled…style him as Caesar"[29] until 307. The second way for Constantine to advertise his status as Augustus was "to issue legislation"; this was not a legitimate role that the Caesar in the imperial college was permitted. Barnes argues that immediately after Constantine's proclamation he advertised himself "as a protector of the Christian church as soon as he came to power."[30] Another reason for this is that Constantine also had "very strong political motives for distancing himself from the other three emperors by putting an end to the persecution of the Christians which was still their official policy."[31]

From the year 306 onwards, Constantine marched on Rome and defeated his rival Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge on 28 Oct 312. Before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, Maxentius had lost political support within the city and there had been riots which were comprised of people who proclaimed Constantine to be invincible. Constantine crossed the Alps with a force of between 35,000 and 40,000 men.[32] From there, Constantine and his army stormed the heavily fortified town of Segusio, which shut its gates to him but was swiftly overtaken, though left unharmed.[33] From here, Constantine descended into the western Po Valley, to Turin, and to other northern Italian cities which gladly opened their gates to him.[34]

This was the point, prior to the battle, at which the Christian God is said to have revealed a divine message to Constantine in the shape of the Chi-Rho (the first two letters of Greek *Khristos,* Christ), used as a Christian symbol (overlapping XP). This message from God to Constantine is seen in the writings of Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea in his *VC.*[35] It is this portion of the *Vita* that will serve to introduce the way in which Constantine regarded the Christian faith, from which point he would use to build a political advantage and total control over the different facets of the empire. In Chapter XXVIII Eusebius notes the divine encounter:

> Accordingly, he called on him with earnest prayer and supplications that he would reveal to him who he was, and stretch forth his right hand to help him in his present difficulties. And while he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvelous sign appeared to him from heaven, the account of which it might have been hard to believe had it been related by any other person.[36]

---

[29] Ibid., p.65

[30] Ibid., p.67

[31] Ibid.

[32] Timothy Barnes. *Blackwell Ancient Lives: Constantine Dynasty: Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire.* (Somerset, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2013), p.81. Accessed February 29, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] H. A. Drake, "What Eusebius Knew: The Genesis of the 'Vita Constantini'". *Classical Philology* 83 (1) (1988), p.20.

[36] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* p.944 URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

It was primarily Constantine's position as self-proclaimed emperor and ruler of Rome that gives his divine encounter legitimacy and the political authority to enforce it as such. However, Eusebius continues with the knowledge that Constantine did not declare this divine encounter until long afterwards, and it is not reliably recounted until 325.[37] Perhaps this later confirmation served a need for the legitimation of the church in order to establish a point of origin for the early Church and Christian historians like Eusebius and Lactantius:

> But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honored with his acquaintance and society, and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimony of after-time has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, Conquer by this. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle.[38]

Eusebius continued with a description of the vision in Chapter XXIX:

> He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies.[39]

It is in chapter XXVII of the *VC,* where Eusebius mentions that Constantine made the choice to favour Christianity. However, Eusebius writes this in such a way that reveals Constantine did not merely make the switch to Christianity for pious, faith-based reasons, but instead for personal, political purposes. It is possible that the rhetoric was not meant to be interpreted as a cry for help in the form of a placebo, however, the language used by Eusebius suggests that Constantine needed the help to defeat his enemies with the desire of controlling the empire, and could not muster the mortal means to do so. In Chapter XXVII of the *Vita,* Eusebius states that Constantine was in dire need of assistance. Having been stretched to the limits of the power available to men, Constantine therefore required divine intervention and legitimation:

---

[37] James Carroll, *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews.* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2002), p.195.

[38] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XXVIII. — "How, while he was praying, God Sent Him a Vision of A Cross of Light in the Heavens at Mid-day, With an Inscription Admonishing Him To Conquer by That", *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* p.944.
URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[39] Ibid., p.20.

That after reflecting on the Downfall of those who had worshiped Idols[40], he made the choice of Christianity. Being convinced, however, that he needed some more powerful aid than his military forces could afford him[41], on account of the wicked and magical enchantments which were so diligently practiced by the tyrant[42], he sought Divine assistance, deeming the possession of arms and a numerous soldiery of secondary importance, but believing the co-operating power of Deity invincible and not to be shaken. He considered, therefore, on what God he might rely for protection and assistance.[43]

The 'choice' being made by Constantine and recorded by Eusebius does not warrant a charismatic conversion,[44] one that would signify a true religious experience, or a sudden realization of the soul in accordance with the Supreme Christian God. Instead, Eusebius sees Constantine weighing the options to assure material gain and not eternal salvation for the empire and emperor:

Reflecting on this, and well weighing the fact that they who had trusted in many gods had also fallen by manifold forms of death, without leaving behind them either family or offspring, stock, name, or memorial among men: while the God of his father had given to him.[45]

---

[40] Pagan worshippers, particularly the pagan emperors who had both come before him, reigned now, and were guilty of the persecution of Christians. They now challenged Constantine.

[41] It is at this point where divine aid becomes primary to the reign of Constantine, not secondary, as was the case in the forces and rule of the pagan emperors.

[42] *Tyrant:* this word is used by Eusebius 36 times throughout the Vita, usually in reference to the emperors who have come before Constantine, particularly the ones guilty of persecution of the Christians. T.D. Barnes also mentions: "By masterstroke of propaganda, he combined the traditional meaning of the Latin noun *tyrannus* as denoting an oppressive ruler, the Christian use of the word to describe rulers who persecuted God's people and a newly invented meaning which used the word *tyrannus* to designate an illegitimate emperor (Grünewald 1990:64-71; Barnes 1996a) *From:* Timothy Barnes. *Blackwell Ancient Lives: Constantine Dynasty: Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire.* (Somerset, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2013), p.82. Accessed February 29, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.

[43] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XXVII. —"That After Reflecting on The Downfall of Those Who Had Worshiped Idols, He Made The Choice of Christianity", in: *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* p.943.
URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[44] Donald Swenson, *Society, Spirituality and the Sacred.* (Toronto, ONT: University of Toronto Press, 2009) p.20 Charisma in Swenson's work is under a Weberian framework that applies to religious individuals, usually leaders who are initiators and renewers. However, this context uses charisma in application to Constantine in the sense that his charismatic conversion did not come from a 'religious epiphany', but from a political and military need, and therefore holds no basis in faith.

[45] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XXVII. —"That After Reflecting on The Downfall of Those Who Had Worshiped Idols, He Made The Choice of Christianity", in: *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* pp.943-944.
URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

What is odd here is that this sudden realization of conversion and profession of the faith is what one would expect of an emperor who is compared in a prophetic manner to other biblical individuals who have been called upon by God to act in a similar manner. The biblical individual employed to be compared to Constantine by Eusebius in the VC is the prophet Moses.[46] This rhetorical device is also reviewed by author Claudia Rapp, who compares Constantine to Moses in three ways: first, Constantine's youth and upbringing at the court of Diocletian, like Moses at the court of Pharaoh; secondly, Constantine is to his enemies what Moses was to Pharaoh; and lastly, Constantine is in the habit of withdrawing to his 'tent' when on campaign. Rapp notes that "the word used by Eusebius for this 'tent' *(skene)* is the same as that used in the Old Testament for the tabernacle of Moses."[47] Such rhetoric from Eusebius however boosts Constantine's political agenda and his aim of achieving the desired image of sole ruler. Such a comparison of Constantine to Moses shows Constantine fully taking on the role of both leader and religious and secular authority.

> By evoking Moses as the model for Constantine, Eusebius taps into a long tradition of reflections on the significance of Moses. To Jewish authors of the first and second centuries AD, Moses is the perfect human, the embodiment of all virtues. In addition, he is also the model of the perfect leader in whom religious authority and secular power are combined.[48]

The primary evidence that helps to further support the claim of Constantine using Christianity for its advantageous advancement of a political agenda, is demonstrated as Eusebius describes Constantine's choosing of Christianity in a way that portrays God to be a political/military ally, and not as a Savior of souls, but instead the Savior of empires and political rule.

> While engaged in this enquiry, the thought occurred to him, that, of the many emperors who had preceded him, those who had rested their hopes in a multitude of gods, and served them with sacrifices and offerings, had in the first place been deceived by flattering predictions, and oracles which promised them all prosperity, and at last had met with an unhappy end, while not one of their gods had stood by to warn them of the impending wrath of heaven; while one alone who had pursued an entirely opposite course, who had condemned their error, and honored the one Supreme God during his whole life, had found him to be

---

[46] Constantine and his actions are compared to Moses in a number of sections in the Vita: Chapter XII, Chapter XX, Chapter XXXVIII and Chapter XXXIX, in: *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine,* pp. 935, 940, 950, 951.
URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[47] Claudia Rapp, "Imperial Ideology in the Making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as `Bishop.'." *Journal of Theological Studies* 49, no. 2 (October 1998), p.688. *Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost (accessed March 11, 2016)

[48] Ibid., p.689.

the Saviour and Protector of his empire…and therefore felt it incumbent on him to honor his father's God alone.[49]

Some might argue that this is in fact part of Constantine's profession of faith, based on the argument that God would protect Constantine if he was to follow the faith. However, this statement works against the image of Constantine as invincible in and of himself in his surge towards Rome and that he used God as a political crutch. This crutch therefore would either be Constantine's greatest strength, or his greatest weakness. If Constantine were to have lost in battle, he would have chosen the 'wrong' god, but, if he remained undefeated, as he did, it would make the covenant between God and Constantine appear indestructible, as though Constantine was a "friend of the divinity,"[50] which it did. But Constantine is the instrument of the triumphal Christian God and as such, this segment of the Vita related above, alludes to two things. First, it reveals God working to make Constantine unbeatable, and invincible. At the same time, it reveals that trust and faith in the Christian God as opposed to any other god, means security and prosperity, which is what the faith teaches. However, this is a component of the faith that Constantine would most likely not have known. The other thing that it does however, is that it defines the fact that the original choice of the Christian God by Constantine is based on political and military expediency. It further shows however, from a theological standpoint, that the Christian God is a warrior God, one that is spiteful, and would rather see Constantine and his army destroyed if Constantine did not profess the faith and bear the sign with which to conquer. However, such a theological or faith-based consequence had political ramifications in the way Constantine was viewed. Eusebius details that when Constantine looked for divine assistance, he thought about which god he might rely on, which one suited his purpose the best. Simply by eliminating the pagan gods, who were employed by the other emperors, Constantine made his choice of the 'Supreme God', the Christian God. It can be argued that the motive for Constantine entering into the Christian faith, is based on the material benefits that Constantine received; not for religious reasons, but as the champion of the Roman empire. Constantine effectively pitted the new Christian faith that guaranteed success, and prosperity, against the old pagan faith which assured destruction, turmoil, failure and pain.

After the climactic defeat of Maxentius, in association with the God of the Christians, Constantine was "convinced…that he had made the right choice for a divine patron and that he should direct his religious loyalty to this Divinity in the future."[51] Upon Constantine's

---

[49] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XXVII — "That after reflecting on the Downfall of those who had worshiped Idols, he made Choice of Christianity" *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* p.943.
URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[50] Claudia Rapp, "Imperial Ideology in the Making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as `Bishop.'." *Journal of Theological Studies* 49, no. 2 (October 1998): p.689. *Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost (accessed March 11, 2016)

[51] Charles Odahl, "God and Constantine: Divine Sanction for Imperial Rule in The First Christian Emperor's Early Letters and Art". *Catholic Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (July 1995): p.327. *Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost (accessed February 29, 2016).

triumphal march into Rome in the autumn of 312, he made a public profession of his belief,[52] yet he knew little about the characteristics of the Christian Deity[53] or the practices of the church.[54] Constantine himself "had followed a religious evolution from Olympian polytheism through Solar syncretism to Christian monotheism, and the great Lactantius had taught that this was the proper path from pagan falsehood to Christian truth."[55] Constantine's new religious orientation saw him surrounding himself with clerical leaders and advisors early on in 312-313, reading Christian literature, and involving himself in church affairs.[56]

Constantine Working Within the Church Hierarchy: Edict of Milan (313) Arian Controversy - Council of Nicea (325) – Donatist Controversy

The years 312-325 "were pivotal for working out the means by which the emperor would be involved in Christian decision making."[57] What is intriguing to note, is that before Constantine had reached the city of Rome, he had never previously dealt with Christian communities, only individual religious leaders, the bishops.[58] The Church became an "official body closely linked to the Imperial administration and a political power as well."[59] What is even more intriguing and pertinent to this research is the initial relationship Constantine had with the bishop of Rome, Miltiades, once he arrived. Constantine dealt with communities of Christians which had been tolerated to the lowest degree by Maxentius while the Christian leaders were still persecuted and often exiled.[60] Leadbetter sought to reveal that the church was fractious, and that it was only through an alliance with Constantine that Miltiades was able to cement his own position and enhance the power of his office.[61]

---

[52] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XL. – "Of the Statue of Constantine holding a Cross, and its Inscription": *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* p.951
URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[53] See Appendix A, Fig. 1.1

[54] Charles Odahl, "God and Constantine: Divine Sanction for Imperial Rule in The First Christian Emperor's Early Letters and Art". *Catholic Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (July 1995): *passim. Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost (accessed February 29, 2016).

[55] Charles Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire,* p.148.

[56] Ibid.

[57] H. A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance.* (Baltimore, Maryland: JHU Press, 2002), p.212

[58] Bill Leadbetter. "Constantine and the Bishop: The Roman Church in the Early Fourth Century". *Journal of Religious History* 26, no. 1 (February 2002): 1. *Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost (accessed March 1, 2016), p.212.

[59] Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Curcic, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* (Yale University Press, 1992), p.39.

[60] Bill Leadbetter. "Constantine and the Bishop: The Roman Church in the Early Fourth Century". *Journal of Religious History* 26, no. 1 (February 2002): p.212. *Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost (accessed March 1, 2016)

[61] Ibid., p.14.

Constantine had to attempt to gain the trust of religious leaders, and once that trust was established, the loyalty of the congregations would surely follow, giving him total control over Christians in the empire. He had to ensure that this act was not merely one of toleration, but a chance for Christianity to be free and to be able to make steps towards prosperity and to be free from persecution. Now under the imperial command of Constantine, "bishops were granted rank, privileges, and the insignia of the highest government officials."[62] Only after receiving the trust of the Christian authorities could Constantine hope to consolidate the wider Christian community and therefore highlight his image of supreme ruler under the one Supreme Christian God. Not only would this act by Constantine strengthen his position in the empire, but it would strengthen his apparent sense of mission by using the Christian Deity. This image of his devotion to God and Christian followers would grow during his long reign as emperor, largely through his use of Christian political theory.[63]

It is through the early interaction between Constantine and the bishops where trust in and praise for the Christian emperor was found. After having arrived in Rome, Constantine "proclaimed the Son of God to the Romans with great boldness of testimony."[64] This is the point of recognition where Eusebius sees the emperor "reviving, as it were, [the inhabitants of the city, senate and people] from the pressure of a bitter and tyrannical domination, [being] born again into a fresh and new life."[65] In 313, Constantine and the remaining emperor in the East, Licinius proclaimed the Edict of Milan, and demanded that it be disseminated to all corners of the empire. Eusebius mentions that,

> [a]ll the nations, too, as far as the limit of the western ocean, being set free from the calamities which had heretofore beset them, and gladdened by joyous festivals, ceased not to praise [Constantine] as the victorious, the pious, the common benefactor: all, indeed, with one voice and one mouth, declared that Constantine had appeared by the grace of God as a general blessing to mankind.[66]

This Edict stressed the importance of the end of the persecution, the toleration of the Christians, in fact of all religious faiths, and the reconstruction and restitution of all Christian property[67] that had been either destroyed or taken during the persecutions of the

---

[62] Richard Krautheimer, Slobodan Curcic, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* (Yale University Press, 1992), p.39.

[63] Charles, Odahl, "God and Constantine: Divine Sanction for Imperial Rule in The First Christian Emperor's Early Letters and Art". *Catholic Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (July 1995): *passim. Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost (accessed February 29, 2016).

[64] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XLI. – "Rejoicings throughout the Provinces; and Constantine's Acts of Grace", *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* p.952. URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XLII. — "The Honors Conferred upon Bishops, and the Building of Churches", *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* p.952. URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

previous emperors. However, this is not all that the Edict accomplished. It also manufactured Constantine as the saviour of, most importantly, but not exclusively, the Christians, allowing all faiths to practice without fear of persecution in the entire empire, while at the same time, replenishing all of their lost property, belongings, and places of prayer: "those who had been wrongfully deprived of their estates were permitted again to enjoy their own, while those who had unjustly suffered exile were recalled to their homes. Moreover, [Constantine] freed from imprisonment, and from every kind of danger and fear, those who, by reason of the tyrant's cruelty, had been subject to these sufferings."[68]

Constantine's relationship with the heads of religious authority was the most crucial aspect for his reign. The problem with his desire to be the sole ruler of the empire was that its boundaries were vast. Before Constantine was able to achieve sole rule, he had to deal with both the Donatist (313/316) and Arian (325) controversies in North Africa. The Donatist Controversy arose from the Christians who 'handed over' the sacred scriptures during the persecutions, in order to save themselves. These Christians were seen as unworthy to regain their place as Christians regardless of penance in the eyes of those who had stayed true to the faith during the persecution. Drake notes that "[at] its deepest level, the Donatist controversy was a fight over the soul and substance of the church, a renewal of the ongoing battle between the beacon and the ark, the church of the elect and the church of the masses."[69] The Donatists comprised the Berber Christians of North Africa, and were named after the bishop Donatus Magnus. At the time of the persecutions, Christians were shown leniency by the political body in North Africa and largely avoided persecution. At that time however, Constantine still shared power with Licinius in the east, who had recently begun persecuting Christians again, roughly seven years after the enactment of the Edict of Milan. At this point however, the Edict seemed to be only a moment of hiatus in the persecutions.[70]

There was no real end to the Donatist controversy however.[71] The Donatists largely had the support of their North African sympathizers, but their opponents had Rome supporting them, and this controversy was not something that coincided with the framework of the 'undivided' Christian empire Constantine desired to both establish and maintain. Such

---

[68] Ibid. Chapter XLI., p.27.

[69] H. A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance.* (Baltimore, Maryland: JHU Press, 2002), p.214.

[70] Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire: (A.D. 100-400), Parts 100-400.* (Yale University Press, 1984), p.45.

[71] Drake notes that after Constantine's patience came to an end with the Donatists, he "unleashed the coercive machinery of the state against a group that he now characterized as false Christians" and closed off Donatists from the reward of martyrdom, "as if he, as emperor, had the right to decide what was true and what was false martyrdom." However, after using all of the traditional means by which to bring an "unruly constituency into line, Constantine wrote to the bishops of Africa that the only thing left to do was to "cultivate patience" and wait "until the heavenly medicine manifests itself." It is here where Drake argues that Constantine did not do this out of conviction, but out of desperation. Here the limits of imperial power are demonstrated, and instead, Constantine had to show compassion and "Christian love and endurance." See H. A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance.* (Baltimore, Maryland: JHU Press, 2002), p.221.

confrontation within the church therefore weighed heavily on him. Instead of being the model of unanimity and solidarity Constantine had hoped for, what he found was that the church was fractious and subversive in ways he was not yet able to comprehend in its totality. But this was something that would spark Constantine to take up a greater role in church proceedings, meetings and being present at councils and talks determining doctrine. Being unable to solve the Donatist problem quickly and quietly, Constantine was ultimately defied on a number of other occasions by the fractious Christians in North Africa, including during the Arian controversy, which would require a monumental occasion for empire-wide uniformity: The Council of Nicaea.

The most self-conscious, transformative act of the political institutions and sources of power within the empire is dramatically represented by Constantine's calling of the Council of Nicaea, in May 325.[72] At the heart of the Arian controversy was the "recurrent problem of how to represent the relationship between God the Father and God the Son…Most Christians agreed that there was only one God, who was at once Father and Son but there had always been much debate…about the relationship between them."[73] However, this affair, when put into the larger, more significant context of the council which Constantine presided over, revealed him as,

> already determined to carry out what he [saw] as his duty of defending the Christian faith in his territories, and even as accepting personal responsibility if he fail[ed]; partly, indeed, he [was] using the familiar moralizing language of late Roman imperial pronouncements, but his letters to the African clergy show a very personal involvement and an unhesitating resort to the use of state resources and officials to implement his religious aims.[74]

Such involvement in the proceedings of the religious council serve to exemplify Constantine's political prowess by demonstrating how imperative it was for him to keep the empire from being ripped apart by the very entity through which he had obtained control. Constantine moved the council's meeting place from Ancyra to Nicaea, which was easier to get to from Nicomedia, where Constantine currently resided; it had better air, and was easier to get to for the rest of the bishops. It has been suggested that Constantine first intended "to see that the Council met there [at Ancyra] but did not intend to be present himself, but later realized that he must control the Council and took steps accordingly."[75] It has also been argued that the result of the earlier Council of Antioch (A.D. 325) "made [Constantine] realize that

---

[72] G. W. Bowersock, "From Emperor to Bishop: The Self-Conscious Transformation of Political Power in the Fourth Century A.D." *Classical Philology,* Vol. 81, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), p.299.

[73] Carlos R. Galvão-Sobrinho, *Doctrine and Power: Theological Controversy and Christian Leadership in the Later Roman Empire.* (University of California Press, 2013), p.31.

[74] Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Averil Cameron. *The Cambridge Ancient History.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005. (Chapters 4, 6d, &19): Chapter 4: *The Reign of Constantine 306-337,* p.95.

[75] Richard Patrick Crosland Hanson, R.P. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318-381 AD.* (London, Britain: A&C Black, 2005) p.153

there was a strong party determined to excommunicate and depose bishops who showed any leaning towards the views of Arius."[76]

At the beginning of his reign, there were many Christian uncertainties, yet "the idea of having a new, and very powerful player on their board"[77] was something the Christian constituencies got used to quickly. Constantine continued his path to political unification via the Christian faith and by expanding imperial support for Christianity in his domains, while Licinius was initiating further Christian persecution in the East, which Eusebius also detailed in the *Vita* and the *Ecclesiastical History*. Eusebius "recounted how the eastern ruler began with subtle measures against ecclesiastical practices and ended with open attacks on the Christian laity and bishops."[78] Licinius first and foremost forbade bishops from travelling outside of their provinces and from attending episcopal councils. Odahl notes that, "since this had become the normal way of regulating Church beliefs and practices, and since several issues needed the attention of the bishops at this time, this travel injunction was very troubling."[79] After other laws were passed against the Christians by Licinius, the conflict came to a head between the two Augusti, and Licinius further increased persecution in the East after refusing to agree to a law Constantine imposed on imperial officers who forced Christians to participate in pagan sacrifices. Licinius and imperial paganism would be defeated by Constantine and Christianity during the summer of 324.

The Council of Nicaea, which sought to deal with the Arian Controversy above all else, met from May to the end of July 325. This was the first time that any attempt had been made to summon a general council of the entirety of the church, and was attended by the greatest number of bishops ever gathered together up until this point;[80] approximately 300 bishops and three or four times that many associated clergy.[81] When looking at the VC, it becomes clear as to why Constantine would preside over councils. It was not matters of doctrine that Constantine was wholly or explicitly concerned with, but on the relationships between not only himself and the bishops and clergy, but between the bishops and clergy themselves. Constantine delivered "what he must have sensed was one of the most important public addresses of his career."[82] It is in this address to the Council, concerning peace, where evidence of the political importance of these relationships is apparent; Constantine stated that

> [God] has granted me a blessing higher than all the rest, in permitting me to see you not only all assembled together, but all united in a common harmony of sentiment. I pray therefore that no malignant adversary may henceforth interfere

---

[76] Ibid.

[77] H. A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance.* (Baltimore, Maryland: JHU Press, 2002), p.212.

[78] Charles Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire,* p.153.

[79] Ibid., p.153.

[80] Richard Patrick Crosland Hanson, R.P. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318-381 AD.* (London, Britain: A&C Black, 2005), p.152.

[81] Charles Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire,* p.172.

[82] Ibid., p.173.

to mar our happy state; I pray that, now the impious hostility of the tyrants[83] has been forever removed by the power of God our Saviour, that spirit who delights in evil may devise no other means for exposing the divine law to blasphemous calumny; for, in my judgment, intestine strife within the Church of God, is far more evil and dangerous than any kind of war or conflict[84]; and these our differences appear to me more grievous than any outward trouble.[85]

Constantine is said here to have been viewed as "a gift from God – he was an agent of the divine anger against the persecutors of the Church, and he was a propagator of the divine Word to the pagans in the world."[86] But what it really seems like here is that Constantine was a problem solver and a mediator. The portions of the *VC* here that concern the relations between the bishops are some of the longest, unbroken entries in the entire *Vita*. Likewise, chapter XXI.— "Recommendation to the Bishops, on their Departure, to Preserve Harmony", which appears at the end of the council processions, serves to remind the bishops that none of them are above Constantine's scrutiny. Although Constantine is not yet baptized, he "behaved as if he were a full member of the Christian Church ('as if he were one sharing in the holy mysteries' of the religion), and he would regularly take up the sacred scriptures and devote himself to the study of those divinely inspired oracles, after which he would offer up regular prayers with all the members of his imperial court."[87] Constantine shows he is willing to call a council or some type of panel that deals with bishops who step out of line. In order to keep them from dissenting however, Constantine uses the rhetoric of the divine which serves a subversive role in his politics, to ensure that the bishops keep order and peace within the Church. The symbolism of the Christian faith working hand-in-hand with the politics of Constantine are cemented in the legacy and symbolic construction of the city of Constantinople: the emperor's new, divinely envisaged, imperial stronghold.

---

[83] The word "tyrant" once again refers to emperors that invoke pagan gods and sacrifices and who oppressed the Christians and the expression of their faith. However, it targets mainly Licinius as the main, last of the tyrants opposing Constantine and Christianity. Having rid the empire of this last tyrant during the Battle of Adrianople in 324 where Licinius was killed and his army defeated, Constantine was finally able to take over the entirety of the empire, removing Licinius' influence from the Balkan peninsula with the exception of Thrace. See Charles Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire.* (Routledge, 2004), p.164.

[84] This shows the rather exhausted and mechanical way by which Constantine goes about securing peace, almost as if it is a form of guilt by which to strike the clergy. No real condemnation ever seems to come as threatening from Constantine, instead he invokes the will of God on the clergy, as if to remind them that he is not only divinely appointed, but he is their way to salvation, and the means by which they keep their jobs, provided they stay in line.

[85] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter XII. — "Constantine's Address to the Council concerning Peace", *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine,* p.1002.URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[86] Charles Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire,* p.173.

[87] G. W. Bowersock, "From Emperor to Bishop: The Self-Conscious Transformation of Political Power in the Fourth Century A.D." *Classical Philology,* Vol. 81, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), p.301.

Constantinople / Christian Imagery

Exactly how Constantinople was conceived by Constantine, and perceived by others early on, must have shifted between its foundation in 324 and dedication in 330.[88] But Constantinople was not merely just another imperial capital or residence of the emperor. The inconvenience that comes with studying these years of Constantine and his new city is that hardly a trace of the original city has survived.[89] The closest comparison that researchers can look to is how, and why it was considered a 'New Rome', a 'Second Rome'. Although there are clear similarities between Constantinople and the "tetrarchic capitals [Rome, Milan etc.], there were also some differences, apparent from the city's earliest days."[90] The major difference was that Constantinople was not an extension of Rome, but a nearly complete replacement of the city of Rome, one which was favored above all else for its new Christian façade, its strategic location, and its overall youth and vitality after Constantine had remodelled it. Not only was Constantinople considered a new city, "but it had a new population, 'the intoxicated multitude' which Constantine transported to Byzantium by emptying other cities,"[91] not just of their populations but of their skills, works of art, resources and their monuments.[92] Constantine forbade central practices of "traditional religious cults (animal sacrifice, the consolation of oracles and the erection of cult statues), [and] he systematically confiscated temple treasures throughout Asia Minor, the Levant and Egypt, together with any other objects of value in the temples, including doors and roofs of valuable metal"[93] and used them, among other resources, to construct Constantinople. This resulted in an enormous transfer of wealth to the Christian church and Constantinople which would help build that monumental city.

The building plan of Constantinople had to be drastic, and it had to exemplify all of the power that Constantine is envisaged to have had, which was largely done through sponsorship for the building projects of churches, art and monuments. A 'monument' is a symbolic marker of the possession of power,[94] and Constantinople boasted a collection of ancient statues, buildings and artwork that was unrivaled anywhere in the late antique world, assimilated into Constantinople for the sole purpose of highlighting Constantine as the supreme, divinely-guided ruler of the Roman empire. Constantine's "self-conscious creation [with the help of] his advisors…[was] composed largely of antiquities of pre-fourth-century manufacture, [and] was created by transporting the sculptured riches of the cities and sanctuaries of the Roman

---

[88] Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly, eds. *Two Romes.* (New York, US: Oxford University Press, 2014), p.9. Accessed March 16, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.

[89] Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Curcic, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* (Yale University Press, 1992), p.69.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Grig and Kelly note: Eunapius VS 6.2.9 = 462. See also *Origio Constantini* 30.

[93] Timothy Barnes. *Constantine* (Somerset, US: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p.175. Accessed March 19, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.

[94] Adapted from: Ruth B. Phillips, "Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-Membering and Re-Membering Canadian Art History" in *Settling and Unsettling Memories,* ed. Nicole Neatby, Peter Hodgins (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012), p.340.

Empire to the newly founded capital."[95] The transfer of riches, sculptures and art from Rome to Constantinople in particular, is something that suggests Constantine wished to adorn his new capital, not with the history of Rome itself, but to begin a new history, one with monuments, statues and buildings that signified Constantinople's new and righteous place in the imperial world. It has been argued that the pagan and Roman statuaries that were brought to Constantinople were not destroyed or deliberately attacked by Christians, fanatical bishops, monks or common folk but instead, their disappearance resulted from them merely falling into decay because they had been abandoned. More importantly, they were preserved in the city during the fourth century not only for their artistic value, but because they had been transformed for both a Christian and political use.[96]

This Christian-political use serves to enhance the idea that Constantine was, in fact both omnipotent and omnipresent. As Severian of Galba, writing about A.D. 400, tells us, "[s]ince an emperor cannot be present to all persons, it [was] necessary to set up the statue of the emperor in law courts, market places, public assemblies, and theatres."[97] Before the Edict of Milan, "Christian religious art was limited in effect to funerary contexts – catacombs and sarcophagi – but the Peace of the Church opened the way for new themes and iconography as well as new media."[98] In choosing to repair and refurbish particular buildings and statues to fit his current political aims, Constantine "could make ideological points and boost [his] reputation: in fact, the claim to have restored buildings seems to have been an important part of imperial rhetoric."[99]

In building new and reassigning the old, Constantine could identify himself with the glories of the past, while avoiding direct relationship with the previous emperors and religious faiths, and by doing so, he adorned the city with statues representative of the Christian faith instead, using such statues for his own purpose. The most powerful of these, depicts past people and events.[100] For Constantine however, the new Christian ideology literally gave his monuments and statues a 'fresh start'. They told a story of their own, and they did so in a new context, one that witnessed Constantine conquering the previous emperors and allowing Rome to be born anew in Constantinople. This is why the depictions of triumph on Constantine's arch (though in Rome) do not wholly disassociate him with Rome's past imperial glory, but

---

[95] Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (UK, Cambridge University Press 2005), p.1.

[96] Helen Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes Toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* Vol. 44 (1990), pp. 47-61.

[97] Susan Pearce, "The Hinton St Mary Mosaic Pavement: Christ or Emperor?". *Britannia* 3 (2008), *Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies,* p.204.

[98] Janet Huskinson. "Art and architecture, a.d. 193–337." In: Alan Bowman et al. (eds.) *The Cambridge Ancient History.* pp. 672-703. [Online]. The Cambridge Ancient History. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521301992.027 (Accessed 18 March 2016), p.674.

[99] Helen Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes Toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries", p.688.

[100] Ibid., p.689.

instead, seek to extend the symbolic imagery of Constantine the Great across the entire empire, but with a special foothold in Rome, arguably the most iconic and influential imperial cities of the ancient world.[101]

Constantinople required a reputation which would separate it from other imperial capitals of the past, while maintaining the image of the supreme authority at the center of the empire. The construction of Constantinople by Constantine "infused the newly founded city and imperial center with what Sarah Basset has labeled as an "accommodation . . . of the inevitable and fundamentally irreconcilable differences between key members of the empire's population [i.e. pagan and Christian]."[102] Imagine a Rome, without all of its ancient churches, paintings, sculptures, roads, imperial buildings and grandeur; it would hardly seem a place that people would want to visit, exchange ideas, or do business. Constantinople therefore combined the concept of a new Christian capital while subtly assimilating and displaying the grandeurs of the Roman imperial past through all forms of art and architecture.

The most significant architectural marvel, as noted by Huskinson, is the church Constantine had built, dedicated to the Twelve Apostles,[103] the implication being that Constantine himself was to be considered as the thirteenth apostle.[104] Constantine would be buried in this church. Just as the coins that were issued after his father died depicted the hand of Jupiter stretching forth from the clouds, so too was the image on the coins issued for Constantine. In this case, though, this hand did not belong to Jupiter, at least as related by Eusebius,[105] but was the hand of God that came down to receive the deceased emperor,[106] who was drawn heavenward in a chariot.[107] This image is one of many that put Constantine in a league of his own by forcing him to be seen as a new sole emperor, with a new imperial city that was central to the ancient world, and was under a new and supreme God. Constantine's

---

[101] Ibid.

[102] Noted in Oded Irshai, "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem in the Fouth Cenutyr: The Case of the Bordeaux Pilgrim." *The Jewish Quarterly Review,* Vol. 99, No. 4 (Fall 2009), p.467. "See Sarah Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, 2004), 22–36, esp. 33–36, where she compares the three construction enterprises carried out by Constantine in the three main urban centers of Rome, Jerusalem, and Constantinople. A great effort was made to forge a heroic and mythic ancestral past connecting Constantinople with both Troy and Rome, all via the unique Constantinian statuary collection spread out in different segments of the city (Bassett, 75–78)."

[103] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter LVIII.—"Concerning the Building of a Church in Honor of the Apostles at Constantinople", *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine,* p.1059. URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[104] Ibid., p.691.

[105] Eusebius of Caesarea, Chapter LXXIII. — "How Constantine is represented on Coins in the Act of ascending to Heaven", *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine,* p.1066. URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

[106] See Appendix A, Fig. 1.2

[107] G. W. Bowersock, "From Emperor to Bishop: The Self-Conscious Transformation of Political Power in the Fourth Century A.D." *Classical Philology,* Vol. 81, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), p.303.

Christianity is not an anti-imperial image, but rather it is a statement, irrevocably intertwined with imperial iconography to demonstrate the power of the state, which is manifested in the idea of a divine source and disseminated through Constantine's politics.

Church building under Constantine could no longer remain the domestic architecture it had been for the last two-hundred and fifty years because the Church had become the establishment in the empire.[108] Much more church building also occurred elsewhere in the empire, including in Roman Palestine. Promotion of pilgrimage to the Holy Land was no doubt due to the "brilliant…plan of Constantine, which was, among other matters, aimed at diverting the attention of the Christian masses from what only just recently had been their lot – horrifying persecutions at the hands of the heathen Roman Empire."[109] In addition to his new Christian self-identity, Constantine's plan "served too as yet another component in the overall scheme to tilt the political and religious center of gravity from the Occident to the Orient."[110]

The church buildings in Constantinople were now crowded with religious, administrative, social and utilitarian functions designed to represent religious connotations with the criteria of official buildings.[111] By erecting monuments that represented his image to the inhabitants of the city, Constantine chose to decorate his city with the "ultimate symbol of its imperial namesake, the Constantinian column, to which the personification is pointing."[112] In commissioning such monumental designs, Constantine attempted to spell out the particular message of his power and reign by associating himself with the Christian religion, and reshaped the meaning and significance of even older pagan pieces. It is here where the "presentation of the emperor as a symbolic, superhuman figure [demonstrates] that themes of human time could be tied to the eternal and transcendent."[113]

In being represented as eternal and transcendent, Constantine effectively assured that through the passage of time, the Roman empire would see him as a symbol of success, righteousness, peace, and divinity. By placing the bishops of the empire in a greater administrative role, Constantine effectively established relative unanimity amongst those religious and political officials in the empire. By being able to quell any argument or discord between the faithful, Constantine effectively subdued them under the image of one emperor and one God, and in doing so, was able to obtain total control of the empire in both the

---

[108] Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Curcic, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, (Yale University Press, 1992), p.41.

[109] Oded Irshai, "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century: The Case of the Bordeaux Pilgrim." *The Jewish Quarterly Review,* Vol. 99, No. 4 (Fall 2009), p.465-466.

[110] Ibid., p.466.

[111] Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Curcic, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p.41.

[112] Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly, eds. *Two Romes*, p.51.

[113] Janet Huskinson. "Art and architecture, a.d. 193–337." In: Alan Bowman et al. (eds.) *The Cambridge Ancient History*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.684. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521301992.027 (Accessed 18 March 2016)

political and religious spheres. Constantine won over the Roman Senate and its leaders and granted privileges to the "Christian church and its clergy in Rome itself, throughout Italy, in Africa and in the territories which he had ruled"[114] for the six years before his battle with Maxentius. After defeating Licinius, he controlled everything that "lay east of the Julian Alps in Europe and east of the boundary between Tripolitania and Libya in Africa."[115]

Because of Eusebius' writings on Constantine we still have a glimpse into his period of the ancient world. However, it is not what is in the historical record that is wholly important to our research, but what is not there. Although much of what was written has come under scrutiny in terms of its legitimacy, it still provides historians with a window to the past, and allows us to suspect any ulterior motives that may have been present, especially given the speed and ferocity at which Constantine came to power. The pinnacle of Constantine's strength was established through powerful rhetoric, imagery and architecture, which was based around the concept of the one Supreme Christian God, and is embodied in the imperial city of Constantinople. The rise and success of the first Christian emperor in history, it has been argued, is unrivaled in the ancient world, yet it most likely would not have been possible for Constantine to accomplish this without the use of his divine tool.

Appendix A

Figure 1.1

A gold multiple of "Unconquered Constantine" with Sol Invictus, struck in 313 AD. The use of Sol's image appealed to both the educated citizens of Gaul, who would recognize in it Apollo's patronage of Augustus and the arts; and to Christians, who found solar monotheism less objectionable than the traditional pagan pantheon.[116]

---

[114]Timothy Barnes. *Constantine*. (Somerset, US: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.), p.174. (Accessed March 19, 2016) ProQuest ebrary.

[115]Ibid. p.175.

[116]http://www.ancientresource.com/lots/ancient-coins/coins-constantine.html

Figure 1.2

"Manus Dei", the "Hand of God" - this was the first time any Judeo-Christian deity was ever depicted on a coin. *Divus* Constantine I the Great. Post-mortem issue struck after his death, 337-340 AD. Veiled head of Constantine left, "DV CONSTANTINVS PT AVGG" / Constantine driving galloping quadriga right. Here, the hand of God reaches down from above. Mintmark SMK-Gamma. 16 mm, 1.58 g. ref: RIC VIII Cyzicus 19. Black patina with desert sand highlights.[117]

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Eusebius of Caesarea. *Vita Constantini: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* URL: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_ Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

Secondary Sources:

Barnes, Timothy. *Blackwell Ancient Lives: Constantine Dynasty: Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire.* Somerset, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2013. ProQuest ebrary.

Bassett, Sarah. *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople.* Cambridge England: Cambridge University 2005.

---

[117] Ibid.

Bowersock, G. W. "From Emperor to Bishop: The Self-Conscious Transformation of Political Power in the Fourth Century A.D." *Classical Philology,* Vol. 81, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), pp. 298-307.

Bowman, Alan K., Peter Garnsey, Peter and Averil Cameron. "The Reign of Constantine" *The Cambridge Ancient History.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2005. pp.306-337.

Cameron, Averil. *Form and Meaning: The Vita Constantini and the Vita Antonii,* In: Tomas Hagg, Phillip Rousseau and Christian Hagel, *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity.* California: University of California Press, 2000. pp.72-88

Carroll, James. *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews.* Boston Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2002.

Drake, H. A. *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance.* Baltimore, Maryland: JHU Press, 2002.

Drake, H. A. "What Eusebius Knew: The Genesis of the 'Vita Constantini'". *Classical Philology* 83, 1. (1988). pp.20-38

Galvão-Sobrinho, Carlos R. Doctrine and Power: *Theological Controversy and Christian Leadership in the Later Roman Empire.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2013.

Grig, Lucy, and Gavin Kelly. eds. *Two Romes.* New York, US: Oxford University Press, 2014. ProQuest ebrary.

Hanson, Richard Patrick. *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318-381 AD.* Edinburgh: A&C Black, 2005.

Huskinson. Janet. "Art and architecture, a.d. 193–337." In Alan Bowman et al. (eds.) *The Cambridge Ancient History.* pp. 672-703. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005 http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521301992.027

Irshai, Oded. "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century: The Case of the Bordeaux Pilgrim." *The Jewish Quarterly Review,* Vol. 99, No. 4 (Fall 2009) pp.465–486.

Irshai, Oded. "Fourth Century Christian Palestinian Politics: A Glimpse at Eusebius of Caesarea's Local Political Career and Its Nachleben in Christian Memory" In *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues,* ed. (Sabrina Inowlocki and Claudio Zamagni) Leiden: Brill, 2011. pp.25-38.

Krautheimer, Richard, and Slobodan Curcic. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.

Leadbetter, Bill. "Constantine and the Bishop: The Roman Church in the Early Fourth Century" *Journal of Religious History* 26, no. 1 (February 2002): pp.1-14. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost.

Lenski, Noel. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Luibheid, Colm. *The Essential Eusebius: The Story of the First Centuries of the Christian Church in the Words of Its Greatest Historian.* New York: Mentor-Omega Press, 1966.

MacMullen, Ramsay. *Christianizing the Roman Empire: (A.D. 100-400), Parts 100-400.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984.

Odahl, Charles. *Constantine and the Christian Empire.* London: Routledge, 2004.

Odahl, Charles. "God and Constantine: Divine Sanction for Imperial Rule in The First Christian Emperor's Early Letters and Art". *Catholic Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (July 1995): 327-352.

Pearce, Susan. "The Hinton St Mary Mosaic Pavement: Christ or Emperor?". *Britannia 39. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.* pp.193-218. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Phillips, Ruth B. "Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-Membering and Re-Membering Canadian Art History." In *Settling and Unsettling Memories,* ed. (Nicole Neatby, Peter Hodgins). Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012. pp.340-368

Potter, David. *Constantine the Emperor.* Cary, NC, USA: Oxford University Press, 2012. ProQuest ebrary.

Rapp, Claudia. "Imperial Ideology in the Making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as `Bishop'" *Journal of Theological Studies* 49, no. 2 (October 1998): pp.685-695. *Academic Search Complete,* EBSCOhost.

Saradi-Mendelovici, Helen. "Christian Attitudes Toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* Vol. 44 (1990), pp. 47-61.

Swenson, Donald. *Society, Spirituality and the Sacred.* Toronto, ONT: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Van Dam, Raymond. *Roman Revolution of Constantine.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007. ProQuest ebrary.

Ancient Greeks and the Underworld

Delaney O'Flaherty

♋ **Greek mythology** is filled with heroic deeds and extraordinary heroes. It seems that every hero has the daunting quest of dealing with death, whether it be literal or figurative, and finding a way to overcome this adversary. The main opponent they would face would have been the Greek god Hades, lord of the dead and the name of the Underworld itself. Hades, one of the original six gods, ruled the land of the dead with his wife, Persephone, by his side. The heroic quests often brought the hero into contact with the Lord of the Dead and they would have to find a way to complete their quest in the face of this adversary. This essay will look at the role that Hades, the underworld, and death had within Greek myth.

The telling of Greek myth began as an oral tradition, being passed down from generation to generation. The most famous Greek writers are Homer, who wrote the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and Hesiod, who created the genealogies of the gods[1]. The usage of genealogical and epic texts serve to offer a background and atmosphere for the later legends of man and heroes[2]. The background these texts provided the people of a certain region some credibility within their genealogy, offering some sort of connection to the gods themselves through myth and legends. The Greek version of myth turned into a historical version, something they believed was genuine history and passed down by word of mouth until it could be properly recorded[3]. Myths gave the people of Greece a sense of belonging and purpose. These myths transition from the stories themselves into the real world of the Greeks. For instance, the Oracle at Delphi, the most famous oracle in Greek legend, would be prevalent in the Greek world. The Greeks utilized the Oracle as a way to find out the reason behind why something would have been going awry[4]. The Greeks saw the Oracle as a link between the Greeks themselves and the gods on Mount Olympus; the gods serving as the ones who sent down plagues and sufferings upon the Greek people[5]. The Greeks worshipped these gods, often utilizing sacrifices to appease the gods and ensure they were in their good fortune. Each deity had a specific area of expertise, so to speak, so each deity or even hero would be worshipped depending on what type of assistance is needed. For each sacrifice, it would depend on the hero or god that the sacrifice was meant

---

1   Ken Dowden, *The Uses of Greek Mythology* (London: Routledge, 1992), 9-10.
2   Ibid, 11.
3   Ibid, 20.
4   Richard Buxton, *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 2000), 83.
5   Ibid, 83.

for, there would be variations for each god[6]. For instance, women were only allowed in certain sacrificial events, or there had to be a specific animal used[7]. There were human sacrifices, and those tended to be women as well[8]. The temples of the gods were also something that had been regarded as sacred to the Greek people. If a person found themselves in trouble, they could utilize a temple of the gods as a sanctuary[9]. For instance, during the Trojan War, the princess of Troy, Kassandra, fled into a temple of Athena for safety. It was there where she was brutally raped by Ajax, a Greek soldier. Athena, enraged at the display in her temple, sent a storm that destroyed much of the Greek fleet in response to Ajax's violation of sanctuary[10]. The Greeks clearly held their gods with a high status, ensuring that they are well respected and worshiped.

The first six gods who are the children of the titans Cronos and Rhea are Hades, Poseidon, Hera, Demeter, Hestia, and Zeus[11]. After the defeat of the titans by the gods, the three brothers drew lots to determine what they would rule over. Zeus gained domain over the sky, Poseidon over the sea, and Hades the underworld[12]. Due to his status as lord of the dead, Hades is not a part of the more known Olympian gods, his isolation further proven by his status. The Lord of the Dead was isolated and rejected by the rest of the Olympian gods, forcing him to remain in the Underworld. For the ancient Greeks, they viewed death as something brought around by the gods or fates themselves, if they did not die before by an animal attack or during war[13]. To die in battle, especially the heroes, would have been a great honour and thus preserved their name forever. Hades himself was given some nicknames, such as "Receiver of many", since the Greeks thought the god was too dangerous to be called by his name directly[14]. This god is significant within the context of the ancient world, since it was he who watched over the spirits of the dead and punished the souls of the wicked[15]. The rituals for the deceased were also quite intriguing. The ancient Greeks believed that the soul existed within the breath of a person, so when they died the soul left along with the breath[16]. The person would be buried with their greatest possessions or they would be cremated to ensure the soul is properly dispelled to the Underworld[17]. Hades lived with all the spirits within the Underworld, ensuring that no one who entered his kingdom would ever leave[18]. Being ruler of the dead would have been a cold and demanding job, but Hades appeared to be well qualified for it.

The Underworld itself would have been dark and lonely, so the Lord of the Dead approached his brother Zeus regarding a solution to this problem. Zeus offered his daughter

---

[6]   Ibid, 295.

[7]   Ibid, 295.

[8]   Ibid, 295.

[9]   Ibid, 155.

[10] Richard P. Martin, *Myths of the Ancient Greeks* (New York: New American Library, 2003), 290-292.

[11] Ibid, 26.

[12] Ibid, 22.

[13] Barry B. Powell, *Classical Myth* (Boston: Pearson, 2015), 293.

[14] Ibid, 293.

[15] Ibid, 294.

[16] Ibid, 295.

[17] Ibid, 295.

[18] Ibid, 153.

Persephone to Hades, in hopes that the Lord of the Dead would "give [Zeus] an advantage in future dealings with [Hades]"[19]. Zeus, however, forgot to inform Demeter, Persephone's mother, of this transaction. This led to her departure from Olympus in a desperate search for her daughter[20]. Hades decided to capture his new wife while she was picking flowers in a meadow by splitting open the earth and "hustled her, screaming, into his chariot, and carried her off"[21] back to the land of the dead. Persephone was not pleased with this arrangement, and was extremely delighted when Hermes appeared to tell her that Demeter wanted her back on Olympus immediately[22]. Hades did not want his wife to leave him forever, so he slipped her some pomegranate seeds to ensure she would return to him for one-third of the year[23]. This myth developed the etiological myth of the seasons and why the crops died, due to Demeter grieving whenever her daughter returned to the Underworld. The myth of Persephone being taken by her uncle also brings forth the notion of Greek marriage traditions, where a girl would be "kidnapped" by an older man and brought to his house where they would be wed[24]. If a girl was not married before she died, she would be known as a "bride of Hades", since it represented a union with death himself[25]. The myth of Hades and Persephone would be one that created many explanations behind a wide variety of common things in ancient Greek customs.

When a person died, the ancient Greeks believed the soul of the dead would descend into the Underworld. There were certain rituals that had to be observed; for instance, the placing of a coin into the deceased's mouth, so that the spirit would be able to pay Charon, the ferryman, to escort them across the Acheron river[26]. Once the spirit reached the gates of the Underworld, they were then judged by three spirits, Minos, Aeacus, and Rhadamanthus, who decided where the soul should go based on their actions during their life[27]. All three of the judges were kings[28], who would have been famous for their lawgiving and their problem solving whilst judging the spirits of the dead. Cerberus, or Kerberos, was the three-headed dog that guarded the gates to the Underworld, ensuring that there were no spirits or shades escaping the Underworld[29]. Once the spirits are judged, they would go to their designated spaces: Elysium for those who have done great deeds, such as heroes; Tartarus for those who have offended the gods[30]; and the Fields of Asphodel for those remaining[31]. The spirits, especially those in the Fields of Asphodel,

---

[19] Martin, *Myths of Ancient Greeks,* 78.

[20] Ibid, 79.

[21] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* 18-19, quoted in Barry B. Powell, *Classical Myth* (Boston: Pearson, 2015), 231.

[22] 337, Ibid, 239.

[23] 347-340, Ibid, 239.

[24] Powell, *Classical Myth,* 244.

[25] Ibid, 244.

[26] Jon Davies, *Religion in the First Christian Centuries: Death, Burial and rebirth in the Religions of Antiquity,* (London: Routledge, 2013), 134.

[27] Ibid, 134.

[28] Powell, *Classical Myth,* 304.

[29] Martin, *Myths of Ancient Greeks,* 164.

[30] W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954), 323.

[31] Terry Deary, *10 Best Greek Legends Ever* (London: Scholastic Ltd., 2009), 85.

would be given the option of drinking from the river Lethe, known as forgetfulness, to erase their memories of their human lives[32]. Legendary figures, such as Achilles, would be the ones going into Elysium due to their status as a hero and perhaps partly due to their godly heritage that would ensure their greatness within the mortal realm. However, there were also places of punishment for those who wronged the gods in the mortal world. In Tartarus, these figures would serve as a warning for all others who thought they could infringe upon the omniscience of the gods[33]. One of the more prominent figures being punished by the gods was Tantalus, the king of Sipylus, who was one of the very few mortals allowed to dine with the gods[34]. To thank them for their hospitality and to test their omniscience, Tantalus invited the gods over for supper where he cut up his own son, Pelops, and put him into the stew he was serving to the gods[35]. The gods, outraged at such a heinous crime, immediately sent Tantalus down into the Underworld, where he was sent into Tartarus to atone for this sacrilege[36]. His punishment was to be surrounded by "fruit of the richest and ripest"[37] and water. Whenever he would try to reach for a fruit, "a gust of wind would blow them away to the shadowing clouds"[38]. Whenever he would try to drink, the water would sink away, prohibiting him to drink[39]. Thus, Tantalus would be eternally punished by never being able to eat or drink anything ever again. Another famous sinner was Sisyphus, king of Corinth. The first trick he pulled was to tie up Thanatos, the physical personification of death, when he came to collect Sisyphus after the king had tattled on Zeus[40]. The result of this escapade was that no one could ever die. Ares, son of Zeus and god of war, was sent to free Death, which he did successfully[41]. When Death came around a second time, Sisyphus instructed his wife to simply cast his body out without doing any form of funeral rights[42]. His wife did exactly what he said and so Sisyphus went to Hades and asked if he could return to the mortal world so he may haunt his wife for not observing the proper funeral rights[43]. Hades agreed and Sisyphus returned to the mortal world to live out the rest of his life in Corinth until he died of old age[44]. Thus, his punishment was to roll a boulder up a steep incline and have it fall back down the hill each time he nearly made it to the top[45]. This punishment ensured that he would remain in the Underworld and not try to escape and cheat death a third time. Many of the people that were being punished within Tartarus are those who have wronged the gods, including Ixion, king of Lapthis. This king lusted after the queen of

---

[32] Guthrie, *Greeks and their Gods,* 323.

[33] Ibid, 323.

[34] Gustav Schwab, *Gods & Heroes: Myths and Epics of Ancient Greece* (New York: Fawcett Premier Book, 1965), 142.

[35] Ibid, 143.

[36] Ibid, 143.

[37] Homer, *The Odyssey, 587,* quoted in Barry B. Powell, *Classical Myth* (Boston: Pearson, 2015), 305.

[38] 590, Ibid, 305.

[39] Martin, *Myths of Ancient Greeks,* 164.

[40] Ibid, 163.

[41] Ibid, 163.

[42] Ibid, 163.

[43] Ibid, 163.

[44] Ibid, 163.

[45] Homer, **The Odyssey,** 305.

Olympus, Hera, wife of Zeus[46]. Zeus, determined to catch Ixion in the act, created a perfect replica of his wife made entirely out of clouds[47]. When Zeus saw Ixion with the cloud replica, he was astonished at the king's arrogance and immediately sent him down to Tartarus, where he would spend all of eternity lashed to a wheel that turned around the heavens and spewed fire[48]. Death in the ancient Greek world was one to be worshiped properly and if one tried to cross the gods, they would be punished appropriately for their crimes.

Another important aspect of the Greek myth was the hero's journey to the Underworld. Whether it be literal of figurative, the hero is thrust into a land of death and despair before their quest is completed. The most famous Greek hero, Herakles, was one of the many heroes who had to descend into the Underworld. For his twelfth and final labour, Herakles is instructed to go into the Underworld and fetch Kerberos, guardian of the gates of Hades[49]. Herakles was faced with a most perilous task, one he completed with ease and efficiency. Whilst he was taking the guard dog, he asked Hades and Persephone if it was alright that he borrowed their dog, something they agreed to[50]. Herakles also managed to free Theseus, who had been trapped by Hades in the Underworld[51]. His final labour was a literal trip to the Underworld, one he would not have to take again, due to the gift of immortality he received at the end of his life[52]. Another famous hero who had made his way into the Underworld was Theseus. He and his friend Peirithoos made an agreement that they would both find brides that were daughters of Zeus, noting that it was something no man had yet accomplished[53]. With their agreement, Theseus selected Helen and Peirithoos chose Persephone to be their brides[54]. Thus, they made their way into the Underworld to collect Persephone. Once they arrived, they were invited by Hades for a magnificent feast, which they refused to eat knowing it would trap them there forever[55]. The two men soon realized that Hades had tricked them and ensured they stuck to the seats in the Underworld forever[56]. Theseus was rescued by Herakles, but Peirithoos was prevented from leaving, so the two heroes left him on the stone chair in the Underworld to suffer his fate[57]. Finally, one of the great heroes to descend into the Underworld was Orpheus. Orpheus had lost his bride Eurydice when a snake bit her as she was frolicking in a field[58]. Orpheus, desperate to retrieve his bride, descended into the Underworld and, using his exceptional music talents, he persuaded the king and queen of the Underworld to allow his

---

[46] Martin, *Myths of Ancient Greeks,* 134.

[47] Ibid, 134.

[48] Ibid, 134.

[49] Ibid, 162.

[50] Ibid, 164.

[51] Ibid, 164.

[52] Ibid, 179.

[53] Ibid, 136.

[54] Ibid, 137.

[55] Ibid, 138.

[56] Ibid, 138.

[57] Ibid, 138.

[58] Ibid, 49.

wife to return to the mortal world with him[59]. Persephone gave him strict instructions not to look back at his wife until they reached the land of the living, but Orpheus turned "a second too soon" and Eurydice returned to the Underworld[60]. In his despair, Orpheus grieved for seven months and his music swept across the land until he was torn apart by a cult of women that worshipped Dionysus[61]. Orpheus is one of the more tragic heroes who believed he could bring the dead back to life. All three of these heroes were adamant in believing they could go to the Underworld and succeed in their quests, although this journey to the Underworld often had some unintended consequences.

Overall, Hades was a fair and generous god, one willing to give heroes a chance at success, although he did not enjoy being tricked and punished those who wronged him accordingly. Many of those trapped in Tartarus were punished by Zeus, but Hades kept a watchful eye on all his subjects. He ruled alongside Persephone, who aided him in serious matters, such as the ordeal with Orpheus. The cycle of life and death was understood by the Greeks as a natural part of the universe and accepted Hades' role in it, although they did not speak his name directly in fear that he would come and bring them down into his kingdom. Hades was a just ruler and governed over his kingdom with a firm hand. The role of Hades and the Underworld served as something that should not be crossed and given the proper respect, as in many other parts of Greek culture.

Bibliography

Buxton, Richard. *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion.* Oxford: Oxford Press, 2000. Print.

Davies, Jon. *Religion in the First Christian Centuries: Death, Burial and rebirth in the Religions of Antiquity.* London: Routledge, 2013.

Deary, Terry. *10 Best Greek Legends Ever.* London: Scholastic Ltd., 2009. Print.

Dowden, Ken. *The Uses of Greek Mythology.* London: Routledge, 1992. Print.

Guthrie, W.K.C. *The Greeks and their Gods.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1954. Print.

Homer, *The Odyssey,* 1 1.582-600. Quoted in Barry B. Powell, *Classical Myth.* Boston: Pearson, 2015.

Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 1-138; 339-457. Quoted in Barry B. Powell, *Classical Myth.* Boston: Pearson, 2015.

Martin, Richard P. *Myths of the Ancient Greeks.* New York: New American Library, 2003. Print.

Schwab, Gustav. *Gods & Heroes: Myths and Epics of Ancient Greece.* New York: Fawcett Premier Book, 1965. Print.

Virgil, *Georgics,* 4.457-527. Quoted in Barry B. Powell, *Classical Myth.* Boston: Pearson, 2015.

---

[59] Ibid, 49.
[60] Virgil, *Georgics,* 489, quoted in Barry B. Powell, *Classical Myth* (Boston: Pearson, 2015), 308.
[61] Ibid, 309.

Posttraumatic Growth in Residential School Survivors: An Intergenerational Examination

Emily Pynoo

❧ **Many psychologists** are beginning to focus on the field of positive psychology. Rather than examining psychological problems as negative issues, they are starting to examine the positive outcomes that can result from psychological trauma. Therefore, instead of studying posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), some psychologists are studying posttraumatic growth. The concept of posttraumatic growth can be applied to a plethora of traumatic events, and can help victims of trauma learn to thrive following traumatic experiences. One traumatic event that was experienced by many people was that of residential schools for Aboriginal Canadians. Residential schools directly affected more than 100,000 Aboriginal Canadians over a 100-year period (Kirmayer, Tait, & Simpson, 2009). However, the survivors of these schools are not the only people who suffer from the harsh repercussions of the residential school experience. The children of survivors and the generations to follow are also affected by the trauma that was experienced in residential schools. This paper will examine the theories of positive psychology on posttraumatic growth, the experience of residential school survivors, and the intergenerational struggles that develop following trauma. It will conclude by applying the theories of posttraumatic growth to residential school survivors and the subsequent generations, and suggest ways in which resiliency and thriving can occur following traumatic experiences.

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is one of the most common psychological problems that can occur following trauma. The fifth edition of the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) recognizes PTSD as a disorder that can develop following exposure to death (threatened or actual), serious injury, or sexual harm (2013). One who suffers from PTSD is caused significant distress in daily functioning, including the ability to work and interact with others. Those suffering from PTSD typically express four behavioural symptoms: re-experiencing the event through dreams, flashbacks, and hallucinations; avoiding memories, thoughts, and external reminders of the event; negative cognitions of the event that lead one to have a skewed view of self, or result in distancing oneself from others and relationships; and feelings of arousal, or acting in self-destructive ways, being unable to sleep, or acting with hyper-vigilance (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). PTSD is therefore a very serious psychological problem that can significantly impact one's daily functioning and ability to live a healthy and productive life.

As PTSD is such a debilitating disorder, some psychologists have begun to wonder if there is a way to prevent PTSD, or refocus PTSD symptoms in a more positive way. Although PTSD is not something that can be controlled or directly prevented following trauma, some psychologists believe that PTSD treatment can focus on healing and reconciliation, rather than stress and trauma. These suggestions come from the field of positive psychology. Positive psychology attempts to focus on healing and positive outcomes that could result following traumatic experiences. For example, one could develop a new outlook on life, and begin to focus on goals to improve one's life and overcome adversity. Therefore, posttraumatic growth is a subtopic in the field of positive psychology. Posttraumatic growth is "the study of how people often change in positive ways in their struggles with adversity," (Joseph, Murphy, & Regel, 2012, p. 316). It is not to say that people who are able to focus on posttraumatic growth can eliminate PTSD symptoms once they have been diagnosed with the disorder. Posttraumatic growth is simply a way to deal with the symptoms of PTSD in a more positive way. Rather than the traditional role of psychologists in eliminating or reducing one's symptoms, positive psychology aims to help one learn to live a meaningful and fulfilling life following adversity (Joseph et al., 2012).

Three general domains of positive changes that allow one to live a meaningful life following trauma have been examined. These include: the enhancement of relationships, an altered view of self, and changes in life philosophy (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 317). In order to measure and track these positive changes, some researchers have created self-report inventories. The most widely used inventory is the *Post-Traumatic Growth Inventory* (PTGI) developed by Tedeschi and Calhoun in 1996 (Joseph et al, 2012, p. 318). The PTGI examines some factors that are related to the aforementioned domains of positive change. Some of the most commonly reported growth factors include valuing relationships more, an increased sense of empathy towards others, greater personal resiliency and strength, a greater acceptance of personal limitations or struggles, a greater appreciation for life, and a reevaluation of spirituality and life philosophy (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 318).

One's ability to grow following trauma depends on the "resolution of discrepancies between the pre-trauma assumptive world and the new trauma-related information," (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 322). Prior to experiencing trauma, one would have developed a certain worldview, and base many of one's post-trauma assumptions on that worldview. Following a traumatic event, one's worldview is greatly altered. If the pre-trauma worldview is significantly different than the post-trauma worldview, it can be very difficult to reconcile the two, and be able to grow following the traumatic event. The ability to grow and fill in the gap between these two worldviews often depends on "personality and social environmental conditions," (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 322). It is important to note that much of this discrepancy is perceived. How one perceives the world greatly influences how one acts in the world.

A person's perception of the world can lead one to either act positively or negatively towards others, or feel positive or negative about oneself. Event cognitions are dependent upon appraisal processes; these appraisal processes are determined by one's pre-existing notions of self and the surrounding world (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 322). Therefore, an event is considered traumatic if it violates one's pre-existing beliefs and worldview. According to Joseph and

colleagues, (2012) in order to settle the difference between the pre-trauma and post-trauma experiences, affective-cognitive processing mechanisms will be activated (p. 322). These processing mechanisms appear in the form of many of the aforementioned PTSD symptoms; invasive and disturbing thoughts, images, and feelings often lead one to reflect on the traumatic event, and can prevent one from completing daily tasks (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 322). The cognitive appraisals then lead to a change in one's emotional state, which in turn affects one's coping strategies. This series of affective-cognitive processing mechanisms will repeat over and over in the form of a cycle, until the trauma victim is able to gain an understanding of himself or herself, and the trauma. As the cycle nears an end, the trauma victim typically moves from the state of appraisal, emotionality, and coping, to one of "reflective pondering," (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 322). Posttraumatic growth typically occurs in the reflective pondering stage. It is when the trauma victim is able to develop an understanding of the events that happened to them. In this stage, the trauma victim is also able to examine any discrepancies through either "assimilative or accommodative processes," (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 322) which will be discussed at greater length later in this paper.

The cycle of affective-cognitive processing mechanisms created by Joseph and colleagues (2012) can be applied to trauma sufferers of any kind. In order to gain a better understanding of the cycle, and of posttraumatic growth in the field of positive psychology, this paper will apply the cycle and the theories of posttraumatic growth to the trauma experienced by residential school victims and their relatives. In order to do this effectively, it will first describe the traumatic experiences faced by residential school victims, and provide background information for the reader.

A very prevalent issue in Canada is that of residential schools. With the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2012), the trauma faced by residential school victims and their families was brought to light. Residential schools were an attempt at assimilating Aboriginal peoples of Canada into western culture. Children were taken from their homes (often forcibly) and had to live in "a racially segregated boarding school system," (Morrissette & Goodwill, 2013, p. 542) run by nuns, priests, and strict educators. The children were banned from speaking their native tongues, and were punished for failing to comply with western rules that were imposed upon them. The children of residential schools often suffered emotional, verbal, physical, and sexual abuse at the hands of the residential school system. "At their height, there were 80 residential schools operating across Canada, with a peak enrolment in 1953 of over 11,000 students," (Kirmayer et al., 2009, p. 9). Residential schools not only abused children, but were traumatic in many other ways as well. Those directly affected by residential schools are said to have "residential school syndrome," (Niezen, 2010, p. 193) as a result of the mental illness they often suffer following incarceration in residential schools.

As residential schools forcibly removed children from their homes and families, Aboriginal students were prevented from growing up with their own cultural traditions and customs (Kirmayer et al., 2009, p. 10). Residential school students often lacked the warmth and praise provided by families in childhood, and were instead raised with harsh rules in abusive conditions. Children lost their Aboriginal identities, knowledge of Aboriginal culture, language, and tradition, and were devalued for having a different cultural background than

those who ran the residential schools (Kirmayer et al., 2009, p. 19).

In addition to the loss of culture and language, students in residential schools were not given an equivalent education to those in the regular school system. Instead, students received "mostly religious instruction and vocational training for employment in industrial or manual labor work sectors," (Kaspar, 2014, p. 2185). They were therefore prevented from being adequately prepared to attend post-secondary institutions, and were strongly encouraged not to pursue further education (Kaspar, 2014). In fact, most residential school students did not progress further than the ninth grade and "never returned to school or recovered in terms of economic and occupational attainments, successful community reintegration, and health," (Kaspar, 2014, p. 2185).

As residential schools had such a detrimental impact on their students' lives, the families of residential school students and the following generations also suffer the traumatic effects of the residential school system. The disruption of families, the lack of proper parenting in childhood, the loss of knowledge of the Aboriginal languages and traditions, and the emotional, physical, and sexual abuse in residential schools, led to a loss of both individual and collective self-esteem and identity in Aboriginal communities (Kirmayer et al., 2009). This not only disrupted the families of residential school students at the time, but also prevented many students from having successful lives and families in the future. Many Aboriginal people, as well as scholars and researchers, suggest that a lot of the problems faced by Aboriginal people in Canada today stem from the residential school experience (Million, 2013). A testimony from a residential school survivor, Chief Sellars, summarizes these issues in Million's 2013 text:

The suicides, the alcoholism, the very low self-esteem of our people, the sexual abuse, the loss of our language and culture, the family breakdown, the dependency on others, the loss of pride, the loss of parental skills, and all the other social problems that have plagued our people can be traced directly back to the schools. (p. 79).

As residential schools involved extremely traumatic experiences for their attendees, this trauma has been passed down to future generations. The absence of an upbringing in a familial home led many residential school survivors to lack an understanding of proper parenting styles. Therefore, the children of residential school survivors were not always raised in healthy environments, as the parents were often at a loss for how to raise them. A fundamental aspect of Aboriginal cultures is the presence of community, and community influence on the upbringing of every child. Children in residential schools were robbed of a traditional upbringing, and therefore did not know how to raise their own children in a traditional Aboriginal way. Additionally, students in residential schools were often malnourished or fed unbalanced diets due to cost restraints; their sexuality was undermined and frowned upon; children could only clean themselves in the presence of an employee; and children were often overworked to the point of exhaustion (Robertson, 2006). These behaviours that were taught and strictly reinforced in residential schools fostered unhealthy assumptions of how children should be treated, resulting in a lack of understanding in how to raise future generations.

The discrimination faced by residential school students led to a loss of individual

and community identity. The students were often traumatized after being released from residential schools, and lacked the skills to properly reintegrate into society. Rather than being assimilated into western culture, Aboriginal students were often displaced and distanced from any cultural influences. They never learned the traditional Aboriginal culture, and were afraid of the western culture, as westerners had treated them so harshly in the residential school system. These feelings of insecurity and disconnectedness led many residential school survivors to turn to unhealthy coping methods, such as excessive alcohol and drug abuse (Söchting, Corrado, Cohen, Ley, & Brasfield, 2007). The psychological and emotional losses suffered by the parents and grandparents of residential school students, the children of the students, and entire communities, were immense (Söchting et al., 2007).

The psychological and emotional loss experienced by residential school survivors and the surrounding generations can be examined using Joseph and colleagues' (2013) affective-cognitive processing model of trauma. One's pre-trauma assumptive worldview may have been limited. While many children were taken to residential schools at a very young age, their development of a worldview and understanding of the world around them may have been incomplete. Therefore, it would be even more difficult to integrate and understand the traumatic experiences. As the children were often young and had spent the entire beginning of their lives in Aboriginal communities, with Aboriginal language, culture, and traditions, the exposure to extreme western values probably came as quite a shock. The sudden inability to express any previous knowledge or language skills would greatly impact the child's cognitions and ability to process what was happening.

The lack of understanding and cognitive skills to process the traumatic experiences would resurface later in life, following the trauma. "Intrusive thoughts, images and sensations," (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 322) might take over, and bring back negative feelings of the traumatic residential school experience. These invasive thoughts and images can prevent the survivor from being able to function and complete daily tasks, therefore hindering the ability to grow following trauma. The inability to function properly may lead to stress, and cause the survivor's emotional state to be altered. This altered emotional state could be either positive or negative. If it is positive, the survivor could skip to the "reflective pondering," (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 322) stage and begin to develop an understanding of the trauma they faced. However, if the change in emotional state is negative, the trauma survivor would first have to develop coping strategies. These coping strategies could be positive or negative as well, and can either help or hinder the posttrauma growth experience. Examples of negative coping strategies could be those previously listed by Chief Sellars (2013, p. 79) such as alcohol abuse and low self-esteem. Positive coping strategies could include addressing the trauma by journaling, talking with peers, or sharing testimonies, like those shared in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2012). Once the residential school survivor has gone through all of these stages, he or she would be able to reflect on the trauma, and gain a better understanding of the traumatic events that occurred in the schools.

Any discrepancies that remain after reflecting on the trauma can be addressed through either "assimilative or accommodative processes," (Joseph et al., 2012, p. 322). Assimilative processes would occur if the residential school survivor felt angry, or denied the post-trauma

information. This denial and lack of integration between pre and post-trauma worldviews could cause the survivor to be more vulnerable to trauma in the future. Contrastingly, accommodation processes would occur if the residential school survivor were able to modify his or her worldview based on the trauma experience, and therefore develop a new, integrated, post-trauma worldview (Joseph et al., 2012). After processing the traumatic events, the survivor would then be able to gain a better understanding of himself or herself, and depending on the type of processing utilized, be able to grow from his or her experiences.

These stages of coping following trauma can also be applied to other generations who are related to residential school survivors. Although these other generations did not directly experience the trauma in the residential schools, they vicariously experienced the trauma through their loved ones. The other generations may have also experienced a loss of culture and language, disconnect within the family and within the community, and further discrimination based on the stereotypes of Aboriginal people created by residential schools (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014).

In examining how the traumatic experiences caused by residential schools can have intergenerational effects, it is important to understand how those suffering from PTSD can also experience posttraumatic growth. The ability to speak and share the effects of residential schools on each generation is important in reconciling one's past. While each generation has a distinct experience with residential school trauma, discussing that trauma and its long-term effects can lead to healing (Ing, 2000).

Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2012) allowed residential school survivors and their families to share personal testimonies of the residential school experience. These testimonies were very emotional and eye opening, as many people had previously not come forward about their experiences. Testimony allows people to share their experiences, hear others' experiences, and find common ground. Trauma can often be difficult to overcome, and individuals who have faced trauma often feel lonely and isolated from society (Dionne & Nixon, 2014). Sharing one's personal experiences is not only therapeutic in allowing one to freely discuss the trauma, but can also be therapeutic in relating to others and eliminating the feelings of being isolated. Sharing stories of residential school can address both the "individual and communal trauma," (Million, 2013, p. 109) faced by Aboriginal peoples. Both traditional and non-traditional Aboriginal healing practices can be used to foster posttraumatic growth in residential school survivors and the surrounding generations.

Traditional Aboriginal healing practices involve recovering traditional practices themselves, and reestablishing contact with Aboriginal culture and customs (Dionne & Nixon, 2014). Traditional healing practices often reconnect the survivors with their heritage and culture, and allow them to experience some of the cultural ceremonies they may have missed during their time in residential school. These practices can include holistic healing, such as: Sweat Lodge ceremonies, examining the Medicine Wheel, pursuing a Vision Quest, attending a Powwow, or fasting (Dionne & Nixon, 2014). Other generations can take part in this healing process as well. In addition to being part of the healing process, generations that are more in touch with their culture could teach the residential school survivors these healing practices,

and in passing on some of their knowledge, be able to grow from the vicarious trauma they experienced as well.

In addition to traditional healing practices and reconnecting with one's past and cultural traditions, there are also non-traditional healing practices that can be used. Non-traditional healing can involve psychological therapy or counseling. Psychological healing can often involve spiritual healing, which is important to many Aboriginal communities (Dionne & Nixon, 2014). Therefore, traditional and non-traditional healing practices are often intertwined, and a combination of both can lead to increased healing and growth following trauma.

Being able to heal following trauma can often be a lengthy and difficult process. Traumatic experiences, such as that of residential school, can greatly influence one's ability to function in every day life. As daily functioning of trauma survivors is typically hindered, intergenerational effects of trauma can occur. As previously mentioned, other generations can experience trauma through empathetic feelings towards their loved ones, and even develop PTSD themselves (Bombay et al., 2014). As such, understanding the stages one goes through following a traumatic experience, and being able to effectively address those stages becomes very important. The field of positive psychology integrates the symptoms of PTSD with the possibility for posttraumatic growth, and applies positive coping strategies for those suffering from traumatic experiences. Despite traumatic experiences greatly influencing and changing one's life, positive psychology and posttraumatic growth allow trauma sufferers to effectively cope, develop resiliency, and reconcile traumatic experiences of one's past.

References

American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (5th ed.). Washington, D.C: American Psychiatric Association

Bombay, A., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2014). Appraisals of discriminatory events among adult offspring of Indian residential school survivors: The influences of identity centrality and past perceptions of discrimination. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* 20(1), 75-86. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0033352

Dionne, D., & Nixon, G. (2014). Moving beyond residential school trauma abuse: A phenomenological hermeneutic analysis. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction,* 12(3), 335-350. doi: 10.1007/s11469-013-9457-y

Fiske, J. (2009). Placing violence against first nations children: The use of space and place to construct the (in)credible violated subject. In L. Kirmayer, & G. G. Valaskakis, (Eds.), *Healing traditions: The mental health of aboriginal peoples in Canada* (pp. 3-35). Vancouer, Canada: UBC Press.

Ing, R. N. (2000). *Dealing with shame and unresolved trauma: Residential school and its impact on the 2nd and 3rd generation adults.* Retrieved from University of British Columbia Open Library.

Joseph, L., Murphy, D., & Regel, S. (2012). An affective-cognitive processing model of post-traumatic growth. *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy,* 19, 316-325. doi: 10.1002/cpp.1798

Kaspar, V. (2014). The lifetime effect of residential school attendance on indigenous health status. *American Journal of Public Health,* 104(11), 2184-2190. http://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2013.301479

Kirmayer, L. J., Tait, C. L., & Simpson, C. (2009). The mental health of aboriginal peoples in Canada: Transformations of identity and community. In L. Kirmayer, & G. G. Valaskakis, (Eds.), *Healing traditions: The mental health of aboriginal peoples in Canada* (pp. 3-35). Vancouer, Canada: UBC Press.

Million, D. (2013). *Therapeutic nations: Healing in an age of indigenous human rights.* Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Morrissette, P. J., & Goodwill, A. (2013). The psychological cost of restitution: Supportive intervention with Canadian Indian residential school survivors. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment, & Trauma,* 22, 541-558. doi: 10.1080/10926771.2013.785459

Niezen, R. (2010). *Public justice and the anthropology of law.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Robertson, L. H. (2006). The residential school experience: Syndrome or historic trauma. *Pimatisiwin, 4(1),* 1-28. Retrieved from http://pimatisiwin.com/uploads/291994116.pdf

Söchting, I., Corrado, R., Cohen, I. M., Ley, R. G., & Brasfield, C. (2007). Traumatic pasts in Canadian aboriginal people: Further support for a complex trauma conceptualization? *British Columbia Medical Journal, 49(6), 320-326.* Retrieved from http://www.bcmj.org/

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action. (2012). *In Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.* Retrieved from   http://www.trc.ca/

Memory, Creation, and Monotheism in Isaiah 40:12-31

Jason Sprinkhuysen

❧ Often in Scripture, memory is the remedy for doubt, as is the case in Matthew 16:9-10, when Jesus rebukes his disciples for their lack of faith and asks them to *remember* his former miracles. Another case is Deuteronomy 7:17-19, where the Israelites are told not to fear but to *remember* what YHWH had done for them in times past. This also is the case with Isaiah 40:12-31. Within the passage, two interconnected themes are tightly bound to a message of remembrance. Isaiah's hearers are told to remember YHWH's role as the creator of all things. The second thing they are reminded of is that YHWH is the sole God and that idols are as nothing before him. In fact, these two themes of creation and unicity are inseparably intertwined as will be seen, for by asserting that YHWH has created everything that is, the passage is thereby instating YHWH in a unique place in the universe, a place that cannot be shared with any other so-called deity. Isaiah's choice of themes closely reflects the reality that faces the people of Israel, namely, that they are oppressed by a people that worships pagan gods that stand as rivals to YHWH. This is a people in need of remembrance of their God's power. For the author of Isaiah, remembrance is the chief remedy for doubt.

Isaiah 40:12-31 is a component of a longer segment of the book of Isaiah that is commonly held to be the work of a separate prophet—often named Deutero-Isaiah, or simply Second Isaiah—which comprises chapters 40-55 of the book of Isaiah. Judging by references to King Cyrus II (Isa 45:1), and comparing the overall message of Second Isaiah to that of First Isaiah, scholars have been able to date the book to around the 6th or 5th century BCE[1], which means the book would have been written during or immediately following the exile of the Israelites in Babylon (587-538 BCE). Klaus Baltzer narrows the date of writing down to between 450 and 400 BCE[2]. Baltzer's reason for doing so is the fact that there is little mention of the Davidic Messianic hope present in First Isaiah (e.g. Isa 9:2-7) and that Second Isaiah's scientific world view—especially the importance given to astronomy, a Babylonian specialty—reflects that of the time period, in which prosperity brought on many advances in scientific knowledge of the world[3]. This can be seen in the mention made of YHWH measuring the heavens and celestial bodies. A final reason for this assignation of date is the explicit reference to King Cyrus II (ca. 560 – 530 BC) of Persia in Isa 45:1.

---

[1] Richard J. Clifford, "The Book of Isaiah," in *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, vol. 3 (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 2008), 75.

[2] Cf. Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah, a Commentary on Isaiah 40-55* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 30.

[3] Ibid., 30–31.

Second Isaiah is presumed to have taught just prior to the time the book was written, perhaps in the second half of the 6th century BCE. During this time, namely from 587-538 BCE, Babylon ruled over Judah. This was the time known as the exile. The exile lasted until 538 BCE, when it was brought to an end by King Cyrus II of Persia who defeated the Babylonians. Under Cyrus, the Jews were allowed to return to their homeland. Second Isaiah is presumed to have preached during this time of upheaval and change and addressed a community of exiles "bombarded by the cosmogonic claims made on behalf of Mesopotamian deities"[4]. This situation is acknowledged by the writer in the lengthy diatribes against idols (Isa 41:21-29; 44:9-20) and many more implicit allusions to "the incomparability of [YHWH] as Creator and Lord of the world"[5].

Second Isaiah can be broken down into four main parts as follows:

1 – An announcement of divine comfort and solace. (Isa 40:1-31)

2 – The end of the exile. (Isa 41:1—48:22) This speaks of YHWH's role as Israel's redeemer.

3 – The return to Sion, or entering the homeland once more. (Isa 49:1—54:17)

4 – A final reminder of Israel's everlasting covenant with YHWH. (Isa 55:1-13)[6]

A recurrent theme that appears intermittently throughout the book is that of the Suffering Servant who is the subject of four songs (Isa 42:1-9; 49:1-7; 50:4-11; 52:13—53:12). These sections of verse are interwoven with the rest of the text. Although another such song is found in First Isaiah, they are essentially a Deutero-Isaian element, being found mainly in that book alone.

The style of Second Isaiah resembles that of the Wisdom literature, drawing heavily on the didactic-sapiential themes seen in Prov 8:22-31 and Job 38[7], dwelling especially on the identity of YHWH and his creative powers. The link to Job is especially noticeable in the repetition of rhetorical questions (Isa 4:12-14, 18-22, 25-28) formulated to broaden the hearer's conception of YHWH. "Lift up your eyes on high and see: 'Who created these?'" (Isa 40:26) The answer expected is, "YHWH created them". Sections of oratory like this are punctuated throughout by small sections of verse. The passage in focus is characterised especially by this literary style of repeated rhetorical questions.

Isaiah 40:12-31 fits into the first major division of the book which sets the tone for the rest of the work. It is written mainly in the form of a series of rhetorical questions aimed at

4 Robert A. Oden, "Cosmogony, Cosmology," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* ed. David Noel Freedman, vol. 1 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), 1166.
5 Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah, a Commentary on Isaiah 40-55,* 64.
6 Cf. Michael Duggan, *The Consuming Fire,* 409.
7 Cf. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55,* vol. 19A, The Anchor Bible (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2001), 191.

an audience of Second Isaiah's fellow exiles. Many of the questions revolve around the theme of creation. Blenkinsopp says that "the presentation of [YHWH] as cosmic creator is one of the most salient features of chs. 40-48"[8]. This is because Second Isaiah is consciously refuting the creation myths of the Babylonians. It must be remembered that he is speaking to an exiled minority in a land filled with pagan practises. He is setting up "a coherent argument for the superiority of [YHWH] over all other so-called deities"[9]. Essentially, he establishes YHWH as the most powerful being in the universe.

The Babylonians offered special worship to the god Marduk who was said to have killed the god Tiamat and made the stars, sky, constellations, sun and moon, earth, and waters out of Tiamat's body. However, he is also said to have sought counsel from the wise god Ea in his so-called work of creation[10]. The questions in Isa 40:13-14 seek to prove YHWH's superiority: "Who has directed the spirit of the Lord, or as his counselor has instructed him? Whom did he consult for his enlightenment, and who taught him the way of understanding?" As a final blow to pagan worship, Second Isaiah also attacks the worship of the stars by showing his listeners that YHWH created the stars as well (Isa 40:26). Blenkinsopp emphasises this point: "The statement about [YHWH]'s creation and control of the celestial bodies serves to wrap up the polemic against idolatry, appropriately in view of the importance of astral worship and astronomy in the intellectual and religious life of Babylon"[11]. In brief summary, the three major themes of this section are YHWH's place as the supreme ruler of creation, his role as sole creator of all things, and the rejection of idols.

Rhetorical questions are an apt tool to accomplish the writer's goal at this point. He wishes to bolster the faith of his fellow believers who are vacillating in the face of pagan beliefs. A rhetorical question is one that doesn't need an answer because the answer is already known. It may serve, however, to reinforce what one already knows to be true. Before looking at the questions individually, it is worth pointing out what answers Second Isaiah meant to imprint on the minds of his fellow exiles. A clear agenda runs behind the list of questions. Looking at all seven questions, there are relatively few answers that Isaiah expects to hear: three, to be precise. First, is that God is One. Second is that idols are nothing compared with him. Third, is that God created everything by himself. One could really reduce all of these to one: The God of Israel is the only true God.

The first question appears in Isa 40:12. As is typical of Hebrew verse and rhetoric, it repeats itself in different words using a common technique called a parallelism[12]. "Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure and the hills in a balance?" It amounts to asking, "Who put all things in the order in which we find them?" No answer is given, and another

---

[8] Ibid., 19A:107.

[9] Oden, "Cosmogony, Cosmology," 1165.

[10] Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55,* 19A:106.

[11] Ibid., 19A:193.

[12] Richard J. Clifford, "Book of Isaiah (Second Isaiah)," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* ed. David Noel Freedman, vol. 3 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), 495.

question follows swiftly upon the heels of the first: "Who has directed the spirit of the Lord, or as his counselor has instructed him? Whom did he consult for his enlightenment, and who taught him the path of justice? Who taught him knowledge, and showed him the way of understanding?" (Isa 40:13-14) This verse hearkens back to what was said previously about the myth of Marduk creating the earth[13]. The god Marduk supposedly sought council from another god when he made the world. YHWH, in the Israelite tradition, needed no help in creating the world. Isaiah, with his questions, undermines the pagan mythology of Babylon by implying that Marduk is not as powerful as YHWH because he needed advice in order to create. To make his point clearer, Isaiah then offers the first of a number of gratuitous answers to his rhetorical questions in vv. 15-17. He says, "All the nations are as nothing before him: they are accounted by him as less than nothing and emptiness" (Isa 40:17). He clarifies that he is speaking of YHWH, who is so great that nations are as nothing before him. The word "emptiness" (tōhû) which describes the nations in v. 17 is the same as that used of the world before God created it (cf. Gen 1:1), as Seitz notes in his article on this passage[14]. This implies the absolute power of God over the nations, just as he brought about the universe from the primordial "emptiness".

Isaiah continues with a third question: "To whom will you liken God, or what likeness compare with him? An idol?" (Isa 18-19a) While it may be true that the foreign oppressors of Israel are as nothing before YHWH, some might be tempted to credit their gods with great power. Isaiah acknowledges this objection by asking whether any idol could compare with YHWH. The answer is a quick "No". "A workman casts it", Isaiah says (40:19), bringing attention to the fact the idols are man-made. If an idol is made by human hands, how could it compare with YHWH? YHWH made man, so man could not make something more powerful than YHWH.

With rhetorical passion, Isaiah then calls out his fourth question: "Have you not known? Have you not heard? Has it not been told you from the beginning?" (Isa 40:21) With the word "beginning", he invites his hearers to look back at their roots and remember what they already know[15]. Given the circumstances, it is understandable that not a few of the exiles had begun to wonder if their God was less powerful than they had once thought. After all, the Babylonians had conquered them, and the Persians had subsequently defeated the Babylonians. Clearly the Babylonian and Persian gods were the powerful ones. Isaiah invites this people, confused and bewildered, to remember what they had always believed. In fact, the Torah would have been consolidated in its present written form around this time, being completed around 400 BCE[16].

---

[13] Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55,* 19A:106.

[14] Christopher R. Seitz, "The Book of Isaiah 40-66," in *The New Interpreter's Bible,* ed. Leander E. Keck, vol. 6 (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 2001), 342.

[15] Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55,* 19A:192. "The four questions addressed to the hearers (v 21) imply that they should be familiar with and have already accepted belief in [YHWH] as a creator deity, though the preacher is perhaps exaggerating, as preachers are wont to do, in assuming that this "creation theology" was known "from the beginning. [...] It was known, but we do not often hear of [YHWH] as a creator deity in texts deemed to be from the time of the Kingdoms."

[16] Michael Duggan, *The Consuming Fire* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor Inc., 2010), 67.

Even if the written texts were not widely known, the oral tradition certainly would have been. It taught that God created the world. The people knew this "from the beginning".

The fifth question is formulated on the lips of YHWH himself. "To whom then will you compare me, or who is my equal? […] Lift up your eyes and see: who created these?" (Isa 40: 25-26a) In a moment reminiscent of the passage in Job 38, God directs the Israelites to turn their gaze to the skies and wonder. It was he who created them. Is not the creator of all the world more powerful than some man-made idol or a petty god that needs help to make things? He tells Israel that "because he is great in strength, mighty in power, not one [star] is missing" (Isa 40: 26b). Creation itself reveals God's power.

The final section, beginning with verse 27, addresses the situation of the Israelites more directly. Isaiah asks why the people ask themselves whether God has abandoned them (40:27) and then repeats the earlier question: "Have you not known? Have you not heard?" (40:28a) The people must become mindful of their current state of consciousness, namely, that of feeling abandoned and disregarded. Only then will they be able to step back and discover a new way of thinking. To this end, Isaiah provides them with an answer. He reminds them that YHWH is "the everlasting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth" (40:28) and that he "gives power to the faint" (40:29). This is precisely what a suffering people needs to hear. They already know about YHWH, but have forgotten because of the circumstances that oppress them. Once the people have become mindful once more that YHWH is the creator of all and the only God, a change of mentality can take place. Where once they were insecure, they can now become fortified. Where once they were fearful, they can now become confident in their God.

Isaiah's message is tailored to effect this change of mind in his fellow exiles by acknowledging their struggle and having them dispel their own doubts through memory. That is the beauty of the rhetorical question: the listener is able to provide himself with an answer to the very question on his mind. Since the answer arises from within him, it is as though he solves his own problem. The message that Isaiah proclaims is precisely the one the people need to hear: namely, that their God is the only God, that he is powerful, and that all of creation owes its very existence to him alone.

The people's present doubt is brought on, not because they are unsure who their God is, but because they have allowed themselves to forget what they once knew to be true. Instead, they have allowed doubts to creep in and weaken their belief. Isaiah's questions provide the solution to their problem, namely, memory. In the book of Joshua (3:1 – 4:24), the flow of the Jordan river is stopped so that the people may cross safely to the other side. Joshua has twelve stones from the riverbed erected to remind the people of the deeds of their God, so they can *remember* for ages to come. In the passage of Isaiah, something similar takes place; Isaiah asks the people to look back and remember. However, he does not ask them to remember simply what God has *done* for them as a people. Isaiah's perspective on memory is new because he no longer focuses on what YHWH has *done* for his people. Rather, he reminds the people of YHWH's absolute power over all of creation. In this sense, it can be seen as a universal message, since Isaiah is staking a claim for monotheism. YHWH is not seen simply as the God of Israel, but as the *only* God. In part, then, he is reminding the people of what they know, but at the same time, he has them re-evaluate what they know to gain new understanding of what they believe.

Bibliography

Attridge, Harold W., ed. The Harper Collins Study Bible, Revised Edition. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006.

Baltzer, Klaus. *Deutero-Isaiah, a Commentary on Isaiah 40-55.* Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Fortress, 2001.

Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Isaiah 40-55.* Vol. 19A. The Anchor Bible. New York, NY: Doubleday, 2001.

Clifford, Richard J. "Book of Isaiah (Second Isaiah)." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* edited by David Noel Freedman, 3:490–501. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992.

———. "The Book of Isaiah." In *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* edited by Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, Vol. 3:75-91. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 2008.

Duggan, Michael. T*he Consuming Fire.* Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor Inc., 2010.

Oden, Robert A. "Cosmogony, Cosmology." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* edited by David Noel Freedman, 1:1162–71. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992.

Seitz, Christopher R. "The Book of Isaiah 40-66." In *The New Interpreter's Bible,* edited by Leander E. Keck, 6:309–552. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 2001.

Winter in Canada: Hockey in the 1920's and 1930's

Barbara Telford

❧ **People spend much of their time working,** and it is perhaps the central activity in many Canadians' lives. It is this fact that makes leisure time so valuable.[1] In the 1920's and 1930's the community hall was an important hub for leisure activities. Community halls were used for dances, concerts, and movies. Summer days brought sports days, baseball games and rodeos to the community and in the winter, members enjoyed hockey games and ice-skating on the outdoor rink located beside the community centre.[2] Leisure can be defined as any time spent away from the workplace and other obligations. It creates a social and cultural bond between people and sports have long occupied an important place in how Canadian's spend their leisure time.[3] When it comes to winter, hockey holds a special place in the hearts of many Canadians.

Leisure time and sports in particular, was not just about filling idle hours enjoying the outdoors with friends and family. Sports serve as a vehicle for the spread of social and cultural ideals. In Canada in the 1920's and 1930's sports were seen as a way to encourage British values. The transmission of the British gentlemanly values of fair play, justice and equality occurred on playing fields and in ice rinks. Sports were able to transcend social barriers such as class, and at the same time as promote the development of healthy strong bodies. Participation in sports offered the opportunity to put into practice values like honesty, decency and courtesy that were taught in school and church. It was expected that good sportsmanship be exercised, both in victory and in defeat.[4]

Before the 1920's, it was largely recreational ice skaters rather than those pursuing sports such as hockey, that were occupying ice surfaces. Skaters attended Sunday afternoon skating parties and skating clubs put on carnivals and dinners. Hockey began to overtake available ice time at skating rinks throughout the 1920's and recreational skaters became more likely to use the outdoor ponds and lakes rather than the ice rinks. There was a decrease in participation in leisure skating and in the 1930's groups advocated for more time for recreational skaters at local rinks. Still hockey continued to prevail as one of the most popular winter sports in

---

[1] Donald G. Wetherell and Irene Kmet, *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta 1896 – 1945* (Regina: University of Regina, 1990), xvi.

[2] Ibid., 96.

[3] Ibid., xvi.

[4] Ibid., 125-126.

Alberta demanding, and receiving more ice time than other skating activities.[5] What had once been a men's only sport played by members of gentlemen's clubs was steadily gaining more participants.[6] Additionally, the age limit was gradually lowered over the years and by 1935 the first Pee Wee National League was established for twelve and thirteen year old boys in Calgary. Many members of the community, including churches, schools and businesses sponsored leagues and teams.[7]

The desire for some structure and organization to game play initiated the formation of amateur sport associations in Alberta. Individual associations were created that assumed responsibility for governing various sports in Alberta. The Alberta Amateur Hockey Association was formed to provide governance for amateur hockey. The association was responsible for organizing games and playoffs, and mediating any disputes that arose between players and teams.[8] Additionally, larger governing bodies were created designed to regulate amateur sport as a whole in the province. The largest of these governing bodies was the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAAU).

A portion of the AAAU's duties was to protect amateur sport from professional participation. As early as the turn of the century there had been a desire to distinguish between amateur and professional athletes. The differentiation, it had been decided, was whether or not a person had been paid to compete or ever earned a living competing, this definition stuck and was still the deciding factor decades later. It was felt that amateur athletes would be discouraged if they had to compete against the more skilled professional players so in the interest of fair play professional athletes were barred from competing in amateur events.[9]

As the market for organized sports evolved in Alberta, the demand for facilities also increased.[10] The interwar years in Alberta saw a significant increase in the development of facilities for sports and an increased formal organization of the groups participating in sports.[11] In both Edmonton and Calgary, hockey leagues built outdoor rinks with indoor change rooms. The cities and the school boards provided assistance with building the rinks with the provision that children from the schools would use the rinks after school and on Saturday mornings.[12]

In Calgary, outdoor rinks posed a problem for hockey enthusiasts, players and organizers due to erratic winter weather. The presence of chinooks in Calgary made the guarantee of outdoor ice practically impossible, which made things difficult when trying to plan games, in particular when it came down to playoffs at the end of the season. The solution to the

---

[5]   Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures,* 150 – 152.
[6]   Wetherell, Donald G., "A Season of Mixed Blessings: Winter and Leisure in Alberta Before WWII" in
      Winter Sports in the West ed. E.A. Corbet and A.W. Rasporich (Winnipeg: Hignell Printing, 1990), 40.
[7]   Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures,* 152.
[8]   Ibid., 136.
[9]   Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures,* 135 – 136.
[10] Ibid., 135.
[11] Wetherell, "A Season of Mixed Blessings", 39-40.
[12] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures,* 135.

uncertainty of the quality of the outdoor ice was artificial ice. Invented in England late in the nineteenth century, the technology was brought to Alberta by Elias Bjarni, a curling fan, who was hoping to improve the quality of curling ice.[13] The first artificial ice rink was built in Calgary somewhere between 1932 and 1935.[14] Although it was the desire for better curling that brought artificial ice to Calgary, hockey was once again given priority at rinks and curling was typically played outside for decades after the introduction of artificial ice to the city's rinks.[15] Electric lights added to hockey rinks also helped to extend playing time on winter days that were short on daylight.[16]

The media was instrumental in helping to make hockey a part of Canadian culture. Early sports reporting began with newspaper and telegraph communications. The first hockey game was reported by telegraph in 1908. Details of the Stanley Cup game between Edmonton and Montreal were transmitted from Montreal to Alberta. By the 1920's radio broadcasts of hockey games were gaining popularity and by the 1930's radio broadcasts of the games were commonplace.[17]

Media reporting of hockey games benefited the sport in several ways. News reports and broadcasts of games increased hockey's popularity as a commercialized spectator sport making professional teams more profitable. Increased spectator interest in turn increased participation in recreational hockey for men, women and children also increased across the country.[18] Reporting of professional games had the added benefit of helping to standardize the rules of play across the country.[19]

Calgary and Edmonton, as well as many other cities across the country, were home to many women's hockey teams.[20] Women's hockey drew crowds that rivaled the men's games and men who ran the commercial rinks managed women's teams in addition to the men's teams in order to increase their profits. The women's games were intended to offer entertainment and the women played full contact hockey with rules similar to men's hockey. Occasionally, in order to increase their chances of winning the owners would have men disguise themselves as women and play on the team. Given hockey's rough and tumble reputation, middle and upper class women had a tendency to avoid hockey except perhaps, those women that had played on their university teams. Hockey was more likely to be participated in by women who worked in shops, offices and factories.[21]

---

[13] Karen Wall, *Game Plan: A Social History of Sport in Alberta* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2012), 352.

[14] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures,* 153 and Wall, Game Plan 352.

[15] Wall, *Game Plan,* 352.

[16] Ibid., 353.

[17] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures,* 139-140.

[18] Wall, *Game Plan,* 113.

[19] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures,* 139 – 140.

[20] Ibid., 153.

[21] Ann Hall. *The Girl and the Game: A History of Women's Sport in Canada.* (Peterborough: Broadview, 2002), 57-59.

Women's hockey gained in popularity through the 1920's and 1930's. As with the men's teams, what had begun as informal matches before the First World War began to become more organized and tournaments and leagues were formed. In the early 1920's many of the women competing were on university teams. The university teams competed with each other and club teams. By the late 1920's there were over 20 women's teams in Calgary and as with men's hockey, team sponsorship was provided by a variety of organizations including, community clubs, small businesses, churches and schools. Calgary's top women's team in the 1920's was the Calgary Hollies and they often found themselves facing their rivals the Edmonton Monarchs for the Alberta championship.[22]

In 1933, the Dominion Women's Amateur Hockey Association was formed to govern national championships.[23] Women's hockey hit a high point in the 1930's with competition heating up for the Dominion Women's Amateur Hockey Association Championship. All of the provinces except for Saskatchewan competed.[24] For all its popularity women's hockey struggled. Some provinces had greater participation than others with Alberta leading the way in female participation. Some provinces such as Ontario struggled with teams being spread too far apart to make provincial competitions feasible and other provinces like Saskatchewan simply lacked interested participants.[25]

After WWII women's hockey declined in popularity. There could be several explanations for the decline in interest in the sport for women. In Alberta the economy was changing and people were moving from rural homes to the cities, rural areas had provided much of the participant base for women's hockey. Teams of boys and men were given priority for ice time and hockey was once again becoming more elite, forcing women out of the game.[26] In Ontario, a lack of competition for the strong teams made the games less entertaining to watch and to play. This combined with the high cost of equipment and the lack of available ice time made it impossible for teams to survive and in Toronto by 1941 there were no women's hockey teams left.[27]

Professional hockey in Alberta occurred sporadically. Hockey players were paid well in comparison to other professional athletes and the existence of three professional circuits provided the opportunity to move between leagues leaving hockey players with many options when finding a team to play for.[28] The Western Canada Professional Hockey League was formed in 1921.[29] The Calgary Tigers and the Edmonton Eskimos were part of the professional Western Hockey League, which operated between 1921 and 1926. In their six years in the

---

[22] Ibid., 59.
[23] Ibid., 96.
[24] Ibid,. 113.
[25] Hall, *The Girl and the Game,* 97.
[26] Wall, *Game Plan,* 113.
[27] Hall, *The Girl and the Game,* 97.
[28] Wall, *Game Plan,* 123.
[29] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures,* 153.

league, the Calgary Tigers won three regular season titles and two playoff championships.[30] After the demise of the Western Canada Professional Hockey League the Prairie Hockey League briefly governed professional hockey in Alberta in the 1930's. A shortage of funds in the Western Hockey Leagues made travel difficult for the teams. The financial difficulties also made it difficult to provide adequate facilities from which to host games and put player salaries out of reach when compared with other leagues.[31]

Leisure time activities provide an important break from the stresses of the work world and sport occupies an important position in any discussion of leisure. Of the many ways to enjoy some free time during a Canadian winter, hockey remains one of the most popular. Growth of the game in the 1920's and 1930's provided better facilities and more organization to the game. This combined with media broadcasting of games helped to ensure hockey's popularity with participants and spectators alike. Hockey has and will continue to occupy a special place in Canadian culture.

Bibliography

Hall, Ann M., *The Girl and the Game: A History of Women's Sport in Canada.* Peterborough: Broadview, 2002.

Wall, Karen L., *Game Plan: A Social History of Sport in Alberta.* Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2012.

Wetherell, Donald G., "A Season of Mixed Blessings: Winter and Leisure in Alberta Before WWII" in *Winter Sports in the West* edited by E.A. Corbet and A.W. Rasporich, 38 – 51. Winnipeg: Hignell Printing, 1990.

Wetherell, Donald G. and Irene Kmet, *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta 1896 – 1945.* Regina: University of Regina, 1990.

---

[30] Wall, *Game Plan,* 123.
[31] Wetherell, *Useful Pleasures,* 153.

The Backwoods of Canada by Catharine Parr Traill

Gillian Toone

❧ **Catharine Parr Traill** is a key figure in Canadian literary and cultural history. Her book The Backwoods of Canada is her first work written in Canada and it includes sketches and descriptions of wildlife and scenery, as well as a comprehensive portrayal of what life was like for a Canadian settler's wife. This book explores the flourishing of the individual within a culture that has not yet been established and creates part of that newfound culture by being entirely Canadian.

Born Catharine Parr Strickland in 1802, Parr Traill grew up in a Victorian middle-class family. She and her siblings were all taught to read and write and this education would serve Parr Traill well financially and socially throughout the remainder of her life. At age thirty she married Thomas Traill and in that same year they embarked on a journey from the coast of Scotland for Canada, which would be their home for the rest of their lives. She had published poems and short books in England but Canada is where she would write her most famous pieces of literature, including, but not limited to, scientific articles in journals about the Canadian landscape and botany, as well as some books of fiction towards the end of her life[1].

The Backwoods of Canada was published in 1836, and is a "factual and scientific account for her first three years in the bush, a pragmatic and optimistic work stressing the kind of realistic detail that has become a tradition in Canadian literature"[2]. The book created in her time of settlement into the wildlife of Canada was Parr Traill's first piece sent over to England for publishing from her new home. Considering that it often took years to establish a homestead and life in Canada, the book is a guide to help those who were looking at emigrating to Canada like the Traills did. The book shows the work that had to be done in order to be able to survive in the backwoods, or 'the bush' and describes how the Traills were able to prosper there, which meant having an established homestead with a garden and ultimately a fine place to raise a family. The book was written early on in her life in Canada so there is only mention of what it is like as new settlers and not as completely successful, established emigrants.

Parr Traill begins the book at the very beginning of their journey to the new world. We hear briefly of the long trip by ship and how they arrived in Newfoundland. She describes a

---

[1] "Catharine Parr Traill, Chronology," Library and Archives Canada, 2001, accessed January 15, 2017, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/moodie-traill/027013-2202-e.html

[2] Besner, Neil, "The Backwoods of Canada," *Canadian Encyclopedia,* 2002, accessed January 15, 2017, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/backwoods-of-canada/

goldfinch on the boat and how its song was calming amongst the seasick, eager passengers on their way to create a new life for themselves and their families[3]. This is the first example of Parr Traill's interest in animals and nature, which is a large part of the book. Some scholars have considered the book, which is a collection of letters, as factually scientific and engaging the focus on the surrounding environment and ecological view greatly[4]. The start of the Traill's time in Canada included a lot of walking and finding someone who was able to navigate the land, as there were no maps available and few people who had been their long enough to be able to know their way along the almost non-existent roads and river ways that were used for transportation.

Author Carole Gerson describes the collection as being "the happy-camper version of Canadian pioneer experience"[5] and she is correct in saying that due to the fact that the letters, at least the compilation that were published as this book, never seem to dwell or even mention the hardships of Parr Traill's times in Canada. Their arrival south of Montreal proved hard for Parr Traill as she got sick with cholera and was quarantined, which she only mentions briefly in passing. This is the first instance where readers begin to understand the lack of personal details in the book. There is little said about the personal lives of the Traills other than their travel, surroundings, work, and later community. There is no mention of her pregnancy or childbirth, only letters suddenly indicating she now had children. She mentions little about financial or cultural deprivation and instead provides a positive outlook on even the most mundane tasks.

Though there is an optimistic point of view for the future throughout the book, there are still British influences in Catherine Parr Traill's perspective. When she first arrives in the bush, she expects to see little shanties or log houses along the river, but the barn like structures feel rude and displeasing to her. Reading it historically and understanding the amount of time it took to be able to clear land and build a log house, which was up to four years, readers understand that Parr Traill's expectations at first unrealistic and influenced by her life back in Britain and how she expects things to already be somewhat established. But, even though at first she does not seem to understand the work it will take, she quickly realizes that "a settler's wife should be active, industrious, ingenious, cheerful and she would maintain this maxim throughout the rest of her life"[6].

Even with the optimism this book can be read as quite bland in places. For instance, when she is describing the small towns that all are alike, or when she discusses the minute details of the Canadian winter, it is important to understand that this all gives clues as to what life was like for early Canadian settler's wives socially, economically and personally, though on a somewhat superficial level for Parr Traill. The cultural insights the text gives on early Canada during the time of settlement is important to take into account. An example is when Parr

---

[3] Traill, Catherine Parr, *The Backwoods of Canada,* (Toronto: New Canadian Library, 1989), 19.
[4] Kaufmann, Eric, ""Naturalizing the Nation": The Rise of Naturalistic Nationalism in the United States and Canada." *Comparative Studies in Society and History 40,* no. 4 (1998): 676.
[5] Gerson, Carole, "The Backwoods of Canada by Catharine Parr Traill (review)," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 69, no 1, (2000): 257.
[6] Gerson, Carole, "The Backwoods of Canada by Catharine Parr Traill (review)," 257.

Traill discusses the concepts of "working bees" in her later chapters and she and her husband establish a relationship with the other settlers around them. The working "bee" is a "vital and characteristic element of the nineteenth century rural Ontario" according to author Catherine Anne Wilson[7]. Wilson stresses that bees were about building neighbourhoods, friendships, and gave them all a sense of belonging in their newly colonized land. Families lived miles apart and often could not do all the work they needed to by themselves, so neighbours within twenty miles would come and work on clearing the land and building a log home[8]. There were often diverse backgrounds of the members of the bees[9] and sometimes they even included the native people, who were often integral parts of life in the bush.

Native people are mentioned throughout the letters by Parr Traill but she has a particularly Eurocentric view about them. She mentions how well "the Indians" are able to "use a long bow"[10], or how they are "very successful in their duck-shooting"[11] which indicates her view of them is solely about how they are able to work with the land. The idea of 'the noble savage' and the prejudice against them is evident in the way Parr Traill seems to believe she is superior to them and that *they* need to learn from *her* and not the other way around. When studying Canadian history, the reader understands that if she had learned from them, life could have been simpler in the backwoods. She does not, in any of her letters, seem to mention learning their language but finds it amusing when a woman approaches her for a washing basin and cannot communicate 'properly'[12]. Sometime in the spring of 1834, Parr Traill travels to a feast with the native people and describes two girls in the wigwam, one of which was "though lively and rather pretty […], had more of the squaw in face and figure"[13]. There is an obvious sort of discrimination towards the native peoples. Though her views seem quite controversial now, they teach about the culture within which they were produced. English ideals continued to penetrate Parr Traill's ideologies, but her audience assumingly had the same perspective as her so it was not necessarily thought of as offensive by her readers.

There is also a specifically ecological reading of the book as Parr Traill "looked at the natural landscape for inspiration"[14] and her vivid descriptions were the beginning of categorizing and scientifically cataloguing, which had never before been done in Canada. With naturalist books came a sense of geographic national pride, which stressed the advancement of civilization against the unknown, vast backwoods[15]. The idea of taming the wild landscape is a literary subject that many wrote about during the settlement of Canada, since nature was all that was there when they first arrived. Often settlers would treat nature as something that

---

[7] Wilson, Catharine Anne, "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood," *The Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 3 (2001): 432.

[8] Class Lecture Notes, January 11th, 2017.

[9] Traill, Catherine Parr, *The Backwoods of Canada,* 163.

[10] Traill, Catherine Parr, *The Backwoods of Canada,* 148.

[11] Traill, Catherine Parr, *The Backwoods of Canada,* 146.

[12] Traill, Catherine Parr, *The Backwoods of Canada,* 147.

[13] Traill, Catherine Parr, *The Backwoods of Canada,* 189.

[14] Kaufmann, Eric, Naturalizing the Nation, 672.

[15] Kaufmann, Eric, Naturalizing the Nation, 680

needed to be overcome, and this is a factor of *The Backwoods of Canada*. With the view that nature was something uncivilized needing to receive reason and order, through settlement and establishing homesteads, there arose simultaneously a newfound appreciation for nature[16]. In 1834, after having been there for just over two years, Parr Traill describes the Canadian winter and how she "was delighted by the effect produced by the frost. The earth, the trees, every stick, dried leaf, and stone in my path was glittering with mimic diamonds, as if touched by some magical power […]"[17]. Though there are black and white sketches included in the book, her words work at painting their own picture of the landscape and seasons of Canada in a beautiful was, as well as give catalogue of the specific species and environment she sees.

Her sister, and fellow author, Susanna Moodie emigrated to Canada as well, and since they and their other siblings were separated by both work and travel, letters were Parr Traill's way of maintaining family ties with those whom she valued most. Traill lived in the bush for over sixty years and *The Backwoods of Canada* is a collection of letters sent back to England to her siblings and two closest friends Frances Stewart and Ellen Dunlop[18]. The book includes accounts of her life in the bush as well as served as a sort of guide for those considering moving to Canada from England.

Her writing was sent to England and published there as a recorded way to "reassure British families of emigrants as well as those contemplating emigration"[19] that settlement was possible and certainly enjoyable. It was common for those who emigrated to write back home about their lives and daily experiences to be used as a sort of propaganda to get people to emigrate to the new colonies. The uplifting writing Catherine Parr Traill created is an enticing picture for those who may have been afraid of the Canadian winters. She advocates for the newfound freedom of class, with no differentiation between upper, middle, or lower class people, though they have to worry about the "Indians". They all worked and "took to the axe"[20] in order to survive and even thrive in the bush no matter the position they came from before emigrating.

Her audience were those who were either interested in learning about the new world or those who wanted to know how life would be if they put themselves in a similar position as her. It was popular among the people in England and sold many editions[21]. The Canadian Encyclopedia describes *The Backwoods of Canada* as a "vivid in natural description, [giving] a portrait of a persevering, buoyant and resourceful woman adapting to a new life and place, and an encyclopedic cataloguing of the details of details of her new surroundings"[22]. This is

---

[16] Kaufmann, Eric, Naturalizing the Nation, 669.

[17] Traill, Catherine Parr, *The Backwoods of Canada,* 182.

[18] "Catharine Parr Traill, Life in Canada," Library and Archives Canada, 2001, accessed January 15, 2017, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/moodie-traill/027013-2200-e.html

[19] Gerson, Carole, "The Backwoods of Canada by Catharine Parr Traill (review)," 257.

[20] Traill, Catherine Parr, *The Backwoods of Canada,* 238

[21] Bentley, DMR, Afterword. *The Backwoods of Canada* by Catharine Parr Traill, Toronto, New Canada Library, (1989), 323.

[22] Besner, Neil, "The Backwoods of Canada," *Canadian Encyclopedia.*

particularly important because Parr Traill's writing can be viewed as being popular in and contributing to both literary culture and scientific research in early Canada. As writers in Upper and Lower Canada began to celebrate the hostile landscape more and more, Parr Traill's account of flora and fauna contributed to the dialogue between English settlers and the surrounding of a new land.

Literary theorist D.M.R. Bentley also suggests *The Backwoods of Canada* can be read as "a fable about the emergence of self and a society that are distinctly and recognizably Canadian"[23]. There was an opportunity to create a national identity through literature and both Parr Traill and her sister Susanna Moodie did just that. Though the book was not the first Canadian book, it is respected in multiple fields for helping the readers understand art, nature, work ethic, community and the importance of self-sufficiency, which all lead to a better understanding of an exclusively Canadian culture. Qualities like industry, utility, patience, self-denial, hope, and independence play a key role in the letters written by Parr Traill. They enticed the readers of her day to move to a new place where nothing was certain and hope was sometimes all that kept them going. *The Backwoods of Canada* was popular because it was one of the first instances of explicitly Canadian content, which made it interesting and influential even in today's society and studies of Canadian popular culture.

Bibliography

Bentley, DMR, Afterword. *The Backwoods of Canada* by Catharine Parr Traill, Toronto, New Canada Library, 1989, 317-328. Print.

Besner, Neil, "The Backwoods of Canada," *Canadian Encyclopedia,* 2002, accessed January 15, 2017, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/backwoods-of-canada/

"Catharine Parr Traill, Chronology," Library and Archives Canada, 2001, accessed January 15, 2017, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/moodie-traill/027013-2202-e.html

Gerson, Carole, "The Backwoods of Canada by Catharine Parr Traill (review)," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 69, no 1, 2000: 257. Accessed January 25, 2017 http://muse.jhu.edu. ezproxy.acsmc.talonline.ca/article/516727/pdf

Kaufmann, Eric. ""Naturalizing the Nation": The Rise of Naturalistic Nationalism in the United States and Canada." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 4, 1998: 666-95. Accessed January 25, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/179306.

Traill, Catherine Parr, *The Backwoods of Canada,* Toronto: New Canadian Library, 1989, print.

Wilson, Catharine Anne, "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood," *The Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 3 2001: 431-464 Accessed January 25, 2017, http:// muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.acsmc.talonline.ca/article/590764/pdf

---

[23] Bentley, DMR, Afterword, 317.

The Chosen Kings: A Club With an Exclusive Membership

Emma Usselman

❧ **The scenes of** *Macbeth* are riddled with supernatural occurrences and the dark deeds of murder. A morbid theme of death and power runs throughout the play, manifesting itself in the display of dead bodies upon the stage, the appearance of their ghosts soon following. For the purposes of this paper, the term "display" takes on the meaning of an object being present within the scenes, whether it is physically on-stage or merely present through dialogue. More often than not, the bodies displayed share a firm connection to the Scottish throne – with the exceptions being Lady Macduff and her children. Thus, every time a body appears, a shift in power becomes imminent; the bodies become a physical representation of the transition of power and authority the person who arranged their death. This overt conquest of the throne of Scotland through physical force *could* lead to the assumption that the King is merely a man with the strongest weapons and greatest strength. However, the doctrine of the divine right of kings does not allow for such a barbaric grab of power, and its rejection of any attempt to usurp the throne is shown through the appearance of the ghosts in the play. By being present in the scenes, the ghosts are questioning the idea of "might over right," becoming a spiritual manifestation of the divine right of kings to demonstrate the perseverance of spirit within the divinely-chosen monarchical bloodline. Although the physical bodies on-stage reveal the fragility of all humankind, including kings, the presence of the ghosts assures the audience of the fortitude of the king's spirit. The bodies of the kings may be weak, but their souls are not. The fallen bodies of nobility may lead to a transition of power, but the continued existence of Duncan and Banquo after their deaths act, is not just as a sign of God's will and power, but of the justness and righteousness of their rule.

The providential mode of history of the divine right of kings was supported by James I, the reigning monarch during the creation of Macbeth. He was one of the first monarchs to develop a systematic defense of absolute royal authority. He did so by declaring that the true grounds of monarchical power was derived from God alone, not the Pope or his people. Thus, James believed that a king had no responsibility to kowtow to his subjects or the Papacy, and was able to exercise his power in whichever way he saw fit (Greenleaf 44). One way in which he developed his arguments was through the treatise *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* in 1598, which he wrote to substantiate his arguments and to validate the divine right of kings and, thus, validate his own kingship (Orr 137). Moreover, he declared the monarchy to be the highest and most natural form of polity, for "a king is preferred by God aboue [*sic*] all other ranks and degrees of men" (44). James truly believed that the king was the head of the body politic and that his power came only from God. In his 1609 speech, he proclaimed:

> The State of MONARCHIE is the supremest thing vpon earth: For Kings are not onely GODS Lieutenants vpon earth, and sit vpon GODS throne, but euen by God himselfe they are called Gods. There bee three principall similitudes that illustrates the state of MONARCHIE… In the Scriptures Kings are called Gods, and so their power after a certaine relation compared to the Diuine power. (45)

An unshakable belief in absolute divine power enveloped James' ethos. He dreamed of a monarchy "unfettered by the useless and often harmful political and legal institutions demanded by over-mighty subjects" (97). He cultivated his beliefs over time, developing them throughout his treaties and speeches in a methodical and organized approach. In *The Remonstrance for the Right of Kings,* James declared that subjects had no right to resist the will of the head, nor have any authority to remove it even if it held "the deadly poyson of tyrannie" (Greenleaf 45). For him, not even violent tyranny was a good enough reason to go against the will of God; thus, even a tyrant had to be obeyed. James' belief is largely contradicted within the lines of *Macbeth,* the primary actions of which are episodes of regicide and rebellion. Perhaps, however, reconciliation between James I and the play can be found in the argument that the opposition to the tyrant Macbeth occurred only due to his own act of regicide, thus gaining the throne through unsavoury and unholy means. Whether James would have approved of Macbeth's literal and symbolic decapitation – the physical removal of the current head of the body politic – is uncertain.

Although it was not a primary concern to James, there appears to be an inherent contradiction in the idea that the divine will of God can reside inside the mortal body of a mere man. The fragility of a human body is subjected to the whims of nature, whether it be from the sharpened edge of a sword or the burning fever of an infection. How, then, can a king truly be the vessel of God's authority? Benjamin Parris states that the king was believed to possess not only a natural body common to all humans, but also a mystical "superbody" that "perpetuates the life of the state and lends an aura of divine perfection to the sovereign" (Parris 101). Most importantly, there was a concept generated during Queen Elizabeth's reign that, when a person became the reigning monarch, their "body natural…was suddenly and irrevocably transformed by its incorporation of the body politic" (106). Thus, when the physical body of the monarch expired, the essence of the body politic was immediately reinvested within the body natural of the new sovereign. This process, labeled *Demise Le Roy,* marked a distinct difference between the natural inheritance of primogeniture and the royal rights of succession (106-107). This is also a process we see occur in *Macbeth.* In Act 2, Scene 2, after the bloody murder of Duncan has been committed, Macbeth is *not* filled with the will of God. Instead, he seems to shrink in on himself, ruminating upon his deeds and declaring it to be "a sorry sight" (2.2.23). Indeed, it is Malcom, who that very night had been named the Heir Apparent to his father's throne, who has the body politic settle within him. In the immediate aftermath of the king's murder, the very first words heard from him is: "God bless us!" (2.2.29), and "Amen" (2.2.29) echoed from his brother. It is clear, both from his bloodline and his eventual triumph over the tyrant Macbeth, that God has chosen Malcom to sit upon the throne of Scotland. Even his seemingly cowardly actions of fleeing the country show the good sense and rational thinking required from an astute king. In contrast, when Macbeth ought to have been glorying in his imminent, divinely filled kingship, he could not pronounce a simple amen. To his wife, Macbeth confesses

that when he "had most need of blessing…Amen / Stuck in my throat." (2.2.34-35). After this confession, his mental integrity only continues to deteriorate throughout the rest of the scene, fixating upon the disembodied calls that announced his crimes to the world. He confesses to Lady Macbeth that "Methought I heard a voice cry, "Sleep no more! / Macbeth does murder sleep"" (2.2.38-39). Macbeth's words grow increasingly desperate and frantic throughout the rest of the scene, the more he expounds upon the terrible words that assaulted his ears, the less coherent he becomes. These are neither the actions nor the words of a man filled with God's will.

　　　Despite the absence of Duncan's body on the stage, the vivid description given by Macbeth, the words spoken Macduff, and the appearance of the bloody daggers say more than a physical body ever could, declaring to the audience the act of heinous regicide that has just taken place. Moreover, in defending his rash temper and slaughter of the servants, Macbeth tells us that:

> Th'expedition of my violent love
>
> Outran the pauser, reason. Here lay Duncan,
>
> His silver skin laced with his golden blood,
>
> And his gashed stabs looked like a breach in nature
>
> For ruin's wasteful entrance; there the murderers,
>
> Steeped in the colours of their trade, their daggers
>
> Unmannerly breeched with gore. (2.3.107-112)

The words are fraught with rich imagery, the metallic sheen of skin and blood reminiscent of the riches Duncan's station possesses. Duncan's very being seems to be composed of the wealth of the kingdom, the wounds rendered upon it considered to be a crime against nature, God, and the kingdom. The daggers, as well, are not just tools of regicide – they are symbolic of the frailty of the human body. They demonstrate the weakness of the flesh, and its susceptibility to mortal death. All it takes is one well-placed blow to be undone, no matter your station in life or however full your purse spills over. Additionally, not only does a dagger appear before Macbeth as he contemplates committing the murder of his king, its very appearance causing him to draw his *own dagger*. It also foreshadows the blood that will soon mar the blade and "dudgeon" (2.1.46); even in a vision, the dagger is not free from the blood it will spill – they are forever twined together. The daggers' appearance on stage are as important as the words of the characters, their bloody blades acting as a visual reminder of the actions they have just performed. Every red stain is a representation of the royal blood that has been spilled and the upset of the natural order. Its steel has cut through royal flesh, freeing the body politic residing within it and causing it to move on to its next intended host. Moreover, by taking the blades from Macbeth, Lady Macbeth takes the (now shared) burden of the murder into her own hands. She becomes physically stained with the blood on the blades as she uses them to mark the servants as suspects. The daggers are an instrument of murder, and whoever handles them with malicious intent becomes marked with their unholy deed; it could even be said that whoever is tainted by the blood of the murdered king is fated to die, their life doomed the

moment the sanctified liquid touched their skin. The servants especially, who had their "hands and faces…badged with blood; / So were their daggers, which unwiped [were] found / upon their pillows" (2.3.99-101), were delivered a swift death at the hands of Macbeth. The daggers are not just an deadly instrument – they are a harbinger of death.

Another crucial element further emphasizing the significance of Duncan's dead body is Macduff's reaction when he first emerges from the murder scene. His words are essential in cementing the claim of the divine right of kings, and, indeed, are the introduction to the providential model within the play. When he first exits the chambers of Duncan, Macduff can only call out "Oh, horror, horror, horror! / Tongue nor heart cannot conceive nor name thee!" (2.3.58-59). The scene inside is so horrible that words have literally failed him. When questioned about his meaning, all he can utter is:

Confusion now hath made his masterpiece!

Most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope

The Lord's anointed temple and stole thence

The life o'th' building! (2.3.61-63).

With this, the audience learns that Macduff not only considers his king's death a tragedy, but that he also views it as a sacrilegious act against God, destroying his divinely-chosen "temple." Macbeth, revealingly, does not understand Macduff's meaning, asking him "What is't you say? The life?" (2.3.64), and only demonstrates understanding once Lennox expounds upon it for him. He may have been withholding his true understanding from his companions for appearance's sake, so as to not rouse suspicious, but the lack of comprehension that the king's body is a vessel of God's power is extremely revealing of his understanding of kingship and power. However, later in the scene, Macbeth does say "[r]enown and grace is dead. / The wine of life is drawn" (2.391-92), an extremely vivid reference of Christ. Only a few lines later, he declares to Malcolm and Donaldbain that "[t]he spring, the head, the fountain of your blood / Is stopped, the very source of it is stopped" (2.3.95-96). The visual depiction of Duncan as a source of power and lifeblood, and as a "head" fits in perfectly with the doctrine of divine right. Perhaps, then, Macbeth does understand the concept of a divinely-chosen king, and believed that the prophesy delivered by the witches was a sign that he was meant to be the next king. This idea, however, does not coincide with the copious amount of guilt and doubt he experienced in the moments leading up to Duncan's murder, nor his unshakable faith in the words of the witches – notorious agents of the Devil.

The next display of the divine right of kings occurs in Act 4, Scene 1 with the parade of all eight kings of Scotland, the recently deceased Banquo being the last. Macbeth, upon demanding the witches reveal how they knew he would attain his coveted ranks, witnesses the appearance of the ghosts. Although multiple spirits appear before him, each delivering various prophesies of his doom, no ghosts reveal more of his fate than the procession of the divinely chosen kings. The witches call the dead kings to "[s]how his eyes, and grieve his heart" (4.1.109), a feat they accomplish only with their presence. The spirit of Banquo, especially, wearing a crown upon his head just as those who walk before him do, assaults Macbeth's sight.

Even more significant is the mirror that Banquo carries with him, within which Macbeth can see many more kings to come, some which hold "two-fold balls and treble scepters" (4.1.120) – a reference to James I's coronation and present kingship. This procession reveals to Macbeth that, not only does the spirit of Duncan still persist beyond his murder, the kings will never allow Macbeth to join their ranks. Even Banquo, who was never once crowned king, nor did he aspire to the title, is part of their "club" by the right of his future bloodline. Macbeth, it seems, is a mere blip on Scottish dynasty, an obstacle that the next true king must overcome in order to claim his rightful place upon the throne, eventually joining his forbearers in the spiritual afterlife. The bodies of these Scottish kings may have been fragile, succumbing to the eventual decay of death, but their divinely-chosen spirits remain strong and present even after their deaths. These kingly ghosts are merely a manifestation of the fortitude and strength of their royal spirit.

Beyond the ghosts acting as a manifestation of God's will, there is another, more material reason for their appearance. Huston Diehl writes that, to the men of the Christian Renaissance, the physical world was considered to be darkened, illusory, and treacherous (Diehl 192-193). People based all their knowledge upon resemblances and, thus, found correspondences between the physical objects of their world and that of moral and spiritual concepts (191). They believed that the visual served as signs of abstract truth. Consequently, seeing, essentially, became a moral act (191). Even Christian Neoplatonists and Protestant reformers united in the belief that God used "visible things as signs of divine truth, representations of what cannot be seen" (191-192). An example of this can be found with Henry Estienne, who asserted that "men have within their soules…some Symboles and marks of his Divinity, which God imprints in us" (192). This mark of divinity within the kings is a sign of their divine right, thus allowing them to appear as ghosts before the audience and demonstrating their moral power. The sight of these ghosts may have reinforced within the audience a strong sense of moral rightness and belief in the righteousness of their current monarch. Macbeth, who sees the ghosts with his own eyes, has "lost the capacity to connect images to what is ethical, to what is beyond his own desires. Unable to interpret images correctly, Macbeth sees in them what he wants to see" (Diehl 197). Macbeth is unable to see what is right in front of his eyes; he does not understand that within a king there resides a mark of God, declaring his absolute authority over all his subjects. Instead, he only sees a vision of power, a vision not even a procession of ghosts is able to dissipate. This disillusion, in conjunction with the ruthless will of God, leads to his inevitable downfall as the usurper King of Scotland.

This concept of vision being connected to morality can further explain the lack of physical bodies on the stage beyond that of Macbeth's decapitated head. Beyond the practical limitations of staging, it can be argued that Shakespeare would not have wanted his audience associating these murders with any sort of moral or ethical truth. Only the display of the usurper's fallen body is allowed by the script. Thus, the decapitation becomes connected to the truth that only those who have been *chosen* by God may sit upon the throne. However, in his essay "Levinas and *Macbeth's* 'Strange Images of Death,' Jeremy Tambling offers another reason for the lack of bodies, arguing that the reason so few dead bodies are displayed is because "the corpse on stage cannot suggest the horror that would be in reality" (Tambling 359). Certainly, Macbeth's description of Duncan is more poetic and vivid than any stage makeup would have

been. There is, however, yet another explanation for the lack of physical bodies: the bodies represented a power shift within the play, and it was necessary to limit how many power shifts could occurring over the duration of the acts. The first shift occurs with Duncan's body and those of his servants, their deaths causing the birth of a new era with an unholy king taking control of the kingdom. It is a time filled with uncertainty and suspicion, the vacuum of power being filled by Macbeth when the only other option (Malcolm) flees the country. The second power shift occurs with the deaths of Banquo, Lady Macduff, and her children. Here, it becomes obvious that Macbeth's grip on the throne – and on his sanity – is beginning to slip. Macbeth can no longer be considered a viable king; instead, he has become a tyrant. These deaths lead to the beginnings of a rebellion, his subjects congregating in England to prepare for the deposing of Macbeth. The final power shift occurs with the deaths of the Macbeths themselves. The first and only physical body appears on-stage in the form of Macbeth's decapitated head, the cause of the most significant and necessary power shift. However, the body is not *just* present on the stage, it is being literally flourished by Macduff in conjunction with his salutation to Malcolm:

> Hair, King, for so thou art. Behold where stands
>
> Th'usurper's curséd head. Time is free.
>
> I see thee compassed with they kingdom's pearl,
>
> That speak my salutation in their minds,
>
> Whose voices I desire aloud with mine:
>
> Hail, King of Scotland! (5.5.84-89).

Macduff's words simultaneously announce the end of Macbeth's tyranny and the dawn of Malcolm's divinely sanctioned rule. Macbeth's head is a gruesome image, far more grisly than the appearance of any ghost (the exception being, perhaps, Banquo's bloody ghost in Act 3, Scene 4). With the bodies remaining offstage, the figures are allowed to retain some of their dignity and beauty. Duncan is described in poetic terms of richness and majesty, Macbeth is forced to shed his kingly image for that of a bloody traitor. Any image of kingship he may have retained after death is banished the moment his head is severed from his body and paraded around the stage by his enemies. He is reduced to a "dead butcher" (5.7.99) and tyrant, all vestiges of glory removed. Macbeth has been declared a king-killer and usurper and will be remembered by his enemies as such.

The display of bodies within *Macbeth* have many nuanced meanings. The appearance of the physical bodies on-stage not only forewarn imminent shifts in power, they also reveal the fragility of humankind. No one, not even kings, are impervious to mortality and the weakness of the flesh. The redeeming quality of monarchs, however, lies within their spirits. The divinely-chosen remain present after death, the strength of their souls so resilient that not even death can remove them from the mortal coil. The appearance of the ghosts within the play are a reminder of this, and of the divine right of kings. Only God has the power to choose who will sit upon the throne, and any attempt to usurp it will be met with the wrath of God. This is a lesson Macbeth pays for with his life.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Shakespeare, William. *Macbeth*. Gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt. 3rd ed. Vol. II. New York: Norton, 2016.1005-1069. Print.

Secondary Sources

Campana, Joseph. "The Child's Two Bodies: Shakespeare, Sovereignty, and the End of Succession." *ELH*. 81.3 (2014): 811-839.

Cox, John D. "Religion and suffering in Macbeth." *Christianity and Literature*. 62.2 (2013): 225 240

Diehl, Huston. "Horrid Image, Sorry Sight, Fatal Vision: The Visual Rhetoric of "Macbeth." *Shakespeare Studies*. 16 (1983): 191-203

Greenleaf, W. H. "James I and the Divine Right of Kings." *Political Studies*. 5.1 (1957): 36-38.

Hadfield, Andrew. "James VI and I, George Buchanan and the Divine Right of Kings." *Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 86: Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*. Ed. Tobias Doring and Susanne Rupp. Amsterdam, NL: Rodopi, 2005. Print.

Lowrance, B. ""Modern Ecstasy": *Macbeth* and the Meaning of the Political." *ELH*. 79.4 (2012): 823-849

Orr, D. Alan. "'God's hangman': James VI, the divine right of kings, and the Devil." *Reformation & Renaissance Review*. 18.2 (2016): 137-154.

Parris, Benjamin. ""The Body is with the King, but the King is Not with the Body": Sovereign Sleep in Hamlet and Macbeth." *Shakespeare Studies* 40 (2012): 101-142

Tambling, Jeremy. "Levinas and *Macbeth's* 'Strange Images of Death.'" *Essays in Criticism*. 54.4 (2004): 351-372

Contributors

Timothy David Collard is a History major and Philosophy minor at St. Mary's University. His areas of study include medieval and early modern Europe, with a focus on England. He is also interested in existentialism, post-modernism, and the role of myth and memory in history.

Darren Crawley. I was born in England but have lived in the Calgary area for most of my life. I studied art at the Alberta College of Art and Design but found that I was spending more time in the library not only studying art history but also medieval and ancient history. Prior to that I studied at the Royal Conservatory of Music at Mount Royal University. I developed a more diverse interest in global and multicultural history and so decided to pursue my historical studies at St Mary's University. From 2013 to 2018 I have greatly enjoyed volunteering as a tutor working with grade two students helping them to progress with their reading skills and at the same time encourage enthusiasm for reading while building their self-confidence. I have recently been accepted to the Bachelor of Education program at St Mary's and my intention is to hopefully continue my education at St Mary's University after graduating in spring 2018 with a Bachelor of Arts with a concentration in history.

Chelsea Gimson completed her fifth year at St. Mary's and graduated with a major in Biology and minor in Psychology. She has always been passionate about art, nature, and animals. This essay allowed her to research the conditions of [nonhuman] animals in captivity and increased her desire to seek improvement in their lives.

Emily Grant chose to attend St. Mary's to pursue a Bachelor of Arts degree after spending several years traveling and living abroad. She became fascinated with the "how's" and "why's" of different cultures. With a keen interest in History and Catholic studies, (particularly when the two topics collide in late antiquity and the middle ages), Emily hope's that her time at St. Mary's will help answer some of the questions that have perplexed her about how cultures develop.

Steven Defehr graduated in June 2017 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in English and a minor in Family Studies. Entering University as a mature student Steven initially enrolled in the General Studies program with the goal of becoming a teacher. However, after his third semester at St. Mary's he realised that reading and writing are his strengths so he made the switch to the English program. Steven's goal remains to become a teacher and he has been accepted to the University of Calgary After Degree program for education. Steven plans to teach high school English and is very excited to pass on all he has learned from the professors at St. Mary's. Steven considers himself a very versatile student of literature, though he gravitates to 19th century English and 20th century American literature when he is given a choice. Steven's capstone project, on Kurt Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse-Five reflects his love of American literature, but also his enjoyment of darker humor.

My name is **Kaitlyn Hladik** and I am a born and raised Calgarian attending St. Mary's University to become an elementary school teacher in the future. I hold a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in English and a minor in Visual Arts from the University of Calgary.

Dan Huard was born in Vancouver, and raised in Calgary. He has graduated with a diploma in Environmental Monitoring and Protection, and is currently pursuing two of his other passions, history and education.

Amy Johnson. I am working towards completion of my undergraduate degree; a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology. During my time at St. Mary's University I have developed an interest in studying adolescents and their development. I enjoy being a peer mentor at the University and volunteering at the high school in my home town.

Kristine Lehew. Old documents, artifacts and stories have always been a passion in Kristine's life and is constantly drawn to learning about people who came before her. Kristine is a History Major with an interest in modern and religious history. She plans to enter the Masters of Archival program at the University of Manitoba in 2018.

My name is **Devin O'Brien**. I am the very first graduate from the History 4-year programme in June 2016. I have a double minor in Theology and Sociology. I love all inquiries into history, but ancient history has always been my main point of interest. History, Theology, and Philosophy are irrevocably intertwined with one another because history offers a look towards the human experience, and humans have done both wonderfully incredible, and disastrously awful things, all based on the individual's experience of the world. I am currently in the Education programme at St. Mary's University – Graduation year: 2018.

My name is **Delaney O'Flaherty**. I am a second-year student, pursuing an English degree with a History minor. I intend to continue into the Teaching program as soon as I complete my degree. I enjoy reading and writing, and my time at St. Mary's has extremely benefited my writing skills.

Emily Pynoo is in her final semester of a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Psychology and a minor in Family Studies. Following her time at St. Mary's, she hopes to pursue graduate studies in psychology. Her passion lies in developing preventative and rehabilitative programs to work with incarcerated and at-risk youth across Canada.

Jason Sprinkhuysen. Originally from Calgary, I am currently a fulltime student in the Liberal Studies program at St. Mary's University. Prior to studying at St. Mary's I received a bachelor's degree in philosophy at the Pontifical Athenaeum Regina Apostolorum in Rome, where I studied for three years.

Barbara Telford. I am a mother to one fabulous beagle puppy and four children. This year I also became a grandma to a sweet little boy. I'm a little older than the average university student and so excited to have come to a place in my life where I am able to achieve a longtime personal goal of pursuing an education.

Gillian Toone. "I love it when English literature and History come together!" Gillian is a fourth-year student pursuing her English degree with a minor in History. She hopes to one day become a teacher and help students much like her teachers have helped her throughout her life.

Emma Usselman is in the fourth year of her Bachelor of English. She has spent her years at St. Mary's University exploring nearly every English, History and Classical course they have to offer. In doing so, she has only fallen more and more in love with the literature of the past.

The Attic
The St. Mary's University Journal of Undergraduate Papers

Notes

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

ℰ **St. Mary's University** is a student-focused liberal arts and sciences teaching and research institution. In the Catholic tradition through the synthesis of faith and reason, St. Mary's University invites and challenges all students to become compassionate, thoughtful, and resourceful members of society.

Freedom of inquiry and freedom of expression define St. Mary's University. The rights and obligations of academic freedom derive from the nature of academic life, and are consistent with St. Mary's objectives as a community of scholars that pursues the highest academic standards; promotes intellectual and spiritual growth; recognizes ethical and moral implications both of methods and discoveries; and maintains respect for the inherent dignity of individuals as persons.

ST MARY'S
UNIVERSITY