



THE ATTIC
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CAPSTONE EDITION 2022

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Editor's Note

This special edition of *The Attic* is a collection of the inspiring academic work of St. Mary's students' 2020 and 2021 capstone projects. In the years prior to the Covid-19 outbreak, students have had the pleasure of presenting their work at a conference held at the university. However, due to the pandemic the 2020 capstone class was not able to have a conference, and the class of 2021 adjusted to the world of online academia and held a video conference.

This collection of essays is a way in which the hard work of our students can be acknowledged and celebrated. It was a such a pleasure to read through these essays and see the interest and dedication that each student put into their projects. The passion for their subjects is admirable.

I would love to extend a thank you to the committed editors on this project that worked tirelessly on this book: Artemis Baker, Ashley Menard and Kyrie Bouscal. Without their help book would not have been possible. Another big thank you to Jackie Bourgaize for her patience and beautiful design work for our book. Thank you to my supervisor Dr. Jocelyn Williams for answering all my questions and for your support and trust during this project.

Cheyenne Fordham

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ENGLISH

KYRIE BOUSCAL

Sustaining Truth in Art and Culture: Palimpsestic Records Against Empty Silence in Madeleine Thien's Do Not Say We Have Nothing

Madeleine Thien artfully offers her readers the opportunity to understand the healing power of accessing art and culture in record keeping by exploring the importance of individual experience in history. She says “but I saw, too, that the internet was a series of doors: all I had to do was create the door she could open” (198), and Thien uses her cross-generational novel *Do Not Say We Have Nothing* to provide her readers with a series of doors that they can open to take them back in time. This account of historical fiction is permanent and unchanging. It contains layers of time that Thien allows her readers to move freely between without cancelling anything out; the time periods coexist in a series of pages that readers can flip back and forth through. Each historical interval represents a wall, and Thien uses the personal stories of the characters as records of another time; these stories allow readers to open doors that expose more walls with more doors. Thien brings the individual emotion, values, and personality to the layers of history in order to enable her readers to journey through history in a way that goes deeper than just observing facts. Thus, Thien engages each individual reader so that they become an active participant in the creation of an ever changing narrative, enabling restorative contemplation.

Literary theory has another metaphor for this healing journey: palimpsest. A palimpsest is literally a manuscript that has been effaced, and new text has been placed on top. Sarah Dillon states that the original text was often not fully removed, and so the manuscript became “a multi-layered text of heterogeneous origins” (252). In the creation of a palimpsest, the original writing is as important as the rewriting that takes place because both elements remain in the final document. Thien is writing a palimpsest narrative in which she initially presents readers with the top layer of the manuscript and as the storylines emerge, the previous layers

become visible. Since truth is layered, Thien suggests that looking at history from this angle is how readers can come to heal through an awareness of truth and shared experience that becomes tied to them through memory that is not their own. Bruce St. Thomas and Paul Johnson talk about healing through art in their book *Empowering Children Through Art and Expression: Culturally Sensitive Ways of Healing Trauma and Grief*:

[the] initial content of trauma and resulting fears and anxieties need to be symbolically and experientially released over and over again until they can be let go of...It becomes necessary to replay certain aspects of the grief process until such a time occurs when either the content can shift or the process itself can end. (122)

A palimpsest may present the challenge of uncovering the previous layers without damaging the equally important top layer. Record keeping and copying can eliminate this challenge because if the previous layers are on record, they can be accessed in their original state while one version remains a part of the palimpsest once it is covered up. The purpose of this study is to contemplate how palimpsests sustain art and culture in opposition to the erasure in Chinese politics in order to prove that books like Thien's are influential transnational records against empty silence: that which enables erasure rather than contemplative healing.

Do Not Say We Have Nothing represents this style of intimate and relational record keeping and within Thien's novel, the material product of such record keeping is called the Book of Records. The Book of Records is first described as a "notebook...[with] a loose binding of walnut-coloured cotton string" (7). It is essentially a manuscript that generations of people have been preserving by hiding portions of it or gifting chapters to other family members. The Book of Records contains a version of history that is not public, censored, or manipulated. The Book of Records is not necessarily sequential and will never have a starting or an ending point; it is a series of chapters, and some people add their own "codes" to it. The novel *Do Not Say We Have Nothing* is Ma-li's version of the Book of Records as she is the frame narrator. In an interview, Thien describes her novel as "a book with no beginning, no middle and no end...I know now that no path is solitary, we all tread across other people's beginnings and ends" (Claire Armitstead). Readers should not attempt to complete the story, but rather inherit the passed down narrative details. One of the characters in the novel says "it's foolhardy to think that a story ends. There are as many possible endings as beginnings" (Thien, *Do Not Say* 458) and this is a reminder that truth is layered; a responsible approach to history digs deeper than the top layer.

While the mode of record keeping in the Book of Records allows readers to uncover the simultaneous expression of various layers of history, there is a level of erasure that can be present in a traditional palimpsest painting that is reflected in Chinese political history. Richard Galpin writes that the act of erasing the previously

present material is intentional; it is an act of undoing the writing, which in itself “create[s] a different relationship between the text and the viewer.” Complete erasure enables destructive censorship that forces silencing rather than renewal; the act of writing over history in Mao’s China was definitely intentional, with the goal being a denial or outright repression of past facts and tradition. While the state did not fully succeed in the erasure of tradition and historical records, the erasure of mistakes, successes, doubts, decisions and memories remains frightening because the results of these elements of history have lasting effects; with the intentions of decisions “dissolved by history” (Thien, *Do Not Say* 424), what remains is only a concerning list of outcomes. With erasure comes a loss of knowledge that could have led to understanding: erasure can be an active promotion of silence. There are three layers of 20th century Chinese history that need to be explored in order to understand how Thien writes about the damaging impact of writing over history.

The first layer revolves around the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962), and the most significant characters in this storyline are cousins Sparrow and Zhuli. In 1949, Mao Zedong was the leader of China’s Communist Party (CCP), which was the single ruling party in the People’s Republic of China at the time (James Townsend and Brantly Womack 29). The CCP claimed to be the People’s Democratic Dictatorship, but there was ultimately only one choice that every vote fed into (161). Thien reflects on this form of government, reminding readers that “a society that speaks with only one voice is not a stable society” (*Do Not Say* 380). One year later, Mao adopted the Soviet model of industrialization, which involved centralized planning and collectivization of agriculture (George Jan 454). Mao finally rejected this model in 1958, and this launched the campaign called the Great Leap Forward. Mao’s intention was to industrialize the countryside for production, but a lack of experience among workers resulted in poor production and starvation, with purges of non-supporters (Maurice Meisner 198). Mao’s ideas of “permanent revolution” were proving to be ineffective; somewhere between 18 and 45 million people died as Mao refused foreign aid for his people (192). This tragedy most significantly impacts Sparrow’s student Kai as the death of his family influences his decision to conform with the regime.

The second layer revolves around the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) and involves Sparrow as the teacher of the teenaged Zhuli and Kai. Mao once again decided that anything tied to capitalism must be eradicated through violent class struggle (Townsend and Womack 198). He was influenced by intellectuals who rejected traditional Chinese culture, instead valuing the impact of individual decisions on the progression of history (Meisner 295). Mao became dedicated to the “ideological remodeling and the emphasis on thought reform” (295-6) of all people, attempting to violently write over tradition with strictly socialist devotions. Mao forced children into the Red Guards, who denounced their teachers, employers and parents in an effort to erase culture and tradition by destroying buildings, instruments, and art (Thien, “After”). The Shanghai Conservatory of Music,

which Sparrow taught at, was a significant target. The death toll for the Cultural Revolution was 2 million, but new archives are still being discovered (Meisner 406). The traditions and culture that Mao intentionally attacked were part of the people's identity. By attempting to completely eliminate this reality from the lives of Chinese citizens, Mao was erasing the political side of what made people who they were. This is why Zhuli and Kai do not survive.

The third layer revolves around the Tiananmen Square tragedy in 1989 and involves Sparrow's daughter Ai-Ming, and her friend Yiwen. This event was triggered by the death of Hu Yaobang, who was a secretary of the Communist party and advocate for a more democratic approach to government (Meisner 494). Thousands of students and a supportive working class gathered to mourn his death, and this gathering became a political statement on May 4th; this group of 100,000 demanded a discussion about economic and political policies with politician Deng Xiaoping (502). He rejected this meeting and on June 3rd, the People's Liberation Party took 45 minutes to complete the massacre (510). The government still censors any footage of these events; the death toll provided by the Chinese government is 241 people, but more global estimates come in between 800-10,000 people (511). Those involved in the protests were just "students and everyday people" (Thien, *Do Not Say* 5) who were victims of Mao's extreme erasure tactics.

The three layers come together, rather than cover one another up, because of the frame narrative that occurs from 1990-2016. Kai's daughter Ma-li and her mother, Ma, live in Vancouver without Kai, due to his suicide. The pair welcome Ai-ming into their home when she is fleeing China in the aftermath of Tiananmen Square. Ai-ming brings with her the opportunity for story telling through many past storylines in which "they're all real" (Thien, *Do Not Say* 27). Prior to the stories, the reader's access to Ma-li's understanding of life begins in the top layer, which is evident in Ma-li's naive, three 'facts' that carry her through her childhood: she is different from her classmates, China is great because it is less lonely than Vancouver, and her father left because the love from her and her mother was not enough (9). As a mature narrator, Ma-li acknowledges her surface level awareness of her life. She says about the time right before her mother's death that "we were lucky because, finally, we had time to talk, to go back to subjects we might not have raised in a lifetime of reserve, of quiet. I learned a great deal about...the terrible pain of letting go. The brevity of my parents' lives has shaped me" (148). The unwillingness to share is not necessarily secretive, but often stems from trauma of the silencing experienced in Mao's China. As Thien says in an interview, "stories cannot always be told by the person at the centre, and it is an act of love and a responsibility for others to carry that story" (Thien, "Madeleine"). Ai-ming opens Ma-li's understanding of life and moves her from being a victim of imposed memory loss to engaging in a historically conscious narration, enlightening Ma-li to the fact that the past, which belongs to both her and her family, is still here.

Discovering the truth about her father becomes Ma-li's trigger for developing her own longing to open doors through memories and stories. Ma tells Ma-li that "if you're trapped in a room and nobody is coming to save you, what can you do? You have to bang on the walls and break the windows. You have to climb out and save yourself" (Thien, *Do Not Say* 10). Ma-li begins to actively uncover the history that has not been erased, but that remains behind walls that contain unopened doors. The China that existed in her father's or grandfather's time is definitely not the China that exists when she travels there to learn in the 21st century. Thien brings together the literal and metaphorical footprints in Ma-li's life as the character explores Shanghai. She is able to uncover some facts and meet people that become invaluable records across time, just as Thien's novel does for her readers. Thien makes frequent reference to time, such as "we were suspended in time" (6), to remind readers that time is not a barrier for information. As a child, Ma-li talks about time with her mother: "'It's decades older than you, Ma-li.' I wondered: what wasn't?" (8). This quotation shows that an awareness of one's place within a record can fight silencing that comes from forgetting history and paying attention to the top layer alone.

Thien eloquently finds opportunities to draw in readers from any background and enables them to ground themselves in what is, for most readers, not a familiar setting. Her explanation of time through the voice of Ma-li not only opens up a cultural understanding, but also gives her readers a fact to grasp onto in a novel full of uncertainty. Ma-li pointedly explains to the reader that the English conception of consciousness is vertical in that one can wake *up* and *fall* asleep (198). In Chinese culture, consciousness is understood in horizontal terms: one passes through stages of sleeping and waking, and people cross the same border forwards and backwards cyclically. Beyond this, however, time is vertical in that what is in front of a person has already happened, and what is behind has not yet happened. Thien says "this means that future generations are not the generations ahead, but the ones behind. Therefore, to look into the future one must turn around" (199). What happens in the future is behind what has already happened because the past holds more wisdom and understanding than the future. The Book of Records holds this wisdom and understanding, bringing countless doors to its reader thanks to the brave preservers of the record.

Thien uses intertextuality in her explanation of time to open another door for her reader; the metaphor she quotes from socialist philosopher and critical theorist Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) is helpful for understanding the conception of time, and crucial for understanding how palimpsests and art pervade time. Describing a painting of a bird who is looking backwards, Benjamin writes, "the storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward" (Thien, *Do Not Say* 199). Interestingly, Thien leaves out the next sentence of Benjamin's writing: "this storm is what we call progress" (Benjamin 249). One possible reason for her to leave out the second

sentence is because of the cyclical political regime in China. This progress is crucial when considering palimpsestic record keeping because this art form supersedes the regime. As the bird is travelling into the future, his back is turned, just like the explanation of time that Ma-li provides. The bird sees the series of events that have led him to the point where he stands, and the pile of debris that Benjamin refers to is the pile of ups and downs and decisions and paths neglected. The pile is overwhelming, and the debris is unchangeable from the bird's standpoint; however, he can see the entire pile, not just the top.

The second sentence of Benjamin's quote is what saves this horrific image because through record keeping, generations can turn around without regression and instead use the knowledge to make progress. They can look back on the past decisions made by people that have led them to where they now stand and learn from the outcomes. It is important to remember that while there is a requirement for people to be willing to share truths in records to keep the past alive, there also needs to be an audience eager and willing to bring the actions and decisions of the past to life in the form of progress to maintain a border between erased and "a friend gone quiet" (Thien, *Do Not Say* 42). As a child, Ma-li offers this willing ear to enable the voices of the silenced to come to life as Ai-ming reads stories to her from the Book of Records. As Ma-li receives the bits and pieces of the debris that family members of the past had decided to record, she begs Ai-ming not to stop reading because she wants to keep knowing. She wants to believe in what her family did, and she desires hopeful consequences. Ma-li and Ai-ming are "two halves of the world...left behind" (199) by their fathers who are both recorded in this Book of Records.

Ai-ming's father Sparrow is at the centre of Thien's record, and therefore this study, because of his reliance on art and culture throughout the various time periods in this novel. He ultimately mobilizes records so that they become more than ink stored on paper. Another way to think about records is the vinyl that stores music. Thien explains this link between vinyl and a documented record, saying that "a record was a kind of storage in which music lay waiting...but for anything to be alive, it required motion" (*Do Not Say* 331). The vinyl stores information that is unique to when it was recorded, and listeners can experience the content in its original state. Sparrow teaches Zhuli to do this:

Sparrow sat her down in front of the record player and played all the music he could find...Inside her head, the music built columns and arches, it cleared a space within and without, a new consciousness. So there were worlds buried inside other worlds but first you had to find the opening and the entryway. Sparrow showed her how to remove the record from its paper sleeve, how to set it on the turntable, how to place the needle in its groove. ...she let the music write itself into her memory. She felt, as with the qin, that she had always known this music. That they recognized one another. (188)

Thien says “a memory, a recording” (319) as if they are the same thing and for Zhuli here, they are. The record of music becomes a memory because Zhuli connects to the story that the vinyl is telling in the same way she would connect with her family record. Though Zhuli only peers at these buried worlds as through a window, they connect in a way that words cannot describe. Sparrow shows Zhuli the entryway and in this case, it is the vinyl, just like the entryway to a past layer of history can be a record of a life: a personal story. A musician could say that the vinyl holds their personal story, or one that they are writing in order that someone will hear it.

Sparrow’s art form is music, and it is important to understand the state of music in Mao’s China before looking at how Sparrow is affected by and utilizes music. During the Cultural Revolution, Mao introduced revolutionary and patriotic political music, which was very ideological and was forced on people through radios and broadcasts (Andy Fein). Sparrow is a teacher at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, which was intended for students to be able to study Western Classical music and instrumentation. During the Cultural Revolution, however, Western music was banned because of its association with the capitalist economy of the West and therefore, the Conservatory was closed (Fein). Anyone thought to be associated with this type of music or considering engaging in the practice or thought of Western music was considered counterrevolutionary and up to the state for punishment. Mao said that all music “belong[s] to definite classes and [is] geared to definite political lines. There is, in fact, no such thing as art for art’s sake” (Fein). This novel is about rediscovering history, but also looking at the details of how art preserved people through trauma and can continue to do so.

Before discussing the ways in which music as an art form offers escapism through silence and counterrevolutionary freedom, readers should understand how music, in particular Glenn Gould’s *Goldberg Variations*, informed Thien’s writing. In a 2019 interview, Thien says “it’s not an understatement to say that the *Goldberg Variations* created this book. But why? And how? It seems to me that music has a truth or some form of understanding” (Lee). The *Goldberg Variations* were initially composed by Bach, whose work is often described as contrapuntal: “the decomposition of the given thematic material through subjective reflections on the motivic work contained therein” (Edward Said 272). The subject, who is the listener, reflects upon the motifs, or short musical phrases, within a larger work by basically uncomposing the theme that the composer worked into their music “so that all of its possibilities are articulated, expressed, and elaborated” (274). Said says of music that counterpoint involves “apparently endless inventiveness...A melody is always in the process of being repeated by one or another voice: the result is horizontal, rather than vertical, music” (4). As mentioned earlier, in Chinese culture, consciousness is horizontal in that one passes through stages of waking and sleeping, which is similar to the repetition of contrapuntal music. Said further clarifies that “instead of the melody at the top being supported by a thicker harmonic

mass beneath, Bach's contrapuntal music is regularly composed of several equal lines, sinuously interwoven" (4-5). This equality is ideally palimpsestic in that the horizontal, simultaneous harmony of the many voices creates the substance that listeners can engage with. Both parts of the song are compulsory and always present: first is the "melody at the top," which is the most visible layer of the palimpsest, and second is the "thicker harmonic mass," which could be thought of as all of the layers that rest beneath the top layer including history, art, truth and secrets.

Gould's approach to Bach's *Goldberg Variations* is more practical in that his only intention with music is mental rather than physical; the composition of music never lies solely with the intentions of the composer. Gould argued that "making a recording is a collaborative process which at any stage leaves open further modifications or adjustments at another stage, and there is no final stage because records are listened to repeatedly, and each repetition is subject to the new listener's adjustments" (Geoffrey Payzant 42). Putting this together with the contrapuntal format of Bach's music, one can see that a composer can intend for their audience to be one of those lines that interweaves with the notation and instruments in order to create music. Essentially, music is not physical in any regard; the materialization of the components (instruments or voices) that create music are just elements that offer sound to the cognitive formation of music. In an interview, Thien speaks on this, saying that the *Goldberg Variations* changed something in her because it was able to "reach human emotions that we do not have the language for" ("Madeleine Thien On Her" 00:06:00-00:06:50). This lack of language for emotion is evident throughout this novel and it becomes challenging to put words to what exactly the reader inherits through their engagement with this narrative.

When reading *Do Not Say We Have Nothing*, one cannot help but be overwhelmed by the pervasiveness of music, not only in terms of intertextual reference, but also characterization. Sparrow uses music quite differently than Zhuli does: "Zhuli has a clarity that the other characters don't have. For a long time, Sparrow thinks that he could find a way to remain himself through all the political oppression, but Zhuli knows that this isn't possible" (Lee). During the Cultural Revolution, Sparrow struggles with how to reconcile his simultaneous desire to create his own music and to serve the state. Thien says that "to be a renowned musician, one surely had to be already successful in one's own mind" (*Do Not Say* 123), and Sparrow considers himself incapable of honestly teaching classical music, or producing counterrevolutionary music, even though that is on his heart. Instead of sharing documentation of his failed attempts, "he erased the last twenty measures he had written" (123). Gould also erased twenty takes on the *Goldberg Variations* before he was able to "locate the character for it" (Payzant 37), and Payzant suggests that a work of art, such as a composition, requires a deeper drive than just polished notation: "devotion to the text means the constant effort to grasp that which it hides" (273). Sparrow devotes himself to the text,

but not the process of healing through silent reflection on the unique characters hiding within the sound, and therefore is unsatisfied with empty notation. This study is arguing for the importance of sharing the ‘not complete’ and the uncertain so generations to come can engage with this record, learn from it and add to it.

Zhuli connects with the notation because she continually grasps for what it is hiding, both explicitly and implicitly striving for counterrevolutionary freedom: “Zhuli was looking intently at the pages on his desk. She was humming the melody now. Lost in thought, she unlatched her violin case, lifted her violin and began to experiment with the phrasing” (Thien, *Do Not Say* 123). She explicitly unlatches her violin case and attempts to turn Sparrow’s notation into music, and she implicitly fills in the gaps that Sparrow is lacking because he relies on certainty to complete his symphony. Thien emphasizes Zhuli’s eager willingness to participate with Sparrow in the creation of music by giving her an active voice in this scene through dialogue:

“Not yet, Zhuli.”

She lowered her arm. “But Sparrow, listen to this. I can already hear how the second movement isn’t even finished. I’ve barely begun it.”

“Barely begun it? You’ve exhausted yourself on this symphony! Cousin, can’t you see it’s the most sublime thing you’ve ever written?”...

“It’s nothing, just a few lazy thoughts of mine.” (123)

Thien says “music moves to where it’s going to be heard” (Lee) and in Zhuli’s heart, the music becomes more than just lines to chase as the notes travel straight through her in a form that she can engage with.

In this scene, the music is not only absent for Sparrow, but is actively lacking, becoming a place of tension instead of restoration. Zhuli tells Sparrow that “silence, too, is a kind of music. Silence will last” (Thien, *Do Not Say* 280). As with the Book of Records, silence is not subject to restrictions from the government; it is a space of freedom and endless interpretation, which is where Thien wants her readers to be because records have no beginning, end or structure. Within music, silence is compulsory because otherwise, it would just be a bunch of disorganized sound. The silence is present in a way that disrupts chaos with absence, and in *Do Not Say We Have Nothing*, absence in the form of ‘zero’ reoccurs. In an interview, Thien talks about the significance of this absence, saying “everything depends on zero, everything is measured out from zero in all directions...so you can almost say that it’s the only point that is real” (Lee). In this way, silence becomes more significant than the presence of sound. The title *Do Not Say We Have Nothing* comes from a leftist anthem The Internationale (Thien 438), which is a call to silence, or not admitting to having nothing to conceal suffering (Nick Admussen). For Thien, silence is not suffering; the conception of ‘nothing’ is not actually nothing if people acknowledge it and spend time in it.

Thien shows her readers just how important silence can be when she removes Zhuli from the plot. Silence frustrates Sparrow because he remains unwilling to engage with silence as an entity that enables freedom, but for Zhuli, “silence would expand into a desert, a freedom, a new beginning” (Thien, *Do Not Say* 254). Zhuli is silenced by restrictive, regimental regulations, and Candace Fertile says, “what Thien manages... is to humanize loss, and to do so through the metaphor of music. In effect, Thien asks how one composes a life, even in the face of externally imposed limitations.” In the previously quoted scene, Sparrow is failing to compose his life outside of the imposed restrictions. Zhuli composes a life that is incompatible with the state; her father has called her “little dreamer” (Thien, *Do Not Say* 127), and her free spirit cannot be contained by the regime. Thien does not allow Zhuli’s character to become just another number in the death toll of the Revolution; her suicide saves Sparrow because her active absence becomes a site for reflection and reconsideration. Thien says of Zhuli that “she was a performer, a transparent glass giving shape to water, nothing more than a glass” (138), emphasizing that her ultimately hollow connection to reality and truth results in her suicide.

Zhuli could never have become more than a container for the life-giving sustenance of music because no one opens any doors for her, and she does not have access to a record. Evidence of this can be seen in instances such as her relationship with instruments: “but the qin was alive, she thought, fighting sleep. She and it were the very same thing... the old qin was her stronger, braver twin... ‘Must everything that is old be contemptible? Weren’t we also something before?’” (Thien, *Do Not Say* 183-8, 248). Zhuli has the inclination that there is something powerful in the instrument’s history, but without someone telling her how the instrument enabled healing for her family in the past, she is left on the outside of her family’s record and just observing the top layer: the qin itself. Thien uses Zhuli realistically in the sense that the regime still holds power over the people, and art and music on their own cannot fix everything. She says of Zhuli that “her love of music was a weakness. She had confessed these faults since she was eight years old, but she had stubbornly refused to purify her heart... if they took music away from her, she would die” (206, 246). Without an understanding of how music had previously worked to heal people during political silencing, she holds music with joy, but not restoration.

When reality swarms Zhuli and her counterrevolutionary thoughts begin to frighten her, she is not aware of the layers of history underneath her that could be supporting her if she knew they were there. The palimpsest of her life is absence for Zhuli: a silence that she cannot hear because no one locates it for her. Thien differentiates Zhuli as a character that readers sympathize with, but that they also lose, to show the devastating impact of empty silence. She says “we imagined there were truths waiting for us — about ourselves and those we loved, about the times we lived in — within our reach, if only we had the eyes to see them” (Thien, *Do Not Say* 296), and Zhuli wisely dwells on this lack, saying “a life can be long

or short but inside of it, if we're lucky, is this one opening...I looked through this window and made my own idea of the universe and maybe it was wrong" (259-60). This is a window, not a door, because she cannot open it like the reader can. Thien brings doors to her reader because she can afford to do that. She cannot realistically afford to bring any doors to Zhuli, only a window that she cannot move through, only hang herself in:

[Zhuli] had turned the record over and both sides had finished playing...
Could it be that everything in this life had been written from the beginning?
She could not accept this. I am taking this record with me, she thought. It is mine and I'm the only one who can keep it safe. She let go.

Sparrow woke in the dark, aware of the front door opening. It seemed to remain open for a long moment before finally, almost imperceptibly, shutting. (270-1)

Zhuli leaves the story holding what she knows: a physical music record that she had yet to tie with the greater record of a life that could have been hers. The page break shows the silence that is left in the absence of her character; she leaves a physical hole in the page and the lives of those who surround her. Readers of *Do Not Say We Have Nothing* can support and be supported by Zhuli's character because "people are safe to exist in the book of records" thanks to responsible record keepers "telling a story about someone based on how they loved instead of who they were" (Guy Gavriel). If readers did not have this novel as a record of Zhuli and instead only had access to the aftermath of her fate, they would only see the devastating top layer of the palimpsest of her life.

Sparrow initially dwells in this top layer and without Zhuli, music represents something that he knows, but does not fully understand: something that causes silences while also filling other silences. An example of this is in his unrealized love for Kai: "they were sitting as near to one another as possible without touching. The music filled the space between them, its motifs turning over as if the composer had no conclusion, only movements that came around in a spiral, rising each time to a new beginning but an old place" (Thien, *Do Not Say* 226). The two simply cannot afford to fulfill their love for one another because of the regime: it is impossible. The music fills the silence that they both know is there but that they are not allowed to have the words for. What separates Sparrow from Kai in their love is silent contemplation: "the desire was sharp and undeniable. *I care for him, yes, and what difference does it make, how and to what degree? To whom does it matter?...*[but] to love as he did was, if not a counter-revolutionary crime, foolhardy and dangerous. Such love could only lead to ruin" (237). Thien is aware of the cruelty of this unrealizable love, but she is honest with herself, her readers, and her characters in that "we don't notice when the public language has taken over our private language...slogans do our thinking for us" (Robert Everett-Green). Sometimes it is easier to adopt the ideas of the regime and not bother with

who it affects because individuality is not easy. Sparrow chooses to fill this silence with contemplation; it is still silent contemplation, but he is not allowing an empty silence to grow between him and Kai.

Instead, Sparrow allows a lack of art and blocking out painful memories of Zhuli to drown him in complacency, which painfully resembles Mao's erasure, and is what Thien is writing against. This is why people need art and records of lives lived through art: complacency is not enough. Thien writes "perhaps they had loved one another, but...his life was not his own, it belonged to his wife and Ai-ming as well. And it was true, factory work had brought a peace he had never known before. The routine had freed him" (*Do Not Say* 324). This routine is very different than what he had taught to Zhuli as an escape from the regime: "he had taught her how to protect herself by hiding inside the noise" (326). Sparrow distracts himself from the empty absence of art by filling his life with mundane, but safe, activity. Zhuli's ghost-like presence reminds Sparrow that music resides "in the safekeeping of the air...[Sparrow] heard music trickling from somewhere, a radio left on, a memory. Zhuli, he said. He listened as the air answered" (336). In the silence of a room, Sparrow can feel music and memory overcome him in a way that heals his spirit from complacency. These are the two most prominent ways that Thien advocates for healing: memory and "thinking, until the room itself became another room" (122).

Thien's use of linguistics comes back here as she plays on the multiple meanings of Chinese figures to show how Zhuli changes Sparrow's life through memory and space. Thien says "the word he had just written was 宇 (yǔ) which meant both 'room' and 'universe'" (*Do Not Say* 457). The word 'room' comes up with high frequency throughout this novel: room #103 is where Zhuli studies Classical music, Ai-ming's bedroom is where she is safe from the regime, and a room often represents an empty space, like Zhuli as a glass. The space is not always filled with something, but when the person in the space loses awareness of the physical space, healing occurs: for example, the "story came from the room itself" (199) and "the room ceased to exist, the record itself became superfluous, the symphony came from his own thoughts, as if it had always been there, circling endlessly" (320). This endlessness ties the concept of 'room' importantly to 'universe' when Zhuli creates an idea of a universe before her death that she thinks is wrong. She enters a new, endless space that could never exist in Mao's China, and Sparrow realizes this, saying "what if the piece of music in his mind could not be written? What if it *must not be finished*? The questions confused him, he knew they came from that other life inside him" (393). This form of endlessness is restorative and free.

Sparrow's understanding of life and music is completely rewritten by Zhuli's death as through death, she brings a door of awareness to Sparrow and her continued presence in his life keeps that door open while adding a top layer of reality and determination for Sparrow to not give up. After her death, Sparrow carries with him "a light jacket, two changes of clothing, a washcloth, a sleeping

mat, a cooking pot and, because he had promised Zhuli, the Book of Records” (Thien, *Do Not Say* 289) and while she could not open any doors for Sparrow in her physical life, Sparrow realizes that she offers herself as a record so he can access her truths anytime. Thien insists on Zhuli’s interminable presence in Sparrow’s life when she says “and when you die, the entirety of that written record returns to the earth. All we have on this earth, all we are, is a record. Maybe the only things that persist are...copies of things. The original has long since passed away from this universe, but on and on we copy” (235). Zhuli is a permanent part of the record of Sparrow’s life, and his awareness of her fuels him to not only keep her influence alive, but also to continue to add to their joint record and enable her to live on. Though Sparrow’s inner composer and Zhuli’s free spirit were both silenced, they were not erased because they can live on in shared memory that becomes a record when written into a layer of their palimpsest.

Ultimately, the act of writing, copying, and maintaining a record is just as much an art form as music, and this connection demonstrates the layered truth that art and culture sustain against silence. The physical record is art and holds art; it is a living document. Thien comments on this in an interview, saying “a government’s fear of art is also an acknowledgement of its power, how it can shape desires, shape us, and that it gets inside us in a way that is very difficult for any outside source to control” (Lee). The government cannot erase records of lives, even if they attempt to erase tradition and individuality. The characters live and interact and make decisions, and with the art form of copying and documentation, record keepers sustain truth. Thien says

[the Book of Records] is, I believe, the only accurate record that exists... They would live on, as dangerous as revolutionaries but as intangible as ghosts. What new movement could the Party proclaim that would bring these dead souls into line? What crackdown could erase something that was hidden in plain sight? (*Do Not Say* 180)

The Book of Records physically eliminates the possibility of destructive silence. Zhuli “let herself go, into the walls, into sound itself” (142) and she will forever stay in that layer of history as a ghost-like presence because of this Book of Records that Thien writes. This position is hers and can never be taken from her; no government force can take away the power that this existence has on those who read the Book of Records.

This is yet another reason why Thien’s inclusion of Chinese linguistics is so crucial: “he used the word *jì yì*, which has two meanings: 记忆 (to recall, record) and 技艺 (art)” (Thien *Do Not Say* 303). Maybe the healing does not come from the act of writing or reading the record, but rather from readers engaging with the physical record and becoming free to leave themselves and explore a past and a truth that heals. Thien involves her readers in this engagement because as readers travel through the layers and doors that Thien brings forward, they become part

of this endless circling of healing and awareness. Ma-li experiences this timeless existence through music. She says

I knew the music, Bach's Sonata for Piano and Violin No. 4, and I was drawn towards it as keenly as if someone were pulling me by the hand. The counterpoint, holding together composer, musicians and even silence, the music, with its spiralling waves of grief and rapture, was everything I remembered...And suddenly I was in the car with my father...he was so alive, so beloved...such a pure memory of him had never come back to me. (4)

Music is personal and powerful for Ma-li, as if it is a language that she has only forgotten. She comments on the silences, reminding readers that what is present is just as important as what is not present. Mao's strict erasure is one reason to explore what goes unsaid, but Thien offers many art forms and the beloved Zhuli as reminders that silenced does not have to be erased, as long as someone pays attention to the silence. Deborah Miranda says "invisibility makes healing... extremely difficult...The loss itself is never denied in a healthy recovery" (204-5) and if a story is left silenced, it is unable to inspire.

In the Chinese language, there is no one single word that accurately encompasses the strength and vastness of the word 'silence' (Everett-Green), and this matches with Thien's running theme that emotion fills in when words cannot. She uncovers things that hide in silence forced by history: even the words "yesterday" and "tomorrow" were censored from press and media in China in 2012 for being tied too closely to Tiananmen Square (Thien, "Tiananmen Square"). Thien clarifies that "silence in this novel isn't all negative. There is a silencing or censoring part; and there is also a silence, a space, in which you can think and question. I associate that kind of silence with privacy" (Lee). Music can exist in silence in a way that Mao would not be able to erase so that "music [could] record a time that otherwise left no trace" (Thien, *Do Not Say* 196). Music is needed to fill in for where silence teeters on erasure because art pervades time and space and can exist within silence. It is in the silence left by Zhuli's absence that Sparrow begins to hear the world that surrounds him as music. His idea of "how much it was possible to see" (435) grows to encompass not only what is in front of his eyes or fills his ears; instead, he is able to see what has been, and what will be, forever a part of the palimpsest of his life because Zhuli shows him that silence is not empty. Even though Zhuli is silenced by the regime, she accepts silence as a space of refuge that she can remain in forever and that Sparrow can access through contemplation of her eternal silence.

This silence is not empty because of the Book of Records, and to engage with the record as an art form that exposes individual truths eliminates time as a divisive entity: "her parents seemed to rest in her hands, as if the novel had never been a mirror of the past, but of the present" (Thien, *Do Not Say* 291). As Ai-ming and Ma-li read the story, they become members that are as active as the ones in print, just

like a listener of a music record and readers of *Do Not Say We Have Nothing*. This novel, and others like it, are banned in China, sustaining a “terrifying invisibility” (432) of truth, and Thien says “I think it’s possible to build a house of facts, but the truth at the centre might be another realm entirely” (149). Her Book of Records provides readers with a safe space to explore what is held underneath this exterior, factual shell of history. In truth, the people are like “notes [that] chipped into one another; every note had to touch the air, make its singular gesture, and elaborate this unending melody” (199). It is foolhardy to assume a truthful understanding of history by “only ever bothering to visit one room” (458) without exploiting the individuality of each note that makes up the melody and harmonic bass, and feeling those emotions that we do not have the language for. Yes this cognitive formation of music sustained those living through the Cultural Revolution, but readers can progress from their understanding of history afforded by this safe, musical, silent space that Thien creates: “in this room [/book], there was only the act of listening, there was only Sparrow, Kai and Zhuli. A counting down and a counting up, an ending that could never be a true ending. The not yet was still to come, and the book remained unfinished. We loved and were loved” (455).

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ANNISHA PLESCHE

Written in Menstrual Blood: Sex, Ecstasy and “the zipless fuck” in Erica Jong’s Fear of Flying.

Some books just stick. They stay with you and consume your thoughts. When some idiot makes an unintelligent “joke” at the expense of women during a cocktail party¹ (those still exist right?²) chapter headings, names of perfectly ugly chauvinist characters, witty one liners and the most devilishly wicked phrases, rise up from the page and prance nakedly across your eyes before trapezing off the tongue out into the real world dressed to slaughter: “it was almost like publishing poetry” (Jong 74). Erica Jong’s *Fear of Flying* stands out as one such book. Her writing is severe, crude, hilarious, scream worthy, addictive and above all else truthful. More specifically and bluntly, she tells women’s truths in all their sexual, bloody and ravenous glory: “When I feel I am telling my truth, my glands also catch fire. The muse screws” (Jong *The Demon* 67). But while Jong unabashedly writes an honest experience of woman, she herself is quick to point out that this is no new “female feet” citing, among a myriad of marvelous women authors, Sylvia Plath and Anne Sexton as her troubled and tragic predecessors: “these two daredevil poets opened the road for me. Then they closed it in another way by their self-inflicted deaths. I loved their poetry and abhorred their deaths. I wanted to smash that paradigm. Why must women artists die for their talent and self-assertion?” (Jong *The Demon* 60). What Jong debunks here is the myth that women suddenly learned how to be honest after trial and error following in the footsteps of men like sheep³. As it turns out, they were always capable, the (literary) world simply demanded their deaths before they could be dubbed “artists” and “geniuses” for telling the truth about their bodies and minds. These facts are what make *Fear of Flying* such a powerful text. Jong’s “truth telling” pays tribute to such trailblazers as Plath and Sexton while continuing to carve out a space for the brilliant female voices of the literary

1 “chill hang out. BYOB”

2 Referring to the parties. Sexist idiots are an inevitability

3 Headed to the slaughter

world. Without such staunchly “fuck-you” texts as Jong’s, “patriarchal genius” threatens to obliterate that hard fought for space into nothingness. While critics cannot come to a consensus concerning the (obvious) brilliance of Jong’s work, readers continue to cite her material as a valued text in the (patriarchal) milieu of their lives: one that saves, strengthens and sets ablaze heart, mind and cunt. Indeed *Fear of Flying* did important work in 1973 when it was first published and continues to do so today: “liberating women from bad sex” (Bresky) proves to be a force for further life altering/ensuring liberation. Jong’s own claims concerning the creation of this story reverberate across generations of readers and writers, reminding women, and allies of women to maintain arms: “I wanted to make the world a place where women could write about their lives and live” (*The Demon* 61).

Despite the almost overnight commercial success of Jong’s novel, literary critics held *Fear of Flying* as a problematic text for the ways in which it seemed to project feminist ideals while simultaneously undermining them. Lisa Jadwin observes that in general, the novel affirmed and fanned the fire of men’s fears while satiating the fantasies of women (2). Indeed a novel that positions the “all-weather cunt” against a “limp prick” and claims this space as that of the “liberated women” is unafraid of stirring up a little controversy. In a 2016 interview for the Louisiana Literature festival, Jong herself stated in reference to female authors, “if you write about sexuality, they’re going to think it’s an invitation to fuck you, or rape you. But go on writing about it anyway” (Malinovski quoting Jong 1:50). Jong’s protagonist Isadora Wing, a writer herself, gives voice to such experience that is unfortunately unique to women authors writing about sex:

in the months since my first book had appeared, I had received plenty of bizarre phone calls and letters from men who assumed that I did everything I wrote about and did it with everyone, everywhere. Suddenly, I was public property in a small way... In a certain sense, you do write to seduce the world, but then when it happens, you begin to feel like a whore...and the people seduced by your work are usually seduced for all the wrong reasons. (Jong 150)⁴

Patriarchal backlash of this kind (men claiming female desire as an invitation to exercise their own sexuality over women) is cleverly anticipated by Jong throughout her novel. Isadora’s sister Randy describes her poetry as “masturbatory and exhibitionistic” before condemning her “sterility” (Jong 47) which points to the ways in which the voice of patriarchy speaks through even female bodies and

4 Jong confesses that issues with her novels reception often took shape in the form of unwanted and tactless advances from (mostly men) looking for a zipless fuck, who mistakenly read the novel (or likely skimmed it) as a sort of “wanted ad”. Anne Sexton’s advice to Jong on this account is as follows: “Thank them. Thank them and say, ‘Zip up your fuck until I ask for it’” (*Playboy* 2).

minds as a sort of possessor. The sexuality of Jong's protagonist is threatening because it directly denies the possibility of procreation. The very idea of the "zipless fuck" as an experience "free of ulterior motives" (Jong 14) demands pleasure for pleasure's sake, not pleasure with the ultimate goal of patriarchal procreation in mind: patriarchal because child bearing, motherhood and the realm of the domestic and maternal are regularly weaponized as oppressive forces designed to keep women in passive/ receptive positions, sexual and otherwise. Isadora's malcontent over childbearing gives voice to this theory of "patriarchal procreation":

Somehow the idea of bearing *his* baby angers me. Let him bear his own baby! If I have a baby I want it to be all *mine*... It is not having babies in itself which seems unfair, but having babies for men. Babies who get *their* names. Babies who lock you by means of love to a man you have to please and serve on pain of abandonment. And love, after all, is the strongest lock. The one that chafes hardest and wears longest. And then I would be trapped for good. (Jong 52)

Through Isadora, Jong gives voice to an ideology that enslaves women: "but something in me repeated the catechism. Something in me apologized to all the people who complimented my poems: something in me said: '*Ohh but remember, I have no children.*'" (Jong 51). For Jadwin a system of beliefs that expects women to adhere to the role of the maternal (in turn justifying female sexuality by marking it as "practical") provides the underpinnings for critics who are not so "tickled" by Jong's narrative: "zeroing in on her apparent use of the confessional mode, they damn author and heroine together as one bad woman — a kind of Robespierre of the Sexual Revolution" (Jadwin 2). However, such unfavourable reviews, according to Jadwin, likely "say more about the critic than the text" considering their "ad feminam diatribes"⁵. Lucinda Rosenfeld and Adelle Waldman critique Jong's writing in similar ways, citing her use of "dirty words" as a point of contention. Rosenfeld states, "I think young people today would find the words she uses a little cringeworthy. She uses aggressive language, and I think the ferocity of it is unusual". While it is generally good practice not to make assumptions, the subtext of Rosenfeld's comments suggest (rather insidiously) that the aggression and ferocity is unusual because Jong is a woman writing aggressive and ferociously. Waldman is more transparent in her gendered criticism of Jong (perhaps unintentionally). She states, "in terms of that book, and I think of something larger in the culture, there's a possibility of posturing, of trying to take on a way of talking about sex in a blithe, casual way that we've come to associate with being liberated or independent...mimic[ing] what seems like a male attitude". But who decided that "dirty-talk" is distinctly male? And who (if at all) are women writers posturing for? Such statements place female authors in a damaging dichotomy that always

5 "marked by or being an attack on a woman's character rather than an answer to the contentions made" or "*Ad feminam* refers to an *ad hominem* attack used to discredit an argument simply because a woman made it"

functions in relation to male authorship, in turn situating female authorship as secondary. As Jadwin states, “Jong has argued that, thrust into the limelight after *Fear of Flying*, she was obligated to defend herself against charges of indecency leveled by hostile critics” (3).

Citing *Fear of Flying* as a “key book” for feminists in the 1970s, Elaine Showalter states that Jong’s novel, “defied the restrictions on women’s verbal range, sexual candor, and narrative voice” (69). Unfortunately not all feminists find a similarly comfortable home in Jong’s writing: “Many feminists were troubled by the ideological implications of *Fear of Flying*, whose heroine ultimately affirms patriarchal standards of female conduct by returning happily to her husband and her bourgeois marriage at the end of the novel” (Jadwin 2). This is not the most accurate factual account of Isadora Wings “travels”. The heroine of Jong’s novel does not in fact return “happily” to her marriage, but remains in a state of limbo. As Jong herself puts it, Isadora’s desires are conflicted and this is a hallmark of human experience not strictly or solely female. Isadora craves both stability and excitement, unable to find a happy medium:

Perhaps I would leave before Bennett returned. Or perhaps we’d go home together and work things out. Or perhaps we’d go home together and separate. It was not clear how it would end. In nineteenth-century novels they get married. In twentieth-century novels, they get divorced. Can you have an ending in which they do neither? (Jong 335)

Yet according to Ann R. Shapiro feminist readers need not be deterred by the apparent “return” of the heroine to her husband: “its feminist appeal is in Isadora’s yearning to free herself from conventional expectations for women rather than her success in fulfilling her aspirations” (72).

The messiness of such an ending is arguably more satisfying to readers and authentic to the narrative as a whole. Jong begins the novel by bringing to light the untidiness of heterosexual sex and desire:

Because that was how I so often felt about men. Their minds were hopelessly befuddled, but their bodies were so nice. Their ideas were intolerable, but their penises were silky. I had been a feminist all my life (I date my ‘radicalization to the night in 1955 on the IRT subway when the moronic Horace Mann boy who was my date asked me if I planned to be a secretary), but the big problem was how to make your feminism jibe with your unappeasable hunger for male bodies. It wasn’t easy. (Jong 96)

Indeed it is not easy, and Jong does not pretend to provide any conclusive answers to this conundrum. What she does do is give voice to the maze of contradictions that heterosexual female desire can be in the already labyrinth bedroom of patriarchy. The fantasy of the “Zipless Fuck” is so deliciously appealing

because it opens up a space for heterosexual desire that is unobstructed by gendered conceptions of “giving” and “taking”, “shame” and “guilt”; “there is no power game” (Jong 15). While Jong satisfies readers through such sexual fantasy she also fulfills another contradictory desire, that is to give voice to the non-satisfaction or sexual frustrations that women face as a result of social constructions: “perhaps sex accounted for my fury. Perhaps sex was the real Pandora’s box. . . . Sex. I was terrified of the tremendous power it had over me. The energy, the excitement, the power to make me feel totally crazy! What about that? How do you make that jibe with ‘playing hard to get?’” (Jong 166).

The heterosexual desire that Jong chronicles in *Fear of Flying*, is a considerably complex endeavour. Hesitancy on the part of feminist critics to embrace Jong may stem from the paradoxical nature of a narrative that expresses female desire in ways that seem to reinforce patriarchal schemas of pleasure that strip women (literally and figuratively) of power. One such chapter in particular that has been the subject of much debate is titled, “Every Woman Adores a Fascist” (Jong 18). The chapter gathers its name from a stanza in the poem “Daddy” by Sylvia Plath. Plath’s poem, much like Jong’s novel, has also been met with harsh criticism for the problematic portrait of female sexuality that it paints. According to Laura Frost, Plath’s poem binds together fascism and patriarchy and denotes them as power structures in which women have “libidinal investments” (55) characterized by “equal measures of resistance and desire” (47). In Jong’s novel, the chapter reports Isadora’s fantasy of having an adulterous affair with Adrian Goodlove, an English psychoanalyst who refers to Isadora as a “cheeky cunt” with a “lovely ass” who “looks Jewish” (Jong 28-9). The nature of Isadora’s desire is contradictory, hypocritical even. This is a fact that Jong has intentionally brought to the forefront of both this chapter and her novel as a whole. Jong bookends this particular entry with Isadora’s self-awareness of her simultaneous aversion to, and lust for Adrian. In one moment she is turned on by Adrian’s chauvinism, “My underpants were wet enough to mop the streets of Vienna” (30) and then swiftly enlightened by her own tricky desire, “Ok. So I admit my taste in men is questionable” (32). As Frost observes, Jong’s “politically incorrect fantasy” (56) closely mirrors the “prohibited” fantasy that Nancy Friday’s *My Secret Garden* explores: “Friday proposes that the repudiation of desires as anti- or non-feminist creates the condition for their return in fantasy, a process confirmed by Jong’s *Fear of Flying*” (57). So Jong’s narrative of fantasy and desire is “disruptive” in two ways, first by giving life to women’s fantasies in general, and second by giving life to “anti-feminist” sexual fantasies. And as Jong articulates via Isadora, fantasy or not, for women’s desire to be fully liberated and expressed, it must make room for contradictions and complexities: “But I have more respect for fantasy than that. You are what you daydream. . . . Because sex is all in the head. Pulse rates and secretions have nothing to do with it. That’s why all the best-selling sex manuals are such gyms. They teach people how to fuck with their pelvises, not with their heads” (Jong 37). Although some feminist criticisms of Jong’s novel presume that we must attempt to “exorcise” all traces of misogyny

and racism from our sexual imaginings, Frost asserts that doing so would mean the extinction of fantasy entirely:

If we try to will ourselves into new politically-correct fantasies, they are no longer fantasies, but consciously constructed personal improvement programs: the material very least likely to surface in fantasy. We cannot excise or exorcise fantasy just as we cannot efface history; our “desire-structures,” Plath and Jong maintain, are intimately connected with but are not identical to our politics. (Frost 62)

As a character, Isadora embodies the conflicted feminist, struggling to reconcile her sexual impulses with her political attitudes. Such a phenomenon is woven into the fabric of feminism according to Sandra Lee Bartky who acknowledges the challenge that internal appetites pose against outward social and political mobility for women:

To be at once a sexual being and a moral agent can be troublesome indeed: no wonder philosophers have wished that we could be rid of sexuality altogether. What to do, for example, when the structure of desire is at war with one’s principles?...What to do when one’s own sexuality is ‘politically incorrect,’ when desire is wildly at variance with feminist principles? (46-7)

While critics may be tempted to accuse Jong of being a “bad feminist”, they would do better to appreciate the truly uncensored nature of her work. Power structures are eroticized in the bedroom and constitute a large part of the human experience of sexuality (Frost 66), to deny that these structures affect and effect sexuality is to sterilize and censor sexual expression. Isadora’s desire for sexual domination in a sexual context should not be used as evidence of her failing feminism but rather an indication of the necessary work of compartmentalization of politics and pleasure and pleasurable “politics” between the sheets. In any case Isadora’s body becomes a site of pleasure and guilt, lust and aversion, an example of the complex existence of a female body situated within a patriarchal world: “The book of my body was open and the second circle of hell wasn’t far off” (Jong 84). What critics posit as Jong’s “flip-flopping” feminism is a mistaken conflation between author and protagonist, a mistake that Jong gives voice to in her novel stating, “it was a most dangerous business to judge a writer’s character by what he wrote” (Jong 124). But even in the act of separating author from character, it would still be negligent to simply dismiss Isadora’s fantasies as the result of a “confused” feminine mind. What Jong seems to caution against is the way that patriarchy can parade around under the guise of feminism. In a cyclical paradox, condemning sexual fantasies that do not adhere to the political principles and morals of feminism, would in-fact be acting out another form of oppression against women:

any system was a straitjacket if you insisted on adhering to it so totally and humorlessly...I didn’t believe in systems. What *did* I believe in then?...

In seeing life as contradictory, many-sided, various, funny, tragic, and with moments of outrageous beauty. In seeing life as a fruitcake, including delicious plums and bad peanuts, but meant to be devoured hungrily all the same because you couldn't feast on plums without also sometimes being poisoned by the peanuts. (Jong 139)

Jong's feminism is grounded in liberation (rather than a strict adherence to rules) in which the "problem" produces its own "pleasures": as a "self aware utopian" (Bresky) she is careful not to prescribe further rules and controls on, for and over women.

For critics such as Meryl Altman, the widespread popularity of *Fear of Flying* (and three other novels) resulted from the "(hetero)sexual revolution" (Altman 4) that the novel(s) puts forth, not only a feminist revolution. According to Altman the "fulfillment" sought after by Isadora occupies a space between the physical and "not only physical" while expanding/exploding the generic hetero normative ending of a "happy marriage" (4-5). Altman also recognizes the ways in which Jong's text actually subverts the narrative standards expected of second wave feminism that was in full force during the period Jong was writing. Altman states that, "instead of being criticized as being over-programmatic or politically correct, all three writers (especially Jong) suffered the opposite problem of being labeled unserious, trashy, even pornographic" (8). However, labels such as "trashy" signify an inherently patriarchal reaction to a narrative, such as Jong's, that demystifies femininity and what a feminine sexuality is supposed to look and sound like. Cutting the strings of the patriarchal puppet masters Jong exposes the contortionist efforts of women attempting to escape such labels and make the right moans, in and out of the bedroom: "I would become servile, cloying, saccharinely sweet: the whole package of lies that passes in the world as femininity" (138). While it is unlikely that such a quote would be employed by critics of Jong's work to demonstrate the novel's pornographic excessiveness, this instance of Jong's writing directly challenges the sexual roles that patriarchy casts women in. Certainly there are many more "titillating" scenes to sift through; however, this quote articulates perhaps a more accurate pro-porn feminist concern that porn and "commercial sexual culture" (Potter 106) is dangerous, not because of a general question of morality surrounding porn but because mainstream porn is generally "for men, not for women" and that it lacks "positive sexual role modeling" (Potter 106-7). In condemning Jong's novel as "pornographic" critics shame both author and heroine based on patriarchal social constructions of gender: it's not that Jong's novel is too sexual, it's that the sexuality is filtered through a female gaze rather than that of a male. The act of labeling is in actuality an act of shaming, which is (according to Sandra Bartky) inseparable from femininity and a tool used by patriarchal powers to maintain women in subordinate positions relative to men (Altman 8). So, as Altman asserts, there is power to be gained from wholeheartedly bearing such labels with pride in an effort to deny guilt and shame:

Foregrounding this shame then, being ‘shameless’, may be the only way of disarming it...by flitting with the risk of being labelled, ‘trashy books’, these texts carved out what I would argue was a radical terrain of subjectivity for women as they sought individually and collectively to reject a 1950’s medicalized vocabulary (‘frigidity’, ‘promiscuity’, ‘masculine protest’), and to discover their own sexual language. (Altman 8)

What Altman is getting at, and what Jong nails down concretely, is the paradoxical reality of women’s existence: “It was hopeless. If you were female and talented, life was a trap no matter which way you turned...You could never escape your femaleness. You had conflict written in your very blood” (Jong 170). And in Jong’s own words concerning her novel, “the question of ‘women and what they like’ (i.e. Sexually) is pretty well contextualized and situated within the paradox of patriarchy” (Altman quoting Jong 9). Of course, male rebuttal of the essentialist sort that claims “women don’t *need* sex that way, or think that way” is supported by such a paradox. The nature of normative heterosexual actions is steeped in and inseparable from the patriarchal structure. It works tirelessly on women’s minds and bodies, so even if they think *that* way (sexually), their desire to act on those impulses is impeded by the threat of rejection founded on the belief of men as active pursuers and women as receptively pursued. So in effect, the misogynist conception that “women don’t *need* sex the way men do” becomes a self fulfilling prophecy at the detriment of women’s sexual satisfaction. This tragic phenomena is chronicled by Jong when Isadora recounts the frustration of her own sexual journey tracing back to her mother’s internalized misogyny, thinly veiled as cultural conservatism:

my mother believed in free love, in dancing naked in the Bois de Boulogne, in dancing in the Greek Isles, in performing the Rites of Spring. Yet of course, she did *not*, or why did she say that boys wouldn’t respect me unless I ‘played hard to get’? That boys wouldn’t chase me if I ‘wore my heart on my sleeve,’ that boys wouldn’t call me if I ‘made myself cheap’?...It was all so complicated. And it seemed so much more complicated for *women*.⁶ Basically, I think, I was furious with my mother for not teaching me how to be a woman, for not teaching me how to make peace between the raging hunger in my cunt and the hunger in my head. (Jong 166)

Be liberated, but not too liberated, write about sex but in ways that aren’t too vulgar or too prudish, write like a woman, not a man, but make sure that men like what you’re writing. Do critics expect Jong to “court” them according to patriarchal gender roles? If so then certainly they are “turned off” by her directness because she is not a male author.

6 “Purity as an archaic condition of feminine social power” (Bresky)

Considering such condemnation, Jong's decision to interview with the notorious *Playboy* magazine seems like a rather fitting and audacious rebuttal to silly accusations of (female) impropriety. When asked about the autobiographical nature of her work, Jong responds, "sure, there's a lot of me in Isadora, but a lot of characters and events in the book are totally invented. I didn't set out to write autobiography; I set out to write a satirical novel about a woman in search of her own identity, and I did not stick to facts very closely — frequently not at all" (62). According to Jong, her most invested and thoughtful readers understand her book to be more than just erotica, more than just fucking, and almost fucking and before fucking: "the sex is incidental; the sex is *part* of identity". And indeed it proves to be an integral inseparable part of the whole. The very idea of a book being purely about sex is a fallacy, because (writing) sex involves the interplay of power relations, endless contextual varieties and "trying somehow to express a longing which is inexpressible — except maybe in poetry" (Jong *Flying* 84). Indeed desire is frequently in a state of disarray for Jong as exemplified through Isadora's conflicting wanting and her anxious monologuing: "How hypocritical to go upstairs with a man you don't want to fuck, leave the one you *do* sitting there alone, and then, in a state of great excitement, fuck the one you *don't* want to fuck while pretending he's the one you do. That's called fidelity. That's called monogamy. That's called civilization and its discontents" (Jong 83). In any case it may be necessary to comb through the details of the novel while paying particular attention to the ways Jong can be found hovering above Isadora, throwing her hands up in exasperation or at least rolling her eyes. Jong's decision to interview with *Playboy* reflects her brazen authorial attitude and functions as the perfect, smart-assed, deliciously gritty uprising against would be censorship, thinly veiled as "critique": "I know that women aren't *supposed* to talk like that, but to my knowledge, they do it much more than men" (*Playboy* 4).

Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* magazine (turned empire) aimed for an "uprising" all its own, that usurped the traditional institution of married life in favor of a life of pleasure, single-dome and accusation, but for men and men alone. Of course, as Barbara Ehrenreich observed of this covert "rebellion", once men moved back into the home and claimed it as their space, "women would be welcome. . . but only as guests — maybe overnight guests — but not as wives" (44). For Hefner, the "modern man" was disenfranchised by woman, he going to work and winning all the bread while she stuffed her face with those hard earned loaves, leaving only crumbs in the wake:

Playboy was not the voice of the sexual revolution, which began, at least overtly, in the sixties, but of the male rebellion, which had begun in the fifties. The real message was not eroticism, but escape — literal escape, from the bondage of bread-winning. . . Sex — or Hefner's Pepsi-clean version of it — was there to legitimize what was truly subversive about *Playboy*. (51)

Indeed it was not men's sexual liberation that Hefner was invested in, after all they had that already, and more. In comparison, the "mission" of Jong's novel

was to chronicle the real lived sexual existences of woman, the dissatisfaction and the greater, more intense and increasingly ravenous carnal yearnings that such an anticlimactic (pun intended) actuality subsequently produced. If Jong's narrative is an "escape" of any kind, it is in the sense that she leaves behind the mystical, vapoury and sentimentalized imitations of the human body, sexuality and sex in favor of the awkward, the imperfect and the "fruitcake" (nuts and all). In the case of sex, Jong's *Fear of Flying* is not nearly as sterile, censored and airbrushed into oblivion as Hefner's *Playboy*. When it comes to boundary pushing, Jong is a heavy weight, her writing is truthfully salacious and deliciously, even dangerously fleshy:

Once just to impress Bennett, I told him about the Hell's Angels initiation ceremony. The part where the initiate has to go down on his woman while she has her period and while the other guys watch. Bennett said nothing. 'well, isn't that interesting?' I nudged. 'Isn't that a gas?' Still nothing. I kept nagging. 'Why don't you buy yourself a little dog,' 'and train him'. 'I ought to report you to the New York Psychoanalytic,' I said. (Jong 27)

But true love of Jong is born of both an appreciation for her titillating carnality and her devotion to observing the treacherous reality that accompanies the prospect of freedom from the patriarchal institution of marriage that Hefner calls for (minus the patriarchy, minus the women and with an added dash of privilege):

But what was so great about marriage? I had been married and married. It had its good points, but it also had its bad. The virtues of marriage were mostly negative virtues. Being unmarried in a man's world was such a hassle that *anything* had to be better. Marriage was better. But not much. Damned clever, I thought, how men had made life so intolerable for single women that most would gladly embrace even bad marriages instead. Almost anything had to be an improvement on hustling for your own keep at some low-paid job and fighting off unattractive men in your spare time while desperately trying to ferret out the attractive ones. Though I've no doubt that being single is just as lonely for a man, it doesn't have the added extra wallop of being downright dangerous, and it doesn't automatically imply poverty and the unquestioned status of a social pariah. (Jong 86-7)

So while some critical opinions would define the return of a dishevelled heroine to her husband and marital life as "a cop-out", Jong defines the narrative trajectory of *Fear of Flying* as a "saga of unfulfillment" rather than a serious and unyielding prescription for women to return to the safety of their husbands or married life. Such delineation, championed by Jong herself, is paradoxical in nature. Indeed her protagonist Isadora comes against numerous impediments that lead to her dissatisfaction, sexual and otherwise, (misogynist psychiatrists, shit striped sheets, limp pricks, homicidal exboyfriends who believe they are the next messiah, and more limp pricks, just to name a small sample) and yet readers, men and women alike, return to the novel and leave it feeling heard, seen and satisfied. As one

reviewer states, “I can’t remember ever before feeling quite so free to identify my own feelings with those of a female protagonist — which would suggest that Isadora Wing, with her unfettered yearnings for sexual satisfaction and her touching struggle for identity and self-confidence, is really more of a person than a woman”. But to attribute the “satisfaction” that Jong’s book offers to readers to the construction of a hopelessly human and relatable protagonist does not quite do justice to the sexual rebellion that Jong’s novel aims to proliferate for women specifically.

For critics such as Altman and other feminist supporters of Jong, condemnations of *Fear of Flying* as “sort of trash-as-trash, [is] an unsuccessful way of stopping women’s mouths” (Altman 11). While critics have sought to fixate on the contradictory nature of Jong’s novel, namely by following a heroine who is a feminist that gets wet at being called a “cheeky cunt” and who desires the excitement of an affair but the stability of marriage, Altman sees this as one of the great virtues of Jong’s narrative. She argues that by investing her story in a heroine of such gigantic (feminine) disproportions, the reality of women’s sexual existence under patriarchy is finally allowed to breathe: “‘better, stronger heroines would not have provided the same sort of insight into the ways women are split and betray themselves and one another (Altman 18). This is both the allure and aversion that Jong’s novel poses to readers. Isadora’s sexuality is messy and unclear, a portrait of the *reality* of women’s sexual experience rather than a hoped for ideal, because women continue to exist under a patriarchy, despite all our advancements: “being a woman meant being harried, frustrated, and always angry. It meant being split into two irreconcilable halves” (Jong 170). The discontent and incessant contradictions that Jong consistently breathes life into via her troubled protagonist are, as Altman argues, a large allure of the novel and a major contributing factor to its continued popularity decades after its publication. For Altman, and the authors themselves, the continued success of novels like Jong’s is bittersweet because they indicate that the same problems still plague women and their sexuality and that their “liberation” has yet to come:

feminism still has some pressing and unfinished business. The sorrow and the anger and the irony of these works still resonate for readers of all generations and ages. ...Changes in the personal and sexual realm have not kept pace with, or followed on from, changes in economic arrangements, as one had thought they would; and the promise of liberation — described ironically by Foucault as the promise that ‘tomorrow sex will be good again’ — has not been fulfilled for many people. (Altman 19)

Imelda Whelehan describes Jong’s novel as an echo of feminist literary theory which accurately depicts the reality that “heterosexual desire is a minefield” through Isadora who “reflects the difficulties of politicizing the personal — an act

so crucial to feminism” (31).⁷ For Jong, writing as a woman is inevitably political, the path (now well trodden) for many contemporary female authors, was dug out by the heroic women writers of the past in which “even intelligent writers were male chauvinist pigs” (47):

For those of us who grew up longing to be writers in the fifties, there was no obvious female template. Creativity was portrayed as a mandrake root male with a large gnarled phallus buried in the earth. Pull it out. Its virility was unmistakable. Female writers didn’t exist on our critical radar or were cruelly mocked... We didn’t drink enough. (Not yet anyway.) We didn’t puke in the street. (Not yet anyway)... We were too ladylike. (Jong. *The Demon*. 44)

So for Jong, while the politics of sex is tasked in her novel, it leads back to greater issues of female authorship in a male literary world. Jong not only writes women’s experience⁸ but also writes against patriarchal resistance to female invention:⁹

Until women started writing books there was only one side of the story. Throughout all history, books were written with sperm, not menstrual blood... Phallogocentric. A friend of mine recently found this in a fortune cookie: THE TROUBLE WITH MEN IS MEN, THE TROUBLE WITH WOMEN, MEN. (Jong 27)

If Jong herself had not claimed the politics in her novel so openly, certainly her very existence as a female author (writing sex no less!) would have admitted itself to the fact. Certainly Jong would concur with Whelehan in regards to the “minefield” like task of writing heterosexual desire, but for Jong the “dangers” of such an endeavor are precisely what mark the excursion as worthwhile and necessary. Jong states that, “writing a novel is such a profound self-exploration. In the process, you discover how deeply societal myths have marked you” (Jong. *The Demon*. 72). While *Fear of Flying* places the phallic back in Pandora’s box (or nightstand) it also returns readers to the truths of their own political sexualities: “writing and reading enable you to reclaim the inside of your skull. They erase the slate scribbled with distractions” (Jong. *The Demon*. 29).

Isadora’s exposé of Brian, her first and perhaps most problematic husband may serve as an instance in which Jong is hoping that readers are able to read between the lines of her prose. Recounting their terribly catastrophic foray into the world of matrimony, Isadora recalls their less than satisfying sexual life stating,

7 because patriarchal oppression is personal.

8 “What would happen when women told their side of the story? Would the world split open? In a way, it did” (Jong. *The Demon*. 47)

9 “This was a big fuck-you to men, who apparently were so benighted they thought women could all come in thirty seconds from penetration by a hasty ejaculator” (Jong. *The Demon*. 32)

and even before he cracked up, Brian's sexual preferences were somewhat odd. He only liked sucking not fucking. At the time I was too inexperienced to realize that all men weren't that way...I figured that Brian's age was to blame...I did get very good at sucking though. (Jong *Fear* 96)

Admittedly following her separation with Brian, Isadora tries out multiple partners but is consistently left in a state of sexual frustration. It is at this juncture that Jong is likely shaking her head. In her interview with *Playboy*, when asked about the economy of orgasms in relationships Jong responds,

I do think one's feelings about orgasm are completely variable. Certainly there are times when, if you really love somebody, you can get totally into the idea of giving pleasure. This may sound like something that goes against feminist beliefs, but a man can do it as well as a woman: I mean, there are times when you just want to give the other person pleasure. If it's *consistently* like that, then there's something wrong with the relationship. The fun in fucking is variety. (*Playboy* 65)

Of course Isadora is undoubtedly justified in leaving Brian, considering his singular "preference" for fellatio among other injustices, but the "variety" that Jong champions is not necessarily tied up in strictly polyamorous terms. For Jong, the pleasure of variation and diversity is just as attainable, if not more so, in monogamous partnerships.

The varietal symphony of pleasure that Jong conquers and upholds in her prose is intimately tied to her belief in the value of ecstasy over just "straightforward sex". As she asserts in her autobiography, "Sex has the unparalleled power to make us absurd to ourselves. It also has the power to make us understand transcendence. When it is ecstatic, nothing is more powerful than sex. . . and ecstasy cannot exist without loss of control" (Jong *The Demon* 76-7). According to Jong, men who make for bad lovers are guilty of genital fixation and obsession with no regard for the parts that make up the whole, all sex and no ecstasy. Responding to the claims that all some women need is a "good fuck," Jong sates, "A lot of *men* need a good fuck, but they're incapable of getting it because they regard their penises as sort of detached from the rest of their bodies" (*Playboy* 65). Adrian Goodlove, who provides Isadora with her wonderfully surprising extramarital affair, plays the part of the female protagonist's arguably best lover in *Fear of Flying*, despite his inability to maintain an erection: "but as soon as he got hard, he's got soft again" (Jong 95). But what makes Adrian Goodlove such a good lover if not his prick? In the case of this "playboy" (an impostor as it turns out¹⁰) Jong has managed to delight not only Isadora but also readers by means of, not sex, but more importantly, ecstasy:

I didn't know what it meant and I didn't care. We were tasting each other. We were upside down and his tongue was playing music in my cunt...It

10 Perhaps redundant?? what is a playboy of not an impostor?

was rather touching, actually. He didn't want to be a fucking machine... The funny thing was, I didn't really mind. He was so beautiful lying there and his body smelled so good. (Jong 96)

In a twisted (or is it straight?) paradox by removing the stumbling block that is the phallus, Jong has fashioned the ideal lover, or more accurately, ideal sexual pleasure. It is precisely *because* Adrian cannot get hard that he becomes the best lover, not despite the fact:

the deliciousness of skin, of oral sex, of sex without homage to the divine Lawrentian 'phallos' can be a revelation... Whatever breaks our fixation on the genitals and turns us into entire bodies linked to entire minds enhances sex... A lover makes love with words, with stroking, with laughter... Anxiety ruins sex... Music, stroking, scent, poetry — these things are far more important than a stiff prick. (Jong *The Demon* 79-80)

And what a lover Adrian is. Jong's depictions of Isadora's "rendezvous" with Goodlove are devastatingly corporeal and account for some of the greatest poetic pleasures of the novel. But Jong does not "castrate" Goodlove by any means. He remains very much intact, but in a way that does not privilege the phallic. He is conceivably the most wholly complete male lover of the novel and, ultimately, "his limp prick had penetrated where a stiff one would never have reached" (Jong 97):

Mouth to mouth and belly to belly. Adrian must have the wettest kiss in history. His tongue is everywhere, like the ocean. We are sailing away. His penis (bulging under his corduroy pants) is the tall red smokestack of an ocean liner. And I am moaning around it like the ocean wind. And I am saying all the silly things you say while necking in parking lots, trying somehow to express a longing which is inexpressible — except maybe in poetry. And it all comes out so lame. I love your mouth. I love your hair. I love your ears. I want you. I want you. I want you. Anything to avoid saying: I love you. Because this is almost too good to be love. Too yummy and delicious to be anything as serious and sober as love. Your whole mouth has turned to liquid. His tongue tastes better than a nipple to an infant. . . . Meanwhile he's got my ass and is cupping it with both hands. He's put my book on the fender of a Volkswagen and he's grabbed my ass instead. Isn't that why I write? To be loved? I don't know anymore. I don't even know my own name. (Jong 84-5)

What Adrian can offer to both readers and Isadora is fucking and then some. Their bodies are highly attuned to what exists beyond the limited scope of pleasure that purely genital stimulation can provide. The sexual relationship that flourishes between Isadora and Adrian illustrate Jong's force as an artist. The instances of their intimacies, love making and fucking example what Jong constitutes as the difference between pornography and literature: "If a piece of work is merely

utilitarian, if it stimulates and facilitates only masturbation, it is pornography. If it illustrates human feelings, it is something more. . . The buyer of pornography doesn't want any hint of poetry" (Jong *The Demon* 68).

Of course the stakes are much higher than porn in Jong's novel. She writes sex as poetry and as ecstasy, within a women's world no less where the female body is at once policed, fetishized and adored by men. In short her text is far from pornographic, "masturbatory and exhibitionistic" (Jong 47) but sincerely deals with the simultaneously delightful and complicated experience of female sexuality. For Jong, "reconciling" feminism and heterosexual desire is an undertaking that goes seemingly unresolved for Isadora:

I thought of all those centuries in which men adored women for their bodies while they despised their minds. Back in my days of worshiping the Woolfs and the Webbs it had seemed inconceivable to me, but now I understood it. Because that was how I so often felt about men. Their minds were hopelessly befuddled, but their bodies were so nice. Their ideas were intolerable, but their penises were silky. I had been a feminist all my life...but the big problem was how to make your feminism jibe with your unappeasable hunger for male bodies. It wasn't easy. (Jong 96)

But perhaps this serves as another instance of the irony that abounds in Jong's text. Does being a feminist necessitate hating men? It should not be considered bold to reply, "obviously not"¹¹. Does bodily desire even allow for such delusion? If so it occurs in the form of the, "perfect man whose mind and body were equally fuckable. He had a face like Paul Newman and a voice like Dylan Thomas. He had a body like Michelangelo's David ('with those rippling little marble muscles'...)" (Jong 102). In any case Jong makes it clear (via Goodlove) that such men are not necessarily guarantees of pleasure, as she reiterates in her autobiography when she chronicles the story of, "Taibele and Her Demon"¹². Jong states without reserve, "I hate when people polarize us like that. I don't see why being a feminist should be inconsistent with loving men" (*Playboy* 66). This is not to say that Jong in any way denies the gendered injustices that have permeated heterosexual relations, specifically in marriage and "the bullshit of me-Tarzan, you-Jane" (Jong 87). Instead her statement suggests that there is no point in denying desire for men, love even, should it be there: and it *should* go without saying that feminism has absolutely nothing to do with hating men. Perhaps Bronwen Wallace says it best in her poem "To get to you". To make room for ecstasy, Jong seems to say, one must come into the "bedroom" stripped of all the metaphorical clothing we smother ourselves in (Bresky):

11 Me quoting...me

12 Written by Bashevis Singer: "a man pretending to be a demon visits by night a pretty young woman...at first the demon terrifies her with his ugliness, but then she falls in love with him — as much for his vivid stories of hell and heaven as for his demonic lovemaking" (Jong *The Demon* 23).

The zipless fuck was more than a fuck. It was a platonic ideal. Zipless because when you came together zippers fell away like rose petals, underwear blew off in one breath like dandelion fluff. Tongues intertwined and turned liquid. Your whole soul flowed out through your tongue and into the mouth of your lover... The zipless fuck is absolutely pure. It is free of ulterior motives. There is no power game. The man is not “taking” and the woman is not “giving”... The zipless fuck is the purest thing there is. And it is rarer than the unicorn. (Jong 11-15)

In the end, Jong’s novel is more than a powerfully realized fantasy on paper. Her story gives voice to female sexual desire while directly denying the patriarchal punishment of death prescribed for the “law breakers”, such as Sylvia Plath and Anne Sexton who paid the ultimate price for their talents:

For the longest time, women in novels had to be severely punished for their sexual expression. Anna Karenina and Madame Bovary died for their sins. That archetype extended far into the twentieth century with a slight change: Loss of a child substituting for death itself. . . We are still not entirely comfortable with sexuality in women going unpunished. The most promiscuous woman character in *Sex and the City* is rebuked with breast cancer. For all that Samantha bears it heroically, breast cancer is clearly a variant of the old dies-for-her-sins paradigm. (Jong *The Demon* 72)

Jong’s novel carries within its pages a legacy of female genius. Her writing embodies the genuine experience of a female artist, in which the sexual and the creative are so intimately and inseparably bound.¹³ Through sex, ecstasy, anger and menstrual blood she returns readers to the truths of women’s existences and women artists in particular, while defying patriarchal forces that oppose and rebuke them in the name of “propriety”. Jong re-awakens dormant and hidden actualities of the authentic, messy and sexual lives of women, leaving in her creative wake a war cry for readers, writers and artists to come: “Be good whores” (Cohen).

13 “Living and writing in heat” (*The Demon* 66)

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ARTEMIS BAKER

Using the Satire of the Past to Change the Future

In a world falling apart at the seams and every day is crazier than the last, how does a genre such as satire, which is built on making things absurd, survive? To answer that question, one must first understand the genre of satire itself. To do just that, this paper will examine two seemingly unrelated texts: *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) and *Feet of Clay* (1996). *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift is the grand journal of Gulliver, an adventurer keen on exploring the culture of a number of amazing lands containing people great and small. *Feet of Clay* by Terry Pratchett is one of many escapades of Sam Vimes and the Ankh-Morpork City Watch as they grapple with golems, unsanctioned assassination attempts and dwarves in dresses. While these novels may seem completely different, they have many things in common. The most important of these being the efforts of Jonathan Swift and Terry Pratchett to make sense of the problems they saw in the world through the use of satire. Though satire is complex and nuanced, for this paper, it will be defined as the act of reframing reality through absurdity, humour and passionate emotion, for the purpose of highlighting and fixing a problem in society. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that a shift away from absurd satire and back toward passionate emotion and humour is necessary for the survival of the genre.

The modern critical conversation surrounding satire frequently dismisses that there are any examples of satire and that other genres have taken on its responsibilities. Critics such as Hugh Walker state that satire virtually disappeared in the nineteenth century, and any examples of satire after that point cannot truly be considered satire since they fail to conform to traditional expectations of the medium. Other critics who have weighed in on this matter, such as Robert C. Elliot, have explained that other genres, such as utopia and fantasy, may have taken on the role of satire in literature. This paper will outline that those expectations are met but are simply less evident in the text. I will also argue that while utopia and fantasy are frequently used along with satire, both before and after the nineteenth

century, and often overlap in function, they cannot completely replace satire as they fail in the same manner as satire that is simply absurd.

In order to explore the nature and evolution of satire, I will first consult historical theories of satire such as the Horatian and Juvenalian methods and the difference between satire as a literary device and satire as a genre. To show examples of the traditional understanding of satire, I will examine Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and the well of criticism analyzing Swift's work. Then, I will look at the criticism remarking on how and why satirical works were less relevant in the nineteenth century. I will also analyze Terry Pratchett's *Feet of Clay* to determine how his satire emulates and differs from Swift's. Ultimately my project is a foray into the effort to recover satire in our world of absurdity using traditional definitions of the genre.

The critical consensus is that satire can be understood as the intersection between two concepts, "'wit or humour founded on fantasy or a sense of the grotesque or absurd' for one, and 'an object of attack.'" (Paulson 3). In other words, satire is an extranormal critique of the ordinary; it occurs when an author calls attention to an everyday problem using a fantastical and absurd depiction. Since the establishment of the genre of satire, literary scholars have argued which of these elements take precedence, but all definitions hold both elements in some form.¹⁴ This definition is key, as what makes satire an effective tool for social commentary is the point of attack, and the other elements are simply the vessel for that message. The challenge with modern-day satire is that absurdity fails to convey the messages that satirists attempt to make.

Another piece of satire's definition explains both why satire is often disregarded after the nineteenth century and how other genres are used in conjunction with satire. The concept of satire is divided into a satire and a satirical work, the former being a text that is inherently satirical throughout and exists in the genre of satire, while the latter is a literary device used within a text of another genre (Paulson 4). For example, *Gulliver's Travels* is a satire because the whole work comments on the structure of society. At the same time, it also uses satire as a literary device to tackle other issues within the text. That being said, satirists almost always borrow or incorporate another genre into their work in order to provide a foundation for the narrative. In Swift's case, his book is a fantasy as well as a satire. This distinction is essential for understanding the criticism on satire because scholars differentiate between the genre and the literary device since many often only consider satires "true" satire and disregard satire when used within a literary text that is not a satire (such as a romance or an epic).

14 The specific definition of satire has continuously shifted since "theorists [who] happen also to be practitioners of satire, they are likely to be propagandizing for their own particular way of writing satire." (Griffin 6). As a result, the definition of satire most widely accepted in any period ultimately depends on which satirist resonated with the greatest number of critics during that time.

The origins of satire can be traced back to Ancient Greece and Rome, where several poets experimented and attempted to define the emerging genre of satire. The two of these poets who had the most significant impact on satire as a whole were Horace and Juvenal. Horace's approach to satire can be best explained by the phrase *Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?* or "What forbids a laughing man from telling the truth?" (Renner 51). His style of satire was to reveal fundamental truths through humour. He was also notorious for beginning to dissect a topic before abandoning it, a practice responsible for naming the genre *lax satira*, which means "full platter" since the brief glimpse at a myriad of subjects resembled a platter filled with fruit (Griffin 8). Juvenal's approach to satire is described by the phrase *facit indignatio versum* meaning "indignation gives inspiration to verse" (Renner 51). Juvenal's satire was characterized by a frustration with the world, which he brought light to through his writing. These two modes of satire persist throughout the criticism on the subject and continue to influence our modern understanding.

Jonathan Swift embodies much of the understanding of satire in the eighteenth century through his work *Gulliver's Travels*. One element of classical satire evident in Swift's work is the Horatian style. Besides taking a *lax satira* approach to his satire, in that Swift jumps from one analysis to the next throughout his work, he also incorporates the element of humour in the form of absurdity into his satire. Several examples can be found in the Lilliputians' religiously motivated practices, the tiny folk who capture the protagonist in the novel's first section. The first of these being the egg-cracking doctrine that led to their war with their neighbouring country Blefuscu. When a Lilliputian prince cut himself on the bigger side of the egg,

The emperor his father published an edict, commanding all his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller end of their eggs. The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on that account; wherein one emperor lost his life, and another his crown. These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu; and when they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. It is computed that eleven thousand persons have at several times suffered death, rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. (Swift 68)

Though it seems absurd that this level of strife occurred over eggs, this dispute echoes many real-world disputes between nations that seem ridiculous from an outside perspective but lead to mass bloodshed. The specificity Swift includes in this example, such as the name of their religious text and their prophet, aids in rooting this in examples of other religious-based conflicts.

Absurdity is a cornerstone of satire that allows authors to explore reality through a unique lens. Swift uses humour to convey absurdity, such as in his description of the Lilliputians' funeral rites, they bury their dead with their heads directly downward, because they hold an opinion, that in eleven thousand moons

they are all to rise again; in which period the earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this means they shall, at their resurrection, be found ready standing on their feet. The learned among them confess the absurdity of this doctrine; but the practice still continues, in compliance to the vulgar. (Swift 83)

This story reflects Christian doctrine, which dictates that someday Jesus Christ will rise again and bring the dead with him. Though Christianity's version does not include the inversion of the earth, the inclusion of this detail in Swift's account points to the irrationality of the concept as a whole, which he has his characters express. Christian dead are placed in boxes in the ground due to tradition rather than because it serves a specific purpose. Swift calls attention to how strange this is by creating a similar but more absurd parallel. This passage highlights how many traditions, even when their purpose is long obsolete, continue to be practiced simply because that is what is expected, even if the individuals performing them no longer find value in such actions. Through these examples, Swift uses absurdity to make fun of terrible situations in his world and history in an effort to understand the motivation behind such actions.

That being said, Swift does not rely solely on absurdity or humour. While Horace mixed humour into his writing to convey his messages, Juvenal used indignation and similar emotions to reach his goals; Swift incorporates both styles in his writing. Swift demonstrates Juvenal's style in his writing by showing a problem from a different perspective and commenting on the consequences of said situation. One example of this is in how the Lilliputians choose their state officials,

when a great office is vacant, either by death or disgrace (which often happens,) five or six of those candidates petition the emperor to entertain his majesty and the court with a dance on the rope; and whoever jumps the highest, without falling, succeeds in the office... These diversions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record. (Swift 50-51)

Though British ministers were never doing summersaults on tightropes, politics was (and is) a high stakes game with massive potential repercussions that often occur high above the head of the everyman. In this section, Swift is also condemning the showmanship of politics and how conflicts between different groups are often spectacles rather than serious debates.¹⁵ In this scene, Swift depicts the officials' appointment as a circus due to his frustration over how similar British politics were to this method. By combining both styles, Swift is able to explore a greater range of topics and do so more thoroughly.

The Juvenalian style is characterized by passionate emotion, which Swift employs to explore his own fears about being lost to time when he has Gulliver call on the great philosophers of the past to interact with one another. When he

15 For deeper analysis on Swift and politics see Bullard

introduces the ideas of Descartes and Gassendi to Aristotle, Gulliver expects him to be impressed. But instead, Aristotle laments that their ideas will eventually be disproved in the same way his were, stating that: “new systems of nature were but new fashions, which would vary in every age; and even those, who pretend to demonstrate them from mathematical principles, would flourish but a short period of time, and be out of vogue when that was determined” (Swift 321). Though this passage is written with more lament than anger, Swift emulates Juvenal here by displaying a strong discontentment with the nature of the world. As Swift was someone who dealt with ideas and political reform, the notion that his efforts would be made obsolete in the future would have been troubling for him.

All of these passages thus far have been examples of Swift using satire as a literary device. The text itself is also a satire; in other words, the whole text is satirical as it imitates and mocks nautical journal writing, which had become popular in Swift’s time. He does this through the way he describes events, the way he names people and locations and the format of the novel, which all can often be drawn to other publications from around the same time (Sherbo). On top of that, the text as a whole is an exploration of different forms of government and how they interact with the public. Every new society Gulliver travels to reveals something to him about the flaws of his own country, and the way he interacts with them reveals further flaws to the audience.¹⁶ The book as a whole places Gulliver in a number of allegorical political positions, which all serve to inform both him and the audience of the fundamental flaws of each system. The collection of these perspectives into a narrative structure turns the novel from a series of satirical literary devices into a satire.

Alongside his satire, Swift employs several other genres that serve a similar role. One example of this is Swift’s use of fantasy. Though fantasy does not become a well established and widely popular genre until years later, Swift incorporates fantastical elements into his text. Though there had been reports in travel journals reporting both very small and extremely large individuals, Swift makes the scenes fantastical by exaggerating the discrepancy in size and describing how the environment is changed to fit the proportions of the inhabitants (Sherbo 116). The land of the Lilliputians is described: “as the common size of the natives is somewhat under six inches high, so there is an exact proportion in all other animals, as well as plants and trees” (Swift 82). In the opposite situation in the land of Brobdingnag, Gulliver notes, “that which first surprised me was the length of the grass, which, in those grounds that seemed to be kept for hay, was about twenty feet high” (Swift 129). Both of these situations serve to set up Swift’s satire as they establish an absurd environment and reinforce the text as a mockery of the travel journals that initially reported oddly proportioned societies. This occurrence of fantasy in Swift’s text will serve to tie Pratchett’s work into satire later in this essay.

16 See Paulson (166) for a specific analysis of this in the text.

Two related genres that are present in both Swift and Pratchett are Utopia and Dystopia. These genres depict a perfect world and a world where something has gone catastrophically wrong which leads to devastation, respectively. Though none of the societies in *Gulliver's Travels* perfectly fit either genre, the elements of each that exist in the text serve to highlight the satire present within the text. An example of utopia is in the depiction of the Lilliputians' system of reinforcing their laws,

although we usually call reward and punishment the two hinges upon which all government turns, yet I could never observe this maxim to be put in practice by any nation except that of Lilliput. Whoever can there bring sufficient proof, that he has strictly observed the laws of his country for seventy-three moons, has a claim to certain privileges, according to his quality or condition of life, with a proportionable sum of money out of a fund appropriated for that use. (Swift 85)

Gulliver clearly admires this system, and his description highlights a failure in his own government. He specifically appreciates that the Lilliputians put into practice a policy that Britain claimed to uphold but fails to abide by. In this passage, Swift does not use humour or indignation to critique the British government but rather shows the flaws in the system by demonstrating how the optimal system operates. In a similar vein, Swift depicts the potential downfall of overreliance on new scientific ideas in his description of Lagado,

In these colleges the professors contrive new rules and methods of agriculture and building, and new instruments, and tools for all trades and manufactures;...All the fruits of the earth shall come to maturity at whatever season we think fit to choose, and increase a hundred fold more than they do at present; with innumerable other happy proposals. The only inconvenience is, that none of these projects are yet brought to perfection; and in the mean time, the whole country lies miserably waste, the houses in ruins, and the people without food or clothes. (Swift 287)

By using dystopia in this section, Swift is making a comment on science in technology similar to the ones he made using satire. This passage demonstrates the similarity between dystopia and satire as it is also lamenting a social problem through an extreme reimaging. The difference between dystopia and satire at this moment is the lack of passionate emotion; no one in the text seems particularly distressed at the massive social issues this approach to progress has caused. The government official who explained this to Gulliver treated it as a fact of life rather than a problem. The lack of emotion here helps criticize those in the real world who fail to see the issue, but it also lacks the path forward that is inherent in satire. Swift only bemoans progress in this section rather than proposing a way forward without the same impact as he does in other sections. As satire loses popularity in the nineteenth century, methods such as utopia, dystopia and fantasy are used in similar ways.

Certain critics argue that after the pinnacle of satire that occurred in the eighteenth century, the form died when faced with the genre of realism which categorized the nineteenth century. Some, such as Walker, argue that “there is no single great prose work that can without reservation be called a satire” (278). This opinion stems from the idea that a text needs to be fundamentally satirical in order to be considered a satire. There are plenty of examples of authors who use satire as a literary device in sections of their text, but there are no fundamentally satirical texts according to Walker’s definition. Looking back at *Gulliver’s Travels*, it is clear that the entire text is framed as a critical imitation of the travel literature of the period, which makes it a satire. Nineteenth-century texts, such as *The Importance of Being Earnest*, had elements inherent to the plot that were satirical such as the inversion of gender roles, but the text itself was not a comment on anything.¹⁷ The satirical elements that existed in the nineteenth century were relevant to the genre, but the fact that they did not dominate the texts in which they appeared was indicative of the time period.

There are many reasons for the overshadowing of the genre of satire, though the one critics most often point to is the rise of realism. The two genres are not very compatible, considering satirists often use exaggeration to demonstrate their commentary.¹⁸ But ultimately, realism overshadowed satire because the attitude toward extremism in Britain had changed. While in the eighteenth century, having scathing political debates and lavish displays of passion through pamphlets and novels was encouraged, censorship and general interest for moderate perspectives defined the nineteenth century and discouraged the emotions satire is built from (Palmeri 362). The desire to read about individuals who lived in the real world and who experienced both good and bad, rather than protagonists plagued by social ills or in an ideal situation inaccessible in reality, flourished in an age where the voices who respected both sides rang the loudest.

After this decline, the role satire played in political commentary was largely reassigned to other genres. In the twentieth century, the popularity of genres such as sci-fi, fantasy, dystopia and utopia hindered a return to the classic understanding of satire since they served a similar purpose and appealed to the dominant fears of the time period. With technology growing with each passing day, criticisms of how human innovation could ultimately result in destruction were needed and provided through sci-fi (Hunter). During a period filled with change and hardship, the desire to read about problems that could never become reality, such as fighting dragons, that symbolize real-world crises and allow the reader to rationalize what is plaguing the world (Hunter). With two massive wars dominating the first half of the century and the threat of nuclear armageddon hanging over the second half, utopian and dystopian narratives that explored the future result of said conflicts

17 For more on satire and fantasy in the nineteenth century see Jordan

18 Some, such as Aaron Matz argue that some examples of realism in this period challenged the norm enough to be considered satirical (175).

— deceptively positive or catastrophically negative, respectively — served to question the political choices that may lead to those futures (Elliot). All these genres function very similarly to satire and achieve many of the same goals. They also work very well to supplement satire, such as fantasy supplements the satirical nature of *Gulliver's Travels*.

The reason sci-fi, fantasy, utopia and dystopia are not considered subgenres of satire goes back to Walker's argument that a text must have a fundamental and overarching satirical message in order to be considered a satire. Though these other genres serve a similar purpose and often include satire as a literary device, they are not inherently a commentary on the world. One example of this is in the introduction to *Feet of Clay*. Pratchett begins the story by describing his world,

The Discworld turned against the glittering backdrop of space, spinning very gently on the backs of the four giant elephants that perched on the shell of Great A'Tuin the star turtle. Continents drifted slowly past, topped by weather systems that themselves turned gently against the flow, like waltzers spinning counter to the whirl of the dance. (4-5)

This section a clear example of fantasy as it describes a world unique from our own. However, the way Pratchett has laid out his world is not a commentary on our world. The only quips attached to this description are statements about how geography and meteorology are interesting fields of research.¹⁹ This description serves the function of connecting this story to his other work and separating the reader from their own world. But the nature of the Discworld is not inherently a comment on society.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, authors such as Terry Pratchett reimagined the genre of satire by leaning further toward absurdity while integrating more elements of fantasy, utopia and dystopia into their work. Crucially, Pratchett's work can still be considered a satire according to Walker's definition as it is fundamentally commenting on the world. As a whole, the novel can be considered a satire of crime-solving narratives, such as the Sherlock Holmes novels and of the British government. Aside from a reference in the text to the famous detective, summarized in the statement, "The real world was far too real to leave neat little hints" (120). Pratchett challenges the narrative of the lone detective fundamentally throughout the text. Commander Vimes relies on teamwork throughout, with Carrot, Angua and Cheri ultimately being the ones who solve the case.²⁰ There are also several references to Vimes's grandfather Old Stoneface who took the law into his own hands to depose a corrupt leader. Even though he did improve everyday life in Ankh-Morpork, he was remembered as a villain, in the same way "heroes" such as Batman and Sherlock Holmes would be if

19 For more on Pratchett and Fantasy, see Rayment

20 For more on the heroes in Pratchett's work, see Haberkorn

they were not the protagonists. Two major themes of the novel are the importance of stability and government and the value of lower-class existence. Both of these themes challenge the value of the British monarchy both when they were in power and were a constant risk of being incapable, insane or both and their modern role in the British government as rich figureheads.

Further evidence of how Pratchett's work can be considered a satire is how his commentary is fundamental to the fabric of the plot. Though the following quote seems innocuous at first, later in the text it is revealed that the language Dragon uses to describe the candlemaker's coat-of-arms is the key to discovering the mystery. The coat-of-arms is:

A shield bisected by a bend sinister d'une meche en metal gris — that is to say, a steel grey shield indicating his personal determination and zeal (how zealous, ah-ha, these businessmen are!) bisected by a wick. Upper half, a chandelle in a fenetre avec rideaux houlant (a candle lighting a window with a warm glow, ah-ha), lower half two chandeliers illumine (indicating the wretched man sells candles to rich and poor alike). Fortunately his father was a harbourmaster, which fact allowed us to stretch ourselves a little with a crest of a lampe au poisson (fish-shaped lamp), indicating both this and his son's current profession. The motto I left in the common modern tongue and is 'Art Brought Forth the Candle' (29-30)

This quote highlights the irony of the upper-class who put great pride and importance of symbols that range from arbitrary to ridiculous, looking down on the people who work hard for their success. This attitude is accentuated through the use of the "high-class" language, French, which Dragon needs to explain to Vimes, and the near-constant jabs at the working class. It is relevant to the text as a whole because the solution to the mystery is that Arthur Carry, at Dragon's behest, made candles laced with arsenic to kill Vetinari. Foreshadowing for this and for Dragon's motives are evident in his asides. Dragon laughs after the word zealous; a nod to Carry's comments when confronted by Carrot about working so hard for fear of losing all his blood. He also laughs after describing a candle in a window, a statement that also details how the poisoning took place. The comment about rich and poor alike is foreshadowing rather than clever wordplay from Dragon since the candles accidentally kill two extremely poor citizens along with harming their intended target. The inclusion of the fish-shaped lamp refers to the use of arsenic since there is a high concentration of arsenic in aquatic species (Kumari). Vimes's connection of all these details are what help him realize that Dragon is the mastermind behind the plot. This quote demonstrates how something can be both satire as a literary device and fundamental to the plot of the story.

Along with his work being considered a satire, Pratchett continues to uphold traditional standards of the genre in the myriad of instances where he uses satire as a literary device. The quick shift between different elements and the liberal use

of humour characterizes Pratchett's work as primarily Horatian satire. Alongside small instances of humour, such as quips about gargoyles being paid in pigeons and a vampire who only seems able to find work in places that may kill him (such as a pencil factory or working as a garlic stacker), there are more significant instances relating to the main characters. One example of this is how Carrot's interests and values serve as a comment on culture shock. He remarks that "Letters from his parents were always interesting, being full of mining statistics and exciting news about new shafts and promising seams. All he had to write about were murders and such things as that" (11). Though most people would consider murder mysteries far more interesting than mining statistics, the fact Carrot was raised in a mine in a culture that centers around gems and metalworking coloured his perception of the world. Another episode in the same vein is Angua's quip to Cheri regarding how she feels about the watch, "'but when you've been around here for a while you'll find out that sometimes I can be a bitch" (65). This statement is funny because, unbeknownst to Cheri, Angua is a werewolf, so the word "bitch" in this context has a double meaning. Along with being generally humorous, all of these examples rely heavily on absurdity to make their commentary, highlighting the importance of that element of satire in Pratchett's text.

The absurdity we saw in Swift's descriptions of how strange his other lands and Gulliver's interactions with them pales in comparison to Pratchett's bizarre universe. One example of this is the reaction of the bread museum owner at realizing he is dead:

"MR HOPKINSON, ARE YOU FULLY AWARE THAT YOU ARE DEAD? 'Dead?' trilled the curator. 'Oh, no. I can't possibly be dead. Not at the moment. It's simply not convenient. I haven't even catalogued the combat muffins.' NEVERTHELESS. 'No, no. I'm sorry, but it just won't do. You will have to wait. I really cannot be bothered with that sort of nonsense.'" (13)

Obviously, arguing with Death while standing over one's own corpse and complaining about needing to finish work is absurd. But the absurdity, in this case, serves several purposes. The triviality of this scene helps set the tone of the book and establish the conversation about death that exists throughout the novel. This conversation also functions as Horatian satire as Pratchett condemns those who spend too much of their lives working by demonstrating the futility of their efforts. Both Swift and Pratchett use strange practices after death as satire which shows that the mystery of death and the absurdity with which it is treated is a persistent theme, even after three centuries.

Absurdity can also be used to explore the problems of living. An example of absurdity in *Feet of Clay* is Carrot's suggestion of community service. Though the concept is not foreign, the way it is carried out is absurd,

“It was Carrot who’d suggested to the Patrician that hardened criminals should be given the chance to ‘serve the community’ by redecorating the homes of the elderly, lending a new terror to old age and, given Ankh-Morpork’s crime rate, leading to at least one old lady having her front room wallpapered so many times in six months that now she could only get into it sideways.” (32)

This absurdity sets up Carrot’s character and the role of the main characters within the story as they are police officers. This example is satirical because it pokes fun at well-meaning bureaucracy, which often ends up causing more harm than good because the consequences do not occur to those who implement the policy. It also serves to set up several other instances of satire, such as the businessman who is upset Carrot helped him because of the mountain of paperwork that comes with the aid, which calls to mind the hassle of filing a police report and going to court can be. Pratchett uses absurdity in sections like this to over-exaggerate the ridiculous nature of the same event in reality. Compared to Swift, Pratchett’s use of absurdity occurs far more often and is more extreme, reflecting how satire has changed in response to the passage of time, the shift away from realism that occurred during Pratchett’s time and the growing absurdity of the world itself.

Even though absurdity is a core aspect of the novel, Pratchett also incorporates the Juvenalian style of satire throughout the text. A central theme of *Feet of Clay* is the dichotomy between the rich and the poor. A prime example of this message is found in the commander’s assessment of landlords,

Vimes reached behind the desk and picked up a faded copy of Twurp’s Peerage or, as he personally thought of it, the guide to the criminal classes. You wouldn’t find slum dwellers in these pages, but you would find their landlords. And, while it was regarded as pretty good evidence of criminality to be living in a slum, for some reason owning a whole street of them merely got you invited to the very best social occasions. (58)

This section highlights how many activities are discouraged and even illegal when committed by those with little money, such as theft, but are seemingly encouraged and celebrated when committed by the upper class. Coming from a character who spends the narrative lamenting the behaviour of the rich, this scene highlights both the commander’s attitude toward the snobbish upper-crust and the social reality of the privilege inherent in positions of wealth. Though the tone of this passage is in line with the rest of the novel, it is a genuine expression of frustration that follows the Juvenalian style of satire as well.

A problem that is persistent in the modern age is the challenges associated with extreme poverty. Rather than using humour or absurdity to examine this social reality, Pratchett uses Juvenalian satire to show this issue in his description of the fictional location Cockbill Street,

Unlike the Shades, though, Cockbill Street was clean, with the haunting, empty cleanliness you get when people can't afford to waste dirt. For Cockbill Street was where people lived who were worse than poor, because they didn't know how poor they were. If you asked them they would probably say something like 'mustn't grumble' or 'there's far worse off than us' or 'we've always kept uz heads above water and we don't owe nobody nowt'. (136)

In this section, Pratchett highlights the reality of those who are beyond poor and the pride they hold. By illustrating the extreme nature of the situation, Pratchett shows his anger over how these people are forced into such dire situations. This sentiment is reinforced later in the text when Vimes gets angry over others trivializing the deaths of two citizens of Cockbill Street. Pratchett's depiction of this reality is filled with indignation, highlighting the gravity and often ignored nature of poverty. The extreme nature of Pratchett's description demonstrates how trivialized the problem is in the real world, along with how rampant the problem is.

Evidence of the evolution of satire can be found in Pratchett's ability to mix the humour of Horatio with the indignation of Juvenal. Specifically, he uses dry wit and mild sarcasm to emphasize the problems often overlooked by society.²¹ One example occurs when Angua accidentally finds herself without clothing, "anyone finding a naked woman in a cellar would be bound to ask questions. They might not even bother with questions, even ones like 'Please?'" (99). This line is a reference to rape and rape culture. The throw-away nature of this line is a comment on how rape complaints are often dismissed out of hand and come down to a disagreement in the discussion that occurs. Angua is perfectly capable of defending herself and has the support of the police department, which allows her to leave the comment as an errant thought rather than a major concern as it would be for almost anyone else in that situation. Pratchett demonstrates how a statement formatted like a joke can show more profound anger and frustration about the state of the world. An example showing the reverse would be Vimes's lamentation over his incompetent pocket assistant, "And then Sybil, gods bless her, had brought him this fifteen function imp which did so many other things, although as far as he could see at least ten of its functions consisted of apologizing for its inefficiency in the other five" (42). This passage mocks the challenges with awry technology that often causes more hassle than it is worth. Though the argument is framed as a legitimate complaint that stems from frustration, the context of the line within the text marks it clearly as a joke. Pratchett uses the inadequacy of the imp to meld the passionate emotion characteristic of the Juvenalian style with the humour of Horace. The mixture of these two styles is another element of how the style shifted between Swift and Pratchett and demonstrates how the traditional aspects of satire can evolve over time.

21 For a specific look at Pratchett's humour see Duvezin-Caubet

Though genres other than satire were present in Swift's work, they are integral to Pratchett's text. *Gulliver's Travels* is set in the world inhabited by Swift with certain tales and legends exaggerated and brought to life, allowing Swift to show both ideal and tragic realities in his myriad of foreign lands. Pratchett takes this a step further by creating a world completely unique from our own. This strategy allowed him to combine both real and fictional scenarios to demonstrate both idyllic and lamentable situations without any constraints of reality. One example of a model element of society is Pratchett's description of guilds,

People banded together against other people. The guild looked after you from the cradle to the grave or, in the case of the Assassins, to other people's graves. They even maintained the law, or at least they had done, after a fashion. Thieving without a licence was punishable by death for the first offence. The Thieves' Guild saw to that. The arrangement sounded unreal, but it worked. It worked like a machine. That was fine except for the occasional people who got crushed in the wheels. (89)

Though Pratchett describes a system that theoretically protected everyone, he highlights that even a seemingly flawless system can allow some people to fall between the cracks. The sheer number of people who fall between the cracks is shown repeatedly as many of the secondary characters have fallen out of favour with the guilds in one way or another, and they all rely on Vetinari to keep them from fighting. The barely functional or dystopian nature of the society Pratchett builds illuminates how our reality is much in the same state.

An example of utopia can be found in the practically ideal way those around her deal with Cheri's expression of her gender. Before Cheri starts experimenting with gender presentation, it was assumed that all dwarves were male, and it was viewed as taboo to behave otherwise. First, Pratchett describes fears and reactions similar to those one might experience in reality when revealing a change in their gender expression, "When you've made up your mind to shout out who you are to the world, it's a relief to know that you can do it in a whisper" (144). Small but validating changes that go well are often the first steps when coming out.²² The utopia occurs in the reaction from the other dwarves. Though they are confused at first, there is no open hostility or threats of violence in reaction to Cheri's more significant changes. Other women even show interest in trying things such as wearing lipstick, "'Er...' The dwarf leaned forward even more, looked around again, this time conspiratorially, and lowered her voice. 'Er...could I try it?'" (172). Though it is a dwarf introducing femininity to a race that only features masculine presentation rather than the account of a transgender person, the utopian acceptance of new ideas in gender presents a realistic model of how the world would ideally treat people in similar situations.

22 For more on gender identity and validation see Restar et al.

Similar to Swift, Pratchett uses the genre of fantasy to supplement his satire, though he does so to a greater degree. This is clear in significant elements such as the shape of the world and fantasy races such as dwarves, trolls and vampires and small elements such as impossible throw-away lines such as, “‘D*mn!’ said Carrot, a difficult linguistic feat” (157). Even small things like the ability to self-censor enrich the otherness of the world and allow Pratchett to explore real-world issues in a completely unique setting. The most important fantastical element to both the plot and the message of the novel is the existence of golems. The nature of golems is reiterated throughout the text, with the most illuminating explanation being, “‘Sorry, look,’ said Cheery. ‘Are you telling me this...thing is powered by words? I mean...is it telling me it’s powered by words?’ ‘Why not? Words do have power. Everyone knows that’” (70). Along with connecting the golems to both reason, in the sense that the power of words has a physical manifestation, and the absurd, in the sense that sentient creatures without brains are impossible in our world, this quote serves to set golems as more fantastical than all the other outlandish creatures.²³ The fantasy elements in *Feet of Clay* reinforce the elements of satire throughout the text, Carrot’s self-censorship reinforcing the absurdity of his character and the golems serving as a representation of the fear of automated machines taking over the jobs of human labourers²⁴, along with providing the setting Pratchett uses to find a new perspective on classic issues.

In our modern world, satire faces many challenges from critics, who either fail to acknowledge the return of satire or predict that it will return to obscurity again soon and from the nature of the issues that characterize our time. One example of our modern challenges interfering with satire is the trouble publications such as *The Onion*, a satirical news source, had with creating absurdity in the Trump era where everything was already ridiculous. Though many readers predicted the publication’s demise when the 45th president took power, their solution was to avoid talking about the subject all together and focus instead on the people around the president instead (Restuccia). Rather than moving away from absurdity and relying on other elements of satire to comment on the impact of the Trump presidency, *The Onion* chose to only speak of his impact in relation to those around him.

Both Swift and Pratchett use an abundance of absurdity to their advantage by manufacturing it and using other methods of satire to address it in the real world. Jonathan Swift addresses this issue by pushing one or two absurdities into the extreme (dwarves into Lilliputians and taller than average tribes into giants) and using the new perspective this creates to examine the other issues he wishes to

23 For a more in-depth analysis of the role of golems see Fröhlich

24 This is shown throughout the text through tales of the golems overdoing jobs, such making thousands of a product because they were never told to stop, their co-workers showing unease at their mannerisms and inability to speak, and their determination to continue working after another golem attempts to free them from their conditions because they don’t know how to do anything but work.

address, such as political challenges, intellectual despair and religious conflict. Terry Pratchett's approach is to change the nature and circumstance of each issue while still addressing the root cause. By changing the environment in which the absurdity takes place, he is able to address abnormal issues as if they were ordinary. Considering and incorporating both of these methods in future works of satire will allow the genre to thrive.

Another complaint of contemporary satire that can be addressed by revisiting earlier satirists is that satire only adds to the negativity of the world without proposing any path forward. One example of this is corporate satire in video games. The global companies that make video games depict dystopian realities of what the world will become if they continue their behaviour and provide no solution, only make the problem worse since the sales of these games are pushing the world closer to that future (Shepherd). Both Jonathan Swift and Terry Pratchett addressed this problem by not only providing potential solutions in their texts to the problems they lamented but also made real-world steps to improve society. Swift wrote a myriad of pamphlets and letters advocating for the rights of the common man, one noticeable instance being his protest against a change in coinage that would devalue the local currency (The Drapier's Letters). Pratchett wrote about the challenges he had with the British monarchy and made his feelings clear in every interaction he had with them, even when he was being knighted (Young). Pratchett also dealt with death and economic disparity in his novels and made significant contributions to charities and disease research to make an effort to help the situation (Penny). When everything is bleak, satire can be used as a method to determine why and how to fix the situation.

Though satire has fallen in and out of popularity as a genre in the centuries since its creation, it is clear that the core nature of satire has not drastically shifted. What has changed is the manifestation of satire in a text. The obvious difference would be the issues each author addresses; for example, Swift expressing concern over the legacy of an author while Pratchett explores shifting gender roles. Along with that, the way each author addresses similar issues shifts. Swift examines the experience of interacting with foreigners in different countries, while Pratchett explores what occurs when people from many different countries live in the same place. These differences are to be expected since these authors are living in different time periods with unique social challenges. An interesting sign of evolution is how Pratchett combines Horatian and Juvenalian styles of satire in the form of dry wit to make complicated issues more digestible. Ultimately, satire is a genre with fundamental parameters which have been augmented and adapted over time to actively reflect the socio-political realities of each era. In our current era, where the shift toward absurd satire is no longer functional, the genre must shift again to focus more on passionate emotions such as indignation and delight. The ratio in satire between the Horatian style, Juvenalian style, absurdity and the presence of other genres differ significantly between Swift and Pratchett. If satire is going to persist in future, that ratio must shift again to accommodate our changing world.

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CHEYENNE FORDHAM

***“You don’t have to be scared of things you don’t understand”:
Privacy and Protecting the Haisla Nuyem in Eden Robinson’s
Monkey Beach***

In her lecture “The Sasquatch at Home”, Eden Robinson recalls the memory of her trip to Graceland with her mother in the year 1998. She tells the audience of her mother’s love for Elvis and the wonder that she experienced being immersed in The King’s Manor, which Robinson says “wasn’t that impressive if you looked at it as a house” (12). However, Robinson describes something special and transformative that happened within those walls: “...as we walked slowly through the house and she touched the walls, everything had a story, a history. In each story was everything she valued and loved and wanted me to remember and carry with me. This is *nusa*” (12). A precious and mysterious concept, *nusa* is an integral part of Haisla heritage. Although the idea of *nusa* may remain unclear to the audience, Robinson reassures her readers that this is precisely the point: “it is important to recognize that the Old People realized that some things cannot be shared” (13). It is through the action of story-telling that Robinson has been able to share pieces of the Haisla culture with her audiences. However, there are elements of the Haisla traditions that non-Haisla people will not understand: a fact that we must accept. Colonialism has attempted to collect and contain Indigenous traditions as a novelty item that must be thoroughly explored and understood. The traditions and customs of the Haisla do not need to be understood by non-Haisla people, but they must be respected. In her novel *Monkey Beach*, Robinson shares parts of Haisla culture with her readers while simultaneously educating them on the importance of privacy in preserving Haisla traditions and educating new generations of Haisla people.

In order to ethically engage with Robinson’s text, it is important to discuss Haisla *nusa* and *nuyem*. These two concepts are an integral part of *Monkey Beach*. The Haisla are an Indigenous tribe that are located in Northwest British Columbia, and are now centered mainly in Kitamaat Village. Kitamaat Village

is located at the head of the Douglas Channel in which much of their fishing takes place (“About the Haisla”).²⁵ In her essay “Reclaiming Haisla Ways: Remembering Oochilan Fishing”, Haisla professor Dr. Jacquie Green Kundoque describes Haisla *nuyem* as “traditional teachings” (13); she goes on to explain *nusa* as “storytelling to people, families, and children. It is a powerful teaching to learn the process of name-giving, and the ceremony of receiving a name that includes Elders, other clan members, and other clan chiefs as witnesses” (13). The oral tradition is fundamental in Haisla *nuyem* and *nusa*, in that it is the main avenue in which older generations are able to educate new generations of Haisla people in order to preserve their culture. Haisla *nusa* is the real world education that new Haisla generations receive from their elders.

Moreover, as Robinson demonstrates throughout *Monkey Beach*, Haisla language specifically is necessary in order to understand *nuyem* as well as to protect Haisla traditions. New generations of Haisla must understand Haisla language in order to properly understand *nuyem*, as these practices cannot be fully comprehended in another language. Kundoque writes that “to relearn our *nuuyum*²⁶ it is important to make our languages and history a core part of our existence in our families and in our communities” (21). Similarly to Robinson, Kundoque recalls the complications of her own learning of *nuyem* from her father before she knew Haisla “I was saddened because I saw how he wanted to share and explain to me in Haisla the meaning of these places that are difficult to translate into English...I have learned from this experience on the boat that I must learn our language in order to retell our history to our young people” (22). As noted above, Robinson acknowledges that aspects of *nuyem* as well as the Haisla language must be kept private from the outside world in order to protect Haisla traditions from colonial appropriation.

It is through this focus on the Haisla oral tradition²⁷ and using the oral tradition as a reading method, that we can engage in an ethical reading of *Monkey Beach*. The oral tradition as a reading method means to respect the orality of the Haisla culture. This respect includes listening to the stories that are shared by the Haisla to outsiders without imposing western views or beliefs onto their stories. The oral tradition battles against western appropriation of Haisla stories in that the stories and traditions that are shared between Haisla people through their language are not understood by non-Haisla, therefore their language creates a protective barrier

25 For more information on the Haisla people and their history please see HaislaNation.ca as well as Powell.

26 There are several spellings of *nuyem*. In order to ensure that I respect the Haisla voice, I will follow the spelling that the individual Haisla speaker I am referencing uses. For references to the Haisla *nuyem* outside of a direct quotation I will be using the spelling used by Robinson in her lecture “The Sasquatch at Home”

27 For more information about the Indigenous oral tradition and storytelling see Justice, and Morra and Reder.

around their stories. Moreover, it prevents western cultures from projecting their own values or beliefs onto these Haisla traditions or stories. Privacy is an essential element to understanding and using the oral tradition as a reading practice. The oral tradition creates a boundary of privacy between what can and cannot be shared with non-Haisla people. Throughout her novel, Robinson engages with the idea of privacy, as she demonstrates particular details of the Haisla culture are to be left only for Haisla people. It is the responsibility of the non-Haisla reader to respect those boundaries and respecting the elements of the Haisla tradition that cannot be shared with non-Haisla people. The oral tradition as a reading practice gives space for Haisla voice to be foregrounded to ensure Haisla voices maintain authority of their *nuyem* as well as the sharing and representations of their stories. I argue that Robinson uses the oral tradition of the Haisla to demonstrate the importance of privacy and lived education of *nuyem* in order to protect Haisla culture. Through this practice the author establishes the necessity for non-Haisla people to respect this the limits of their knowledge of Haisla practices to prevent the misrepresentation of Haisla stories.

Monkey Beach is infused with the Haisla oral tradition as Robinson weaves Haisla words and stories flawlessly into the novel. As mentioned above, Robinson is careful in deciding which stories to share with her audience to protect Haisla stories from being taken and used by non-Haisla people. However, the oral tradition of Indigenous groups was not always celebrated. Penny Petrone discusses how the Eurocentric views of literature criticized the oral literatures of Indigenous groups to be inferior simply because they were not written down and therefore could not be translated or understood by outsiders (3). Western civilization attempted to understand oral literature through western conventions, which further silenced Indigenous voices and created deep misinterpretations of the oral stories (Petrone 3). Non-Indigenous societies have developed a desire to consume these very same Indigenous stories that they do not understand. The colonial lust for novelty or privileged knowledge of cultures not understood by colonial societies, has led to the abuse of Indigenous people and their stories. Hartmut Lutz details how non-Indigenous people have usurped authority over Indigenous stories to fulfill the colonial desire for knowledge through stealing Indigenous stories to write books on various Indigenous cultures (4). Non-Indigenous authors then gain money and fame from stealing Indigenous stories while simultaneously disappearing the Indigenous group they claim to be celebrating (Lutz 4). The appropriation of Indigenous oral literatures by non-Indigenous writers is harmful to Indigenous groups, as the stories are often deeply misinterpreted by non-Indigenous writers and therefore silence the voices of the Indigenous storytellers.

Due to the past abuses of Indigenous oral literature, the scholarly conversation in the last several years has been focused on discussing the ethical approaches to engaging with Indigenous literature. As Mareike Neuhaus notes in her book *The Decolonizing Poetics of Indigenous Literature*, “the controversy over ethically

sound approaches to Indigenous literatures has also done much good to the field of Indigenous studies” (8). As Neuhaus has stated, the ongoing conversation around ethical approaches to Indigenous studies contributes to stopping the colonial appropriation of Indigenous voice. One way in which we can ethically work with Indigenous literature is by acknowledging and focusing on the particular Indigenous culture that is being celebrated in the work. Anishinaabe scholar Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair supports this approach to Indigenous literature, stating that “to invest in a criticism that explores the full humanity (which includes tribal-specificity) of Indigenous peoples is to invest in a truly revolutionary act” (302). In agreement with these methods of reading Indigenous texts, my discussion of *Monkey Beach*, will be rooted in respecting Haisla culture specifically.

Canada’s literary past is littered with the appropriation of Indigenous stories as well as the villainizing of the Indigenous people whom these stories were stolen from. The early Canadian gothic²⁸ is a genre in which colonialists have abused both Indigenous people and their cultures²⁹. In her chapter titled “Canadian Gothic” in *A New Companion to the Gothic*, Cynthia Sugars outlines the beginnings of the gothic tradition in postcolonial Canada. The colonial appropriation of Indigenous stories began with the arrival of settlers in Canada. The early settlers had anxiety over not having an identifiably Canadian literature (Sugars 417). In an attempt to find a narrative that expressed both the colonial unfamiliarity with their new home and the anxiety of not having a specifically Canadian literature, colonialists turned to the European gothic traditions, such as the presence of ghosts, to represent their feelings (Sugars 417). However, this search led settlers to appropriate Indigenous stories in order to develop a history or claim to the Canadian landscape (Sugars 417). The colonial appropriation of Indigenous stories and the use of ghosts to lay a claim on Canada has established a legacy of misunderstanding and abuse of Indigenous culture. Colonialists have made Indigenous people and their cultures a spectacle of fear in order to satisfy the colonial gothic tradition in Canada.

The critical conversation that surrounds *Monkey Beach*³⁰ includes a large portion written on the gothic elements that Robinson infuses into the novel. As literary criticism has evolved into a deeper attention to ethical approaches to Indigenous literature, the focus of most of this criticism follows how Robinson uses gothic conventions in her novel to assert the Haisla culture and to talk back to colonial readings of Haisla culture. Jodey Castricano notes that although *Monkey Beach* includes gothic elements such as sublime landscapes, it would be a great disservice to the work Robinson has done to simply read her story through the western European gothic lens (806). Also interested in exploring the gothic in Robinson’s novel, Jennifer Andrews argues that in the author setting the novel

28 For further information on the Canadian Gothic please see Turcotte and Sugars.

29 For more information on Canadian Gothic and Indigenous representation please see Cariou.

30 For more essays on *Monkey Beach* please see Bériault and Kramer.

within the Haisla community, Robinson removes the potential for a colonial reading of Indigenous othering that creates colonial fear of Indigenous people (9). Castricano adds that Lisa Marie's connection and communication with the spirit world fights against colonial pathologizing of Haisla people and shows how Robinson wants to foreground the spirituality of the Haisla tradition (806). Moreover, David Gaertner states that Robinson "offers a much more concrete and localized account of the return of the repressed in her community, which focuses not on the displacement of trauma, but the return of traditional knowledge" (50). Although the work of these scholars makes up just a small amount of the work done on Monkey Beach, a trend is starting to appear in the criticism in which the focus of the spiritual elements is seen as a celebration of Haisla culture, and not as a means to incite fear in the reader.

The stories passed on through generations of Haisla people share the important history of the Haisla tribe. Dr. Kundoque recounts the story of *Huncleesela*³¹, the first man to come to the Haisla territory in her essay "Reclaiming Haisla Ways: Remembering Oochilan Fishing". This story tells of the beginning of the Haisla people and the heart of their community: oolichan or "za' X w en" (Green 15) in Haisla. Oolichans, sometimes called candle fish, are a skinny fish that have many uses, but are most popularly used among the Haisla for their grease (15). Green recounts that *Huncleesela* left for the north after being banished from the Oweekeno territory for accidentally killing his wife (15). Green continues:

Huncleesela escaped by journeying up toward the northwest coast of Oweekeno and continued until he reached *Kluqwajeequas* just outside Haisla territory. It was told in many villages that the reason he journeyed north was because there was a monster in this area. Because of the monster, no people were living there, and he thought *Kluqwajeequas* would be a good place to hide. *Huncleesela* camped outside the territory, and every once in a while the monster would open his mouth really wide and make a loud noise. He listened to the loud noise, he made sure he watched every movement the monster made. Eventually, as *Huncleesela* felt comfortable in his exploration of the monster, he felt brave enough to get closer. When he got as close as he could, he realized that the big mouth was not a monster at all, but flocks of seagulls swooping down to grab oolichans from the river. (15)

The story of *Huncleesela* and the oolichans is a fundamental part of Haisla history and culture; it shares the beginnings of the Haisla community and its deep connection with oolichan. Moreover, through sharing *Huncleesela's* story, Green highlights the importance of Haisla storytelling to share and educate new generations of Haisla on the roots and traditions of the Haisla people. She goes

31 For more information on Haisla stories and art please visit HaislaNation.ca. The site has featured the work of several Haisla artists using traditional Haisla art methods.

on to discuss the delicate process of preparing the oolichan grease, stating that “repetition was not only important for processing, but also for teaching young people” (18). The sharing of Haisla culture, whether it be the story of *Huncleesela* or the complex process of oolichan both achieve the same goal: to educate new Haisla generations to preserve and assert Haisla culture.

Robinson foregrounds the oral nature of the Haisla in *Monkey Beach* as she draws the reader away from the written and into the oral through an educational moment. In a section outside of the main narrative, Robinson’s protagonist Lisa Marie seemingly speaks directly to the reader as she gives a lesson on the sounds of Haisla language. Lisa encourages the reader to experience the Haisla language orally by instructing how to feel the sounds of Haisla:

To say Xa’isla, touch your throat. Say the German ‘ach’ or Scottish ‘loch’. When you say the first part, the ‘Xa’, say it from far back in your throat. The apostrophe between the syllables signals both an emphasis and a pause. Say ‘uh-uh’, the way you’d say it if you were telling a child not to touch a stove. Put that same pause between the first and last syllables of Xa’isla. (193)³²

Through this passage Robinson highlights the oral tradition of the Haisla. The author redirects the reader’s focus away from the written word and brings it to the oral through encouraging the reader to experience the sounds and the feelings of those sounds. Robinson guides her audience to understand the complex differences between Haisla and English as the reader attempts to recreate these sounds. Through encouraging the audience to shift their reading method toward the oral, the author showcases the complex beauty of the oral tradition in Haisla culture.

Robinson then moves toward describing the inability to replicate Haisla language in English through Lisa Marie’s explanation of the Haisla language. In Lisa’s lesson to her reader, she states that “Haisla has many sounds that don’t exist in English, so it is not possible to spell the words using English conventions” (193). In this passage Robinson outlines that not only are Haisla sounds not replicable in English orally, but they also cannot be replicated in English through writing. In this moment, Robinson suggests the inherent nature of privacy in the Haisla language as it cannot be fully understood in English either in speak or writing. This passage is a perfect example of the necessity of using the oral tradition as a reading method in order to respect the privacy of Haisla culture. In writing Lisa’s lesson of the Haisla language to the reader, Robinson is foregrounding the importance for non-Haisla readers to acknowledge and respect the differences in their respective languages.

32 HaislaNation.ca has Haisla language lessons available for download. I recommend listening to these lessons to hear the Haisla language to deepen the reader’s experience with the Haisla words Robinson uses throughout the novel.

Robinson evolves her conversation of the differences between Haisla and English to discuss the colonial desire to consume knowledge of the Haisla and reinforce the idea of privacy as a more appropriate approach for non-Haisla speakers. During her lesson of the Haisla language, Lisa states that “early explorers traveling through the Douglas Channel were probably daunted by both the terrain and the new languages they encountered” (193). The presence of colonial entities invading the Haisla space casts a sinister shadow over Lisa’s explanation that “Haisla is difficult for English speakers to learn” (193). The use of the word ‘learn’ suggests the non-Haisla desire to gain knowledge and understanding of the Haisla. Through Lisa’s lesson on Haisla language, Robinson has constructed the image of the complex nature of Haisla that cannot be replicated by English, followed by the desire for non-Haisla people to try and tap into this knowledge. By reinforcing that the Haisla language is difficult for non-Haisla people to learn, Robinson is highlighting how this challenge in learning poses a threat to the misunderstanding and potential appropriation of Haisla stories by those who try and learn the language unsuccessfully. Through this passage, Robinson is suggesting that allowing for the Haisla language to remain private to the Haisla due to this difficulty for English speaker to learn, is a th best route in order to respect the Haisla.

The author then reveals to the audience the negative realities of colonial attempts of learning or recreating Haisla language in English. Lisa continues her lesson by expressing to the audience how Haisla names have been restructured and reimaged in English through print after the colonists arrival in Haisla territory:

The name Haisla first appeared in print in 1848 as Hyshallain. It has alternately been spelled Haishilla in 1884, Qaila in 1890 and Haisla in the early 1900s. Xa’isla is actually a word for the village or the people of the village who lived at the mouth of the Kitimat River... we stayed in this village at the bottom of the Kitimat River until about 1893, when the Methodist missionary George Raley established a rival village on an old settlement site in present-day Kitamaat Village. (193)

The several different spellings of ‘Haisla’ in this passage suggests that Robinson is highlighting the inability for non-Haisla to properly learn Haisla language. These translations also demonstrate the misrepresentation of Haisla language, people, and culture that is common in colonial texts about the Haisla, as they are not told from a Haisla person but a non-Haisla. The author is presenting an example of the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Haisla that occurs when non-Haisla do not respect the boundaries of their knowledge of Haisla and usurp authority over the Haisla language through translating it poorly in English.

The Haisla language remains an important element in the novel, as Ma-ma-oo’s character provides Lisa with education about her Haisla heritage that reinforces the importance of knowing the Haisla language in order to understand Haisla stories.

Ma-ma-oo tells Lisa the origin story of the B'gwus³³, “the wild man of the woods” (7). She concludes the story with a warning to Lisa: “but to really understand the old stories, she said, you had to speak Haisla” (211). Through this passage, Robinson is sharing perhaps one of the most important elements of protecting the Haisla stories and keeping them alive: the Haisla language. As mentioned above, in order for the Haisla tradition to be passed forward to new generations, it is imperative that Haisla youth learn the Haisla language to fully understand *nuyem*. Through this passage, Robinson is expressing the need for the Haisla language to learn *nuyem*. Moreover, through the use of the word “understand”, Robinson is foregrounding the importance of privacy to maintain Haisla stories, as non-Haisla readers must acknowledge that there are elements of Haisla culture that they are not able to understand because of the boundaries of language. The true understanding of these Haisla stories is kept private with the Haisla, as it is only through their language that these stories are fully accessible. In reading through the oral tradition, non-Haisla readers are able to acknowledge this boundary and respect the privacy of the Haisla people to help fight against the colonial appropriation and misunderstanding of Haisla stories.

The importance of Ma-ma-oo's lesson can be traced back to the beginning of the novel, where Lisa's father Al, embellishes the story of the B'gwus to entertain Lisa and her brother Jimmy. Lisa revisits how Jimmy's love for the B'gwus grew from their father's stories: “Dad launched into his version, [Ma-ma-oo] punctuated his gory descriptions with, ‘that's not how it happened’. ‘Oh, Mother,’ he'd protested finally. ‘It's just a story’” (8). Through this passage Robinson is reinforcing the importance of the Haisla language in passing down Haisla stories correctly through Ma-ma-oo's warning to her son. Lisa says that “me and Jimmy liked Dad's version better, especially when he did the sound effects” (9). The kids are pleased with this new version of the story of B'gwus, however Ma-ma-oo knows the dangers of misrepresenting Haisla stories. Ma-ma-oo and her son demonstrate the difference in Haisla education in knowing and not knowing the Haisla language. Through Al's retelling of the B'gwus story, the children are receiving a different education than that from Ma-ma-oo, as Robinson shows the divide in learning Haisla stories in English and Haisla and the differences that occur between these languages.

The passage also examines the complications in passing along Haisla stories or *nuyem* within the Haisla community without the Haisla language and imposing western influence. The embellishments of the B'gwus story told by Al, demonstrate how Robinson is considering the western influence on Al's retelling of the story. Ma-ma-oo is characterized as the knowledge center and educator of Haisla stories throughout the novel, and as mentioned above, warns her son that his telling of the B'gwus story is incorrect. After Al tells the children the story he

33 In her lecture “The Sasquatch At Home”, Robinson tells the audience that the “B'gwus, as Sasquatch are called in Haisla, had clans and families, their own songs and feasts” (35).

says “Sasquatches are make-believe, like fairies. They don’t really exist” (10). In this moment Robinson is demonstrating a consequence of western influence on Al’s beliefs. Castricano discusses Robinson’s exploration of the colonial influence on Haisla people; she notes: “if there has been any loss of meaning it is due not to the failure of the ‘old stories’ to signify but to the colonial proscription of Indigenous language and spirituality” (811). Through this moment, Robinson is exploring how Haisla education is negatively impacted by colonial influence. The imposing western ideologies that deemed Haisla stories such as the B’gwus false, have forced their way into the Haisla community through colonialisms attempt to eradicate Haisla tradition. Robinson uses Al’s opinion of the B’gwus’s falsehood to highlight to the audience how western ideologies have been mapped onto Haisla ones, which has a negative impact on the education of new Haisla generations.

Robinson uses casual tones and language to comment on the western ideological dismissal of Haisla stories. The third section of the novel titled “In Search of the Elusive Sasquatch”, opens with a segment on Weegit the raven. The paragraph details the story of Weegit who has “mellowed in his old age” (295), compared to his past grand exploits such as “creating the world and humans” (295). However, the tone of this section takes a less serious stance in the expression of Weegit’s place in history. Robinson uses a casual conversational tone to explain the story of Weegit the raven in order to mimic the nature in which western ideologies dismiss Haisla origin stories as false. The author infuses modern western elements into Weegit’s story: “playing the stock market — instead of spending his time being a trickster — has paid off and he has a comfortable condo downtown” (295). It is interesting to note that in a section in which Robinson has not foregrounded the importance of the oral tradition in sharing Haisla stories, as she did through Ma-ma-oo’s education of Lisa, that the story of Weegit the raven has become subject to colonial influence such stock markets and condos. Although the image of Weegit the raven in a condo can seem humorous, the humour and casual tones that Robinson uses to share the story of Weegit are an example of the western attitudes toward Haisla stories. Not only does this story include western themes but it also reads as dismissive of the importance of Weegit as a historical figure in Haisla tradition; these two elements are both consequences of western ideologies usurping Haisla stories.

Moreover, the author also uses the section of Weegit the raven to highlight the colonial misuse of Haisla stories in such a way that they further disregard their validity, as well as demonstrating the appropriation of these stories for colonial entertainment. Robinson continues to talk about Weegit in the modern day reading about his life: “as he sips his low-fat mocha and reads yet another sanitized version of his earlier exploits” (295). Once again the author brings in colonial imagery in the low-fat mocha that Weegit is drinking. Furthermore, Weegit “reading a sanitized version” of his life, suggests the inaccurate and altered representation of Haisla stories when recreated in print. The word ‘sanitized’ suggests that this version of Weegit’s life has been appropriated and

then reduced by colonial structures for the easy digestion and acceptance of colonial readers. Robinson points once again to the negative consequences of the oral stories of the Haisla being translated by non-Haisla people and recreated incorrectly in print. In this passage Weegit is reading a colonialized version of himself through the printing of appropriated oral Haisla stories.

However, Robinson leaves space for Haisla and for hope in maintaining the integrity of their traditions from colonial appropriation. Once again the author weaves the language of privacy into the narrative, this time through Weegit the raven. The westernized version of the story of Weegit that he reads about himself is born from the colonial desire to contain Indigenous knowledge. However, Robinson hints at the inability for non-Haisla people to fully understand these oral Haisla stories. She concludes the paragraph on Weegit by saying: “only his small, sly smile reveals how much he enjoys pulling the wool over everyone else’s eyes” (296). In this passage Robinson suggests that the keeper of the true story of Weegit, himself, enjoys maintaining the boundary of knowledge in which the colonized outsiders do not actually understand Weegit. In the phrase “pulling the wool over everyone else’s eyes”, Robinson is expressing how colonial readers do not actually know the Haisla stories. Although the colonial misinterpretations of Haisla stories — such as Weegit the raven’s — have negative consequences for the Haisla people, Robinson includes this passage as a means to express that in non-Haisla not knowing true stories, the oral histories of the Haisla and their importance can remain with the Haisla exclusively. The figure of Weegit in this section can represent the whole of Haisla people, as they are able to maintain Haisla traditions correctly through their oral tradition and can keep the wool over the eyes of colonial spectators.

Robinson continues to explain the colonial misinterpretation of Haisla by exploring how non-Haisla people have made spectacles out of Haisla people and culture. Although the focus of this paper thus far has been on how Robinson focuses on the importance of the oral tradition as a means to prevent colonial misrepresentation of Haisla stories, it is important to acknowledge this moment in which Pooch and Lisa encounter tourists in Kitamaat village:

Once, while we were sitting there, a blue BMW slowly drove past us, with three little blonde kids pressing their faces against the windows, their eyes round as they stared at us as if we were dangerous animals in a zoo. The adults excitedly pointed at us. ‘You wanna moon them?’ Pooch said. ‘naw’ I said. ‘Our asses might end up on a postcard.’ Pooch flipped them the bird instead. The woman in the passenger seat snapped a picture. ‘See?’ I said. ‘You’re gonna be famous now. Your postcard will read, ‘Indian Boy gives ancient Haisla greeting’ (218-19).

Through this passage Robinson is expressing how non-Haisla people do not only make a spectacle out of Haisla literature, but also of Haisla people. The

presence of tourism in Kitamaat village along with the image of the staring children and mother taking a photograph, demonstrate how Robinson is thinking about the colonial desire to contain and be voyeurs of Haisla life. However, Robinson still brings the oral and written tradition into this section through the image of the postcard. Lisa says that the image of Pooch flipping off the tourists will end up on a postcard with “Indian boy gives ancient Haisla greeting” (219), which brings the focus back to the misrepresentation of Haisla people and their traditions in colonial texts. Robinson uses this scene to demonstrate how non-Haisla people often use Haisla culture as a spectacle of entertainment, which results in misinformation about Haisla being published or shared by non-Haisla people.

The real world education of Haisla traditions through Haisla language and practices remains an integral part of Monkey Beach. In her lecture “The Sasquatch at Home”, Robinson shares with her audience the importance of lived education in sharing *nuyem* with new generations of Haisla. She particularly focuses on the practice of oolichan fishing and its importance in Haisla culture. In her lecture Robinson goes deeper into the explanation of oolichan’s importance in Haisla life and the colonial entities that threaten the oolichan, through her retelling of her fishing trip for oolichan with her father. She remembers having to take a long trip outside of Kitamaat in order to get to the right fishing spot (21). Robinson says “none of this driving around would have been necessary if the oolichans were still running in Haisla territory, but they are a sensitive fish...the runs near Kitimat were compromised by effluent from the town of Kitamat, Eurocan Pulp & Paper and Alcan Aluminum smelters” (21-22). The damage to the rivers from colonial institutions that have overpowered Haisla lands, has drastically impacted the health of the oolichan. Robinson laments that so much more is lost than just the opportunity to fish oolichan now that the runs are drying up: “of course the fish are a concern, but it’s the traditions that go with the fish that are in real trouble” (22). She goes on to explain that the lived education of the Haisla *nuyem* will not be possible without oolichan fishing, and therefore Haisla culture will begin to disappear: “I hate to think of thousands of years of tradition dying with my generation. If the oolichans don’t return to our rivers, we lose more than a species. We lose a connection with our history, a thread of tradition that ties us to this particular piece of the Earth, that ties our ancestors to our children” (23). The colonial presence that has pushed its way into Haisla territory is ultimately damaging the earth and waters in which the Haisla need in order to take part in their culture and teach their traditions to new Haisla generations.

In Monkey Beach Robinson explores this very issue through the use of haunting images of colonial presence over oolichan fishing locations. The author demonstrates the colonial impact on Haisla oolichan fishing practices when Lisa goes oolichan fishing with her uncle Mick and mother, Gladys. Lisa and Mick take a boat together to the fishing spot and Lisa feels “a sudden chill” (91) as they pass by Kildala Valley. When Lisa looks up she sees people standing on the shore:

“a white man and his son, in matching neon green and black scuba gear, stood on a point, waving to us” (91). When Mick sees Lisa waving he asks what she is doing as he does not see the man and boy on the shore. The ghostly presence of the white people creates an uneasy presence of non-Haisla people looming over the oolichan fishing grounds. As Robinson expresses in her lecture, the colonial institutions have left a damaging effect on the oolichan runs. This passage suggests that Robinson is representing that colonial presence of the Eurocan Pulp & Paper and Alcan Aluminum smelters in the image of the white man and son’s ghostly presence on the point while Lisa is on her way to the oolichan run. Through this passage, the author is discussing the damaging presence of colonial structures in Haisla land, as it prevents the education of new Haisla generations of *nuyem* as demonstrated by oolichan fishing.

Robinson further explores the role of lived education in Haisla *nuyem* by discussing the role of privacy *nuyem*. The character of Ma-ma-oo, Lisa’s paternal grandmother, educates Lisa on her Haisla heritage through oral and lived education. Ma-ma-oo takes Lisa on a trip to the Octopus Beds on her Ba-ba-oo’s (Haisla for grandfather) birthday, there Ma-ma-oo educates Lisa through telling and showing her how to contact her deceased Ba-ba-oo and wish him happy birthday: “Ma-ma-oo brushed her hair back and opened the bottle of Johnnie Walker. She said some words in Haisla that I didn’t understand” (78). In this intimate moment Robinson constructs an image of the oral and lived education of Haisla *nuyem*. Although the reader experiences this private moment with Lisa, Robinson still protects the privacy of this Haisla moment through her first person narration, as Lisa does not understand the Haisla words that Ma-ma-oo uses during the ritual. The author limits the information the reader receives through Lisa’s missing knowledge of Haisla language. After Lisa returns home, she tells her mother about her day, although intentionally leaves out some details: “Mom asked me what I did and I told her about everything except Ma-ma-oo and the Octopus Beds. I was uncomfortable sharing it with her. It felt like it was something private” (80). Here Robinson very explicitly attaches the language of privacy to Haisla *nuyem*. As she shares in her lecture, “. . . it is important to recognize that the Old People realized that some things cannot be shared. This was and remains a way of preserving our culture” (*Sasquatch* 13). Robinson meticulously constructed the scene at the Octopus Beds to allow her to share Haisla culture with her readers, while simultaneously reminding them through the language of privacy that some aspects of Haisla culture must be left to the Haisla people alone.

Robinson’s focus on the oral tradition and lived education in the importance in Haisla *nuyem* in the fictional world of *Monkey Beach*, reinforces its relevance in our world. Through Lisamarie’s education of Haisla language and *nuyem* from Ma-ma-oo, the author explores how the Haisla tradition thrives through the teaching of new generations through the Haisla language specifically. The oral nature of the text allows Robinson to express how privacy through the barrier of Haisla

language ensures that the Haisla *nuyem* and stories are protected from colonial appropriation and misuse. The examples of misrepresentations of Haisla stories that the author shares throughout the text, exemplify how readers must respect the oral tradition of the Haisla and use it as a reading method in order to not perpetuate false representations of Haisla through colonial publishing. Robinson's novel teaches her readers that we must respect the boundaries of our knowledge and that elements of the Haisla tradition are best left to the Haisla people alone so that they are able to pass down their traditions to new generations of Haisla. Robinson has done the work through her prose to encourage responsible reading practices of non-Haisla people so that we may move aside and allow Haisla voices to be the authority of their traditions and stories.

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DANIEL MELVILL JONES

*An Obstructed Vision: The Consequences of Flannery O'Connor's Racism*³⁴

After Alice Walker, the celebrated Pulitzer Prize winning author, learned that she and Flannery O'Connor had once lived on the same road (albeit Walker in a sharecropper's cabin and O'Connor in a stately farmhouse), Walker decided to revisit both homes. In her resulting essay, she expresses her admiration for O'Connor's writing. Walker appreciates how O'Connor's depiction of Southern society has nothing to do with a nostalgic elevation of white Southerners: "When she set her pen to them not a whiff of magnolia hovered in the air (and the tree itself might never have been planted)" (34).³⁵ Walker uses the word "demythifying" (34) to describe O'Connor's prose, and it is this feature of O'Connor's writing which makes her work invaluable. O'Connor depicts the South with a physical language which reveals its spiritual poverty.

Yet despite her respect for O'Connor's work, revisiting the ruins of the shack which was once Walker's home brought back memories of the traumas she endured as a second-class citizen in the segregated South. "I remember only misery" Walker writes, recalling squalor accompanied by the spectre of violence ("going to a shabby segregated school that was once the state prison and that had... the large circular print of the electric chair that had stood there"), the dangers of

34 I would like to thank all who provided guidance, feedback, and encouragement on this project, including my classmates, my professors (including Dr. Jocelyn Williams, who helped me fall in love O'Connor all over again, Dr. Luke Bresky, who introduced me to the Black American literature, and especially Dr. Katarina O'Briain, who did so much to guide this project), and my wife Annie (whose appreciation of O'Connor and passion for ethnic diversity in the church has only increased my own).

35 Hilton Als likewise appreciates "the originality and honesty of [O'Connor's] portrayal of Southern whiteness", but clarifies that what she depicts is "Southern whiteness as it chafed under its biggest cultural influence — Southern blackness".

sharecropping work (“almost stepping on a water moccasin on my way home from carrying water to my family in the fields”), and the small losses which defined her marginalized life (“losing Phoebe, my cat, because we left this place hurriedly and she could not be found in time”) (30). Walker’s childhood memories, so rooted in the physical conditions of life in Jim Crow Georgia and represented by that crumbling shack, were set in contrast by O’Connor’s stately and well-cared-for farmhouse. O’Connor’s home, which Walker calls “a symbol of my own disinheritance” (36), is a reminder of the disparity between their two existences, especially when Walker recalls that O’Connor’s childhood home was built by slaves who “were some of my own relatives, toiling in the stifling, middle-Georgia heat” (31). Although Walker respected O’Connor’s depiction of Black characters, her encounter with their two houses is reminder of the physical conditions which defined Black and white existence in O’Connor’s Georgia.

Perhaps Walker would have expressed a different opinion had she written her essay following the publication of O’Connor’s letters in 1979 and 1988. Included in the over 800 pages of O’Connor’s prodigious correspondence are a number of letters in which she uses racial epithets and expresses bitter attitudes towards Black people, suggesting that O’Connor was reluctant to seek racial reconciliation in her own life. While scholars have demonstrated how this racism undermines some of her most famous short stories, few have examined its implications in “The Displaced Person”. In this story she insightfully articulates how Southern habits of social class and religion lead to the deadly dehumanizing of those who threatened that system. Yet despite the clarity of that story, O’Connor herself participated in similarly dehumanizing habits against Black people, including her own racism (as expressed in her letters) and her preference for what she called “manners” (*Mystery* 28) — Southern customs which reinforced these habits. O’Connor both understood and yet actively participated in what Isabel Wilkerson calls the “caste infrastructure” of Southern society (*Caste* 17). O’Connor’s own complicity with these habits corrupted the moral and imaginative vision of her fiction.

The eleven of O’Connor’s most racially disturbing letters, published posthumously in 1979’s *The Habit of Being* and 1988’s *The Library of America* edition of her *Collected Works*, can be divided into three categories,³⁶ the first and largest of which include those where she quotes racial epithets as examples of local idiom. These include her letter to Sally and Robert Fitzgerald from Nov 11, 1953, where she quotes someone who says “these n****rs³⁷ are smart as tacks when it comes to looking out for No.1” (*Collected* 915), her letter to Sally

36 To narrow my focus on a smaller selection of O’Connor’s letters, I have consulted the ten which Paul Elie refers to in *Everything That Rises Must Converge* (514-15) alongside the unpublished eleventh he quotes from in his 2020 *New Yorker* essay (“How Racist”).

37 Throughout this essay I have chosen to censor the n-word, something which O’Connor (in her original quotes) did not.

Fitzgerald from Dec 26, 1954 where she says “As the n****rs say, I have the misery” (928), her letter to Cecil Dawkins on Nov 8, 1960 where she says “All the rich widows in M’ville are voting for Nixon, fearing lest Kennedy give their money to the n****rs” (1135), and her letter to “A” on March 14, 1964 where she quotes a lady who “said she treated everybody alike whether it were a person with money or a black n****r” (1203). These remarks are consistent with how O’Connor used racial language in her fiction, suggesting that her representation of Southern speech came from her own close observation of that which she heard around her.

O’Connor herself was influenced by this racialized culture and in her other letters she includes her feelings on the segregated society she lived in. Her letter to Maryat Lee from January 9, 1957 describes two incidents of segregation, concluding that “it is often so funny that you forget it is also terrible” (1019). This quote well represents O’Connor’s desire to laugh at her society’s constrictions (“I find it mighty hard to imagine any conversation that might have taken place in that car”) and her discomfort with the lengths it went to enforce such segregation (“the people who burned the cross couldn’t have gone past the fourth grade but for the time, they were mighty interested in education”) (1019). In another letter to Maryat Lee, this one dated April 25, 1959, O’Connor declines an invitation to meet with James Baldwin, stating that “No I can’t see James Baldwin in Georgia. It would cause the greatest trouble and disturbance and disunion. In New York it would be nice to meet him; here it would not” (1094). O’Connor is clear that the South’s attitude towards segregation is the reason she is declining the request — “I observe the traditions of the society I feed on — it’s only fair” (1094-05) — yet the letter shows no desire to overcome her society’s animosity. She treats the meeting as something which would go against the laws of nature: “Might as well expect a mule to fly as me to see James Baldwin in Georgia” (1095). If in the previous letter O’Connor expressed discomfort with the South’s attitude towards segregation, this one suggests that she was now at home in the culture she observed so closely.

O’Connor’s comfort with Southern segregation becomes even more clear when we examine the last category of these letters, in which she clearly articulates her dislike of Black people. In another letter to “A”, dated September 16, 1961, O’Connor writes about a Black servant who received insurance money from an accident:

Shot has been restored to us and our troubles have begun. He can’t do anything yet and so he sits and decides what he is going to do with the wealth he has accumulated from his accident. This is a very demoralizing situation. A wealthy sitting Negro” (Habit 449).

While it is possible that O’Connor used the word “demoralizing” to mimic and thus make fun of her segregated society, she is nonetheless describing a Black man whose windfall has upset the class structure of Andalusia Farm and who brings

“troubles” to its owners. O’Connor’s description of Shot as one who is unable to labour and thus is unsure of what to do with his newfound income aligns with the stereotypes in her fiction and suggests that these stereotypes reflect O’Connor’s own feelings on race. O’Connor struggled to appreciate Black people who did not fulfill their assigned place in Southern society.

A letter she wrote to Maryat Lee near the end of her life (May 21, 1964) reveals O’Connor at her most bitter and antagonistic. She writes,

about the Negroes, the kind I don’t like is the philosophising prophesying pontificating kind, the James Baldwin kind. Very ignorant but never silent... My question is usually would this person be endurable if white. If Baldwin were white nobody would stand him a minute (*Collected* 1208).

While O’Connor claims to be avoiding a double standard, her attitude stems from the racial caste system in which Black writers like Baldwin are reprehensible because they claim a moral and intellectual authority over white people. While earlier in her life she maintained not wanting to meet Baldwin because it would upset those around her, this letter reveals such antagonism to be her own. In that same letter, O’Connor went on to quote Muhammad Ali (who had only recently changed his name from Cassius Clay) when she writes “‘If a tiger move into the room with you,’ says Cassius, ‘and you leave, that dont mean you hate the tiger. Just means you know you and him can’t make out’” (1208-09). By using Ali’s words, she is implying that she would rather separate herself from the Blacks around her. O’Connor was indeed satisfied with segregation.

What O’Connor expresses in these letters is support for what Wilkerson calls America’s racially based caste system. Wilkerson defines caste as follows: “A caste system is an artificial construction, a fixed and embedded ranking of human value that sets the presumed supremacy of one group against the presumed inferiority of other groups on the basis of ancestry” (*Caste* 17). By expressing her desire to separate herself from Baldwin and other Blacks, O’Connor is showing her approval of this system, which Wilkerson explains “uses rigid, often arbitrary boundaries to keep the ranked groupings apart, distinct from one another and in their assigned places” (17). These boundaries, if reinforced long enough, lead to a deep-seated racism.

O’Connor expresses exactly such racism in another letter, dated May 3, 1964, where she wrote: “You know, I’m an integrationist by principle & a segregationist by taste anyway. I don’t like negroes. They all give me a pain and the more of them I see, the less and less I like them. Particularly the new kind” (qtd. in Elie “How Racist”). O’Connor’s language in this letter, which was kept out of the public eye for over half a century, suggests a conflict between what O’Connor believed (“I’m an integrationist by principle”) and what she preferred (“& a segregationist by taste”). While her earlier letters indicate that O’Connor sought to emphasis the

former, by this point the latter had shown its supremacy.³⁸ In these letters, written shortly before her death, O'Connor plainly revealed the racism which segregation had cultivated in her.

O'Connor picked up these habits from her Southern religious culture, yet instead of confronting and disrupting them she grew to prefer them.³⁹ She called these habits "manners" (*Mystery* 28), and lamented that they were disappearing in Southern culture. She wrote that "bad manners are better than no manners at all, and because we are loosing our customary manners, we are probably overly conscious of them" (29). O'Connor also said that "it requires considerable grace for two races to live together, particularly when the population is divided about fifty-fifty between them and when they have our particular history. It can't be done without a code of manners based on mutual charity" (qtd. in Wood, 105). The problem with her preference comes when we examine how devastating those so called "manners" were on Blacks living in the South. As Wilkerson effectively shows in *Caste*, such manners were the foundation of the dehumanizing racism which was deeply embedded in Southern society and had terrible consequences for human life. As O'Connor herself illustrates in "The Displaced Person", those who broke this code of manners (in her story, the Polish immigrant offering his cousin in marriage to a Black farmhand) were often murdered. Yet rather than it being just white immigrants who were killed, in the Southern States it was often Blacks who were tortured and lynched as the result of breaking such social codes. The manners which O'Connor wanted to protect resulted in the deaths of Black people.⁴⁰

38 It is worth noting, as Elie does in his New Yorker article ("How Racist"), that this letter was written three months before O'Connor died of lupus. Als likewise comments that "Like many people crippled by illness, O'Connor cleaved to the world as she knew it". While her physical pain no doubt made her words more bitter, perhaps it also exposed what was there all along.

39 Eddie S. Glaude Jr. is helpful here: "Racial habits are a particular kind of social habit. We hold them because we have grown up in a country that values white people more than others" (56).

40 Many of the South's most sickening incidents of racial violence were committed in retaliation for the victims' alleged assault of white women. Wilkerson unpacks the ramifications of this in pages 112-114 of *Caste*. She includes the example of fifteen-year-old Willie James Howard, who was downed in the sight of his father by a mob of white men after the young man wrote a Christmas card to a white girl whom he had a crush on. See also Wilkerson's account of the torture and death of Claude Neal (Warmth 60-62) and Robert P. Jones's account of the lynching of Samuel Thomas Wilkes, who was tortured and then burned to death in Georgia by a large mob on a Sunday (right after church services had concluded) (28-32). The alleged (but unproven) crimes of both of these victims was their rape of white women. In fact, the The Monroe and Florence Work Today Interactive Lynching Map records that of the 41 lynchings which took place in Georgia during O'Connor's lifetime, six were in response to the victims alleged assaults of white women. Georgia was a brutal place to a Black man, as Malcolm X states in his autobiography, "Negroes born in Georgia had to be strong simply to survive" (10).

O'Connor was influenced by Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain's concept of "the habit of art" (*Mystery* 101), who mentions the phrase several times in her essays. In this quote from "Writing Short Stories", she explains how she understood the concept:

It is the fact that fiction writing is something in which the whole personality takes part — the conscious as well as the unconscious mind. Art is the habit of the artist; and habits have to be rooted deep in the whole personality. They have to be cultivated like any other habit, over a long period of time (101).

Here, O'Connor articulates the ways that habits are formed, and although she is referring to the details of creative writing, her words can also be applied to the ways she viewed Black people. Her habits of racism were cultivated until they were eventually expressed unconsciously. Wilkerson expresses how these cultural habits reinforced African Americans' place as the "subordinate" caste (*Caste* 29) in America. She writes, "Caste is insidious and therefore powerful because it is not hatred, it is not necessarily personal" (70). Rather, "it is the worn grooves of comforting routines and unthinking expectations, patterns of social order that have been in place for so long that it looks like the natural order of things" (70).⁴¹ While O'Connor understood the formational power of habit, the social habits she preferred are the very "routines", "exceptions", and "patterns of social order" which result in deeply engrained racism.

Elie wrote a succinct summary of how O'Connor's defenders have approached these comments in O'Connor's letters: "For half a century, the particulars [of her racism] have been held close by executors, smoothed over by editors, and justified by exegetes, as if to save O'Connor from herself" ("How Racist"). Indeed, O'Connor's friend Sally Fitzgerald, who edited both *The Habit of Being* and *The Collected Works*, does a mixture of all three in her 1978 introduction to *The Habit of Being*. She concludes her essay by arguing that O'Connor died before her view on race was "perfected", stating that her story "The Artificial N****r" instead "contains the germ of a final enlargement of understanding for Flannery O'Connor" (xvi).⁴² Fitzgerald's defence has been taken up by supporters of O'Connor ever since. Their argument is that O'Connor's fiction (especially her stories "The Artificial N****r" and "Revelation") provides the most accurate picture of her views on Southern racism. Ralph C. Wood's 1993 essay is most regularly cited version of this opinion. Disturbed by O'Connor's letters, Wood nevertheless insists

41 Glaude uses a similar metaphor when he says that "whenever we see or interact with someone of a different racial background we find ourselves traveling down furrowed pathways of behavior" (58, emphasis mine).

42 Fitzgerald's reminder that O'Connor's letters were private and therefore her racist comments should not be isolated from her entire correspondence is well taken (ix, xii-xiii), although we need to account for Elie's reminder that O'Connor "made carbon copies of her letters with publication in mind" ("How Racist"), suggesting that she was conscious of her legacy even while writing them.

that “were O’Connor a racist at heart, her stories would carry, either secretly or openly, their own racist burden” (91). Wood finds evidence of the contrary in “The Artificial N****r”, since the story ends with O’Connor bringing about the reconciliation of two white male characters through what he calls a “black emblem of redemption” (113). According to Wood and the critics who follow him, this ending is evidence that O’Connor sought the cure for racism in the grace of Christ which confronts the sin of her white characters.⁴³

If Wood’s argument is that O’Connor’s fiction articulated her vision of racial reconciliation, other scholars have shown how O’Connor’s stories in fact reinforce her preference for racial segregation. Melvin G. Williams, writing for the *African American Review* in 1976, was the first to draw attention to the way O’Connor sidelines Black characters in her fiction: they “are for the most part only ‘issues’ instead of people” and “they never change” (130). Instead, Williams argues that the Black characters exist in her stories to improve the morality of her white main characters (132). Although Walker appreciates how O’Connor did not assume an understanding of her Black characters (34), Williams’s critique is hard to ignore, especially when we examine what O’Connor called “the best thing I’ll ever write” (qtd. in Elie, *Everything* 243): “The Artificial N****r”. Elie applies William’s criticism to the story, saying it is “disconcerting” because “the suffering of blacks is seen to bring about the reconciliation, indeed the redemption, of whites” (243). Julie Armstrong echoes these concerns, adding that the story “reinscribes” (80) the racism of the white characters, who leave the segregated city to return to a countryside which has purged itself of all Black people.⁴⁴ Armstrong even points out that when O’Connor insisted on the story’s caustic title (despite her editor’s request to change it), she was more interested in her own authorial intentions than she was in “‘black folks’ sensibilities” (80). In other words, her disregard of Black characters in her fiction was a reflection for her disregard of Black people in her life.

Other critics have pointed out how much of O’Connor’s writing is informed by her social context. Timothy P. Caron makes a helpful distinction when he asks readers to put aside the theological lens which O’Connor encouraged us to bring to her work and instead read her fiction through the lens of race. According to

43 Toni Morrison takes a slightly different angle in her appreciation of this story, writing that in it “O’Connor exhibits with honesty and profound perception her understanding of the stranger, the outcast, the Other” and that “the story is a carefully rendered description of how and why blacks are so vital to a white definition of humanity (*Origin* 19-20).

44 That last point is my own contribution, from when Mr. Head says to Nelson “There hasn’t been a n****r in this country since we run that one out twelve years ago and that was before you were born” (O’Connor, *Complete* 252), a phrase which reminds me of Janet Egleson Dunleavy’s description of Georgia’s “pockets of white poverty where no black man or woman dared venture” (186).

him, critics such as Wood who “are so firmly oriented along a vertical theological axis that languishes over the soul’s status before a morally requiring God” end up “failing to see the network of horizontal relationships between and among Southern blacks and whites” (156). Claire Kahane more explicitly explores these social relationships in O’Connor’s fiction, noting the ways her fiction is defined by what she calls “the legacy of white guilt” (184) and concluding that O’Connor’s “vision was indeed more narrow, more closely bound up with the biases of her time and place than most critics would readily admit” (198). Likewise, Nicholas Crawford, writing about the Black suffering which O’Connor’s white characters are continually able to avoid, memorably concludes by stating that her fiction is “South-haunted” (21) rather than merely Christ or death-haunted. All of these critics agree that O’Connor’s stories are closely bound to the habits and prejudices of her Southern context, an approach which is vital for understanding how race influenced her work.

Because of how closely O’Connor’s work reflects her Southern culture,⁴⁵ her life and art can help us understand how habits of white supremacy take hold in a person. That is how two Black artists, Adia Victoria and Kiese Laymon, approach O’Connor’s work. In an interview published in 2020, they appreciate O’Connor precisely for the ways that her writing reveals the nature of racism:

Kiese Laymon: Out of all the white Southern artists my friends and I talk about, we talk about O’Connor the most, because, I mean, she’s complicated and fucked-up. But a lot of my Northern folks — they just don’t mess with her, you know what I’m saying? They’re just like “she’s racist and hopeless.” [Laughs] [Adia Victoria]: You know, to me, I don’t see her as complicated. I see her as thoroughly and completely Southern. I had a conversation with a friend from Ohio recently about people grappling with her legacy, and my response was like, “She’s supposed to be racist.” [Laughs] And to expect her to be anything other than that kind of minimizes the potency of white supremacy and its ability to shape hearts and minds. What else could she have been?

Victoria and Laymon are reading O’Connor as a way to understand the habits of white supremacy which are still present today. Their approach echoes that of Als, who writes on “the limitations of O’Connor’s time and place and the inevitable restrictions they placed on her art”, calling her regionalism “both a strength and a weakness”. While O’Connor is admired for the ways she used her faith to critique the regionalism of her own culture, that critique was flawed because it was coloured by her own habits of racism.

45 The celebrated Black painter Benny Andrews says it well: “She depicted things bigger than the physical world she lived in. Nevertheless, she also retained a lot of the very worst that she lived in”.

Existing scholarship on O'Connor has exposed the ways that racism in her letters has limited the Christian imagination of her stories (most notably "The Artificial N****r") but there is little dedicated to how it appears in "The Displaced Person".⁴⁶ Published in 1955, it is the story of a specific place (a Southern farm similar to the one O'Connor spent most of her life) whose carefully ordered caste structure is overturned when the Guizac's, a family of Polish immigrants who have survived the Holocaust, arrive as hired labour. O'Connor tells the story from the perspectives of both Mrs. Shortley (a lower class white farmhand) and Mrs. McIntyre (the widowed matriarch who owns the farm). Mr. Guizac's work ethic leads Mrs. McIntyre to fire the Shortleys, an event which disrupts Mrs. Shortley's identity so much that she dies of a heart attack. Mrs. McIntyre's satisfaction with the Guizac's is challenged when she learns that Mr. Guizac, unconscious of the strict rules governing Southern race relations, has promised his white niece in marriage to Mrs. McIntyre's Black farmhand. Disturbed by this disregard for segregation and haunted by the memory of her dead husband, Mrs. McIntyre chooses to not intervene when her remaining farmhands conspire to run over and kill Mr. Guizac. After this murder, both the plantation and Mrs. McIntyre fall into ruin. Through this story, O'Connor makes explicit the implicit connections between caste, race, and religion in Southern society.

One of the central concerns of "The Displaced Person" is how the Guizac's arrival upsets the caste structure of the farm. Just as O'Connor uses sunlight to divide Astor, one of the Black farmhands, into "three distinct parts" (*Complete* 214), so too is the farm divided into three distinct social structures: Mrs. McIntyre is at the top, the white farm hands (who are referred to as "white trash" throughout the story) are in the middle, and the Black farm hands are at the bottom (just above the farm's animals⁴⁷). The arrival of the Guizacs upsets this system, partly because Mr. Guizac outperforms the white farmhands but more fundamentally because he ignores Southern society's strict demarcation between Black and white. His proposal of marriage is the most obvious example of this,⁴⁸ but he also does so in subtle ways throughout the story. As Mrs. Shortley says to her husband, "When Gobblehook [her dehumanizing nickname for Mr. Guizac] first come here, you recollect how he shook their hands, like he don't know the difference, like he might have been as black as them" (207). As Mrs. Shortley doubts the security

46 Two notable exceptions include Kahane's outstanding coverage of class in the story and Laurel Nesbitt's exploration of how the farm contributes to O'Connor's understanding of place.

47 The accuracy of this depiction of Southern life is confirmed by Andrews, who (like Walker) grew up in the same county as O'Connor and describes existing in what he describes as "an opposing world" where he was "steps away from being living farm equipment".

48 Kahane says that the marriage proposal "blurs the distinction between black and white through sexuality" thereby "obliterating the entire structure of defined power" (190).

of her and her husband's place on the farm, she opposes the Poles on the grounds that she is defending the Black workers: "I'll stand up for the n****rs" she says "and that's that. I ain't going to see that priest drive out all the n****rs" (207). Mrs. Shortley hides her newfound insecurity by taking on the patronizing stance of protector over those whom she is confident are still beneath her.

Although Mrs. Shortley's economic status on the farm is threatened by the Guizac's work ethic, she justifies her antagonism with her fears over the cultural change they represent. She worries about how the Poles will corrupt the English language: "She began to imagine a war of words...she saw the Polish words, dirty and all-knowing and unreformed, flinging mud on the clean English words until everything was equally dirty" (209). Although the Guizac's are white, Mrs. Shortley's concern over their corrupting influence echoes Glaude's definition of white supremacy: "a set of practices informed by the fundamental belief that white peoples are valued more than others" (30). Following Glaude's definition, Mrs. Shortley's belief that English is more valuable than Polish and her fears over the ways its influence will tear down her society are symptoms of her white supremacy.

Mrs Shortley's response to this threat is to other the Guizacs by treating them as less than human. Her preconceived expectations of the Guizacs prepare the way for such mentality, as O'Connor writes that both she and Mrs. McIntyre "had been calling them the Gobblehooks all week while they got ready for them" (*Complete* 196). When Mrs. McIntyre explains that she cannot afford matching feed sacks for curtains, Mrs. Shortley defends the decision by stating "They can't talk...You reckon they'll know what colors even is?" (196). Despite her expectations, Mrs. Shortley is surprised to realize how normal the Guizacs actually appear, for "the first thing that struck her as very peculiar was that they looked like other people", with Mrs. Guizac wearing "a dress that [Mrs. Shortley] might have worn herself" (195). As if to work against this evidence, Mrs. Shortley responds by reinforcing what she believes to be their inhumanity. When Mr. Guizac kisses Mrs. McIntyre, "Mrs. Shortley jerked her own hand up toward her mouth and then after a second brought it down and rubbed it vigorously on her seat" (195), like she were wiping away any suggestion of physical contact with him. Mrs. Shortley continues to choose habits which other Mr. Guizac, including looking at him as if he were a dead animal: "Her look first grazed the tops of the displaced people's heads and then revolved downwards slowly, the way a buzzard glides and drops in the air until it alights on the carcass" (197). By describing Mrs. Shortley's sight this way, O'Connor shows how she consciously chooses dehumanizing behaviour.

Mrs. McIntyre is more tolerant of Mr. Guizac, but this tolerance is predicated on the financial benefits that result from his work ethic and comes to an abrupt end when he crosses a racial line. Mrs. McIntyre calculates the amount Mr. Guizac saves her to be "twenty dollars a month on repair bills alone" (201). Yet she no longer appreciates him when she learns of his plan to have one of her Black farmhands, Sulk, marry Mr. Guizac's young cousin (another Holocaust survivor) so

the girl could escape Europe. Mrs. McIntyre responds to this news with cold fury. When she confronts Mr. Guizac, her diction makes it clear how abominable his proposition is to her: “You would bring this poor innocent child over here and try to marry her to a half-witted thieving black stinking n***r! What kind of monster are you!” (222). Not only does her language reveal what exactly she thinks of her Black farmhands, but calling him “monster” shows that his recognition of her humanity makes him less than human in her eyes. Mr. Guizac literally shrugs off her protestations, stating matter-of-fact that “She no care black” for “She in camp three year” (223). Yet for Mrs. McIntyre this action clarifies her understanding of who Mr. Guizac is, cementing him as a someone who is not welcome in her society: “Monster! she said to herself and looked at him as if she were seeing him for the first time” (222).

O’Connor’s decision to make interracial marriage Mr Guizac’s unforgivable sin is significant, for it reveals that what keeps the farm united is its strict adherence to a racial caste system. Mrs. McIntyre does not even consider how her decision will affect the life of Mr. Guizac’s cousin. Far more important to her is maintaining her society’s stringent distinction between Black and white. Endogamy is one way to reinforce such a distinction, as Wilkerson explains when she describes its significance in the South’s race-based caste system:

Endogamy, by closing off legal family connection, blocks the chance for empathy or a sense of shared destiny...[and] makes it less likely that someone in the dominant caste will have a personal stake in the happiness, fulfilment, or well-being of anyone deemed beneath them or personally identify with them or their plight (*Caste* 109).

As noted earlier, this intense desire to protect caste distinctions explains the number of lynchings that followed rumours of Black men showing sexual interest in white women. O’Connor herself was immersed in a culture which supported this distinction, for Georgia did not abolish its miscegenation law until 1972 (eight years after O’Connor’s death). By including such a pivotal scene in this story, O’Connor shows her awareness of the significance of endogamy, even as her own preference for a Southern code of manners supported its persistence in the South.

While Mrs. McIntyre’s discovery of the marriage attempt is the story’s definitive example of racism, O’Connor’s characters consistently dehumanize Black people. Mrs. Shortley was “irked” by the “illogic of Negro-thinking” (*Complete* 199) while talking to the Black farmhands; thought of them as “worthless” like “a mule” (205); and talks down to them when “she explained what was going to happen to them” (205). O’Connor includes even more instances of Mrs. McIntyre belittling her Black farmhands. She has to take “a long time explaining...that all Negroes would steal” to Mr. Guizac (202) (after which he goes “off with a startled face” (202)), tells the Priest that the Black farmhands “lie and steal and have to be watched all the time” (211), and describes the trials of having “to meet the constant drain of a

tribe of moody unpredictable Negroes” (218). Mrs. McIntyre’s extreme reaction to the possibility of one of her Black farmhands marrying a Polish immigrant was rooted in the dehumanizing habits she already cultivated.

While O’Connor is insightful in how she portrays the consistency of this racism, it is troubling to note how congruous the women’s remarks are with O’Connor’s own portrayal of the Black characters. The name of the Black man who is offered the hand of Mr. Guizac’s cousin is “Sulk” (194), so that every time he is named the stereotype of a lazy Black servant is reinforced.⁴⁹ The eager, hardworking nature of Mr. Guizac is contrasted by the laziness of the Blacks, with O’Connor adding that “the Negroes made him nervous” (202). Sulk is portrayed as a simpleton, and O’Connor repeatedly emphasizes his “high voice” (220). O’Connor supports these characterizations through the way she depicts nature interacting with their bodies. When Mrs. McIntyre talks to Astor (the older of her two Black farmhands), O’Connor writes that “bars of sunlight fell from the cracked ceiling across his back and cut him in three distinct parts” (214).⁵⁰ By having Astor’s body “cut” in “three distinct parts” by the all knowing sun, O’Connor suggests that he enters the story already disjointed and unwhole.

O’Connor’s depiction of Astor and Sulk in “The Displaced Person” is consistent with how she treats Black characters throughout her short stories. As Williams, Kahane, Armstrong, Perreault, and others have effectively shown in the case of “The Artificial N****r”, O’Connor uses Black characters for the spiritual benefit of her white characters. This is true across all of her mature stories which feature Black characters. In “The Enduring Chill”, she rebukes Asbury, a self righteous liberal whose desire to have “one of those moments of communion” with his mother’s Black farmhands in which “the difference between black and white is absorbed into nothing” (368) becomes the cause of his own debilitating illness. While this story exposes the hollow motives behind Asbury’s performance of racial reconciliation, it also suggests the consequences of disturbing the farm’s segregated structure. In “Everything That Rises Must Converge”, O’Connor describes a Black woman as “a giant of a woman” (415), “a volcano about to become active”, and “exploding like a piece of machinery” (418). In “Revelation”, a “colored boy’s” presence is preceded by his “grotesque revolving shadow” which “was thrown palely on the opposite wall” (494). Finally in “Judgment Day”, Tanner’s Black servant Coleman is described as “the old Negro...curled up on a pallet asleep at the foot of Tanner’s bed, a stinking skin full of bones, arranged in

49 Jemar Tisby, in his survey of the ways the American church participated in racism, writes that “enslaved blacks feigned mental slowness to make their enslavers think they were less capable than they really were” (63).

50 The lack of wholeness in human bodies is an important theme across this story. Mrs. Shortley’s body becomes twisted and out of place. Mr Guizac is split in two by a tractor. Mrs. McEntire’s leg grows “numb” and her hands and head “jiggly” (235) at the end of the story.

what seemed vaguely human form” (534). While all of these stories challenge their white characters’ assumptions of their self-righteousness, her language suggests that O’Connor’s dislike of Black people (as expressed in her letters) was reflected in these dehumanizing descriptions in her fiction.

Despite O’Connor’s inconsistent mixture of clarity and blindness, she believed that Christianity helped her recognize such moral blindness. In her essay, “The Fiction Writer & His Country” she wrote that “I see from the standpoint of Christian orthodoxy” (*Mystery* 32) and that “writers who see by the light of their Christian faith will have, in these times, the sharpest eyes for the grotesque, for the perverse, and for the unacceptable” (33). O’Connor certainly used that Christian faith to see and articulate the “unacceptable” ways her fellow Southerners abused immigrants, but why did she not articulate the “grotesque” and “perverse” ways they abused Black bodies and souls? Indeed, why was O’Connor not able to see how she herself reinforced such dehumanizing through both her fiction and in her personal life?⁵¹

Morrison’s insights into how a writer’s vision can be disrupted by their racial imagination help us better understand O’Connor’s blindness.⁵² Writing on white authors’ use of Black characters in their fiction, Morrison cautions that writing and reading “require being mindful of the places where imagination sabotages itself, locks its own gates, pollutes its vision”, for we need to be “aware of the writer’s notions of risk and safety...meaning and response-ability” (xi). She then adds that “the author’s presence — her or his intentions, blindness and sight — is part of the imaginative activity” (xii). Morrison is warning her readers of the ways that an author’s vision can be “polluted” or “sabotaged” because of their “intentions, blindness, and sight”. Since O’Connor’s letters give us evidence of her intentional blindness in regards to race, according to Morrison her vision was likewise

51 Williams asks a similar question: “O’Connor...attacker of spiritual blindness — could she have been blind to the separate-yet-unequal status she affords her Black characters?” (132).

52 These remarks come from her book *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, in which she examines how white American authors have used what she calls “the Africanist persona” to express their “fears and desires” (17). Morrison deliberately names O’Connor as a writer with whom critics have “seen no connection between God’s grace and Africanist ‘othering’” (14). Two critics who have specifically applied Morrison’s theory of the “Africanist presence” to O’Connor’s work are Doreen Fowler, who identifies the Africanist presence in “The Artificial N****r” as embodying death to the story’s white characters, and Jeanne Perreault, who examines how that story reinforces Mr. Head and Nelson’s division “between mind and body, male and female, black and white” (410), a split which is at odds with O’Connor’s Christian belief in the unification of the body and spirit. That said, Morrison remained a fan of O’Connor. In 2016 she was asked “Who do you admire now?” and responded by stating “There’s a woman I love, she’s really hostile, Flannery O’Connor, she’s really really good” (Mohamed).

sabotaged. O'Connor's vision, regardless of its spiritual insight, was nonetheless anchored to how she treated people in the physical world.

Ironically, in "The Displaced Person" O'Connor highlights how the connection between her characters' treatment of humans and their vision of the physical world. She depicts Mrs. Shortley as someone whose eyes are habitually shut to the world around her. O'Connor writes that Mrs. Shortley "looked closer" (*Complete* 195) at the newly arrived Polish family while "squinting" (195), a word which suggests Mrs. Shortley was limiting her view of her surroundings in order to narrow her attention on the foreigners. Mrs. Shortley remains blind to the natural world, preferring her inner visions to the incarnate glories all around her, which O'Connor represents by the peacock which wanders the farm. O'Connor contrasts these two visions in this passage:

Then [Mrs. Shortley] stood a while longer, reflecting, her unseeing eyes directly in front of the peacock's tail [which] hung in front of her...She might have been looking at a map of the universe but she didn't notice it any more than she did the spots of sky that cracked the dull green of the tree. She was having an inner vision instead. She was seeing the ten billion of them [Poles] pushing their way into new places over here and herself, a giant angel with wings as wide as a house, telling the Negroes that they would have to find another place (200).

O'Connor deliberately contrasts the "fierce...eyes" of the peacock with Mrs. Shortley's "unseeing eyes", which are blind to both the wonders of the peacock's tail and the "spots of sky" above her. The reason for her blindness was her "inner vision" of fear over the disruption she imagines these immigrants would bring to her country. This threat then justifies her position of power over her Black peers. Mrs. Shortley has trained herself to ignore the glory around her and has replaced it with an inner vision of white power and prejudice.

O'Connor reinforces the contrast between blindness to the physical world and a quasi-religious experience when she describes Mrs. Shortley's vision. O'Connor writes that Mrs. Shortley encounters a mystical figure in the sky, the description of which is an amalgam of distorted imagery from the Bible: a man "the color of the sun" and "of no definite shape but there were fiery wheels with fierce dark eyes in them, spinning rapidly all around it"⁵³ (210). Mrs. Shortley had to "shut her eyes in order to look at it" (210). Her reaction to the vision is in sharp contrast to how the biblical prophets responded to visions from God. Instead of listening to God's word, Mrs. Shortley is herself commanded to "'Prophecy!'" which she does again with "her eyes shut tight" (210). After her prophecy of violence and societal disorder, she "opened her eyes" and sees a landscape that appears as distorted as

53 Compare this language to Ezekiel's strange vision of a living creature beside a "wheel...full of eyes all around" (Ezekiel 1:15-18).

her vision (210). When Mrs. Shortley dies soon after, O'Connor depicts her eyes turned away from the world and on the only thing that mattered to her: "there was a peculiar lack of light in her icy blue eyes" for "all of the vision in them might have been turned around, looking inside her" (213). Mrs. Shortley is an example of the destruction brought by those who use the spiritual to ignore the physical well-being of others.

If there is one figure in the story who appreciates the sight of the peacock and all that it signifies, it is the priest who has brought the Guizacs to America. When Mrs. McIntyre (whom O'Connor also depicts as closing her eyes to what is around her⁵⁴) is trying to communicate her dissatisfaction with the Guizacs, the priest's eyes notice the bird and interprets it as a sign of Christ's presence:

The priest let his eyes wander toward the...cock...and...his tail...Tiers of small pregnant suns floated in a green-gold haze over his head. The priest stood transfixed, his jaw slack. Mrs. McIntyre wondered where she had ever seen such an idiotic old man. "Christ will come like that!" he said in a loud gay voice and wiped his hand over his mouth and stood there, gaping (226).

The priest, whose eyes are attentive to the bird, does not dismiss the bird's vision of "pregnant suns" like the women do, but responds instead with spiritual wisdom, recognizing the bird as a representation of Christ's glory. Shortly after, when Mrs. McIntyre insists that Mr. Guizac "'didn't have to come in the first place'", the priest (still transformed by his encounter with the bird) links Mr. Guizac to Christ's incarnation by responding "'He came to redeem us'" (226). Mr. Guizac's spiritual wisdom allows him to treat both the bird and the Guizacs as representations of his suffering Christ, who came down from heaven and was himself the ultimate Displaced Person. Mrs. Shortley and Mrs. McIntyre, who have instead allowed their sight to be blinded by their desires and habits, reject the possibility that both the bird and the Guizacs are incarnate image bearers of God.

Despite O'Connor's own failure to fully live out this vision, her story does offer insights into how the religious culture of the South encouraged such dehumanization.⁵⁵ As Mrs. Shortley's social world changes, O'Connor has her turn

54 For example, she "narrowed her gaze until it closed entirely around the diminishing figure [of Mr. Guizac] on the tractor as if she were watching him through a gunshot" (224) and "squints furiously at" the priest (224).

55 O'Connor provides a motivating factor for Mrs. McIntyre's actions when she depicts the spiritual power of the farm's monuments to Southern heritage. Mrs. McIntyre's late husband, the Judge, is represented by monuments which reinforce her memory of him. Seen this way, the Judge represents the legacy of the Southern heritage, which inscribes its ways through memory and monument. Mrs. McIntyre's quotes the Judge's idioms to herself and others throughout the story, despite her disappointment over the ways he had deceived her. She gains quasi-spiritual nourishment from her time spent in the Judge's office, which

to religion in order to retain a sense of power. Far from a genuine encounter with God, O'Connor makes it clear that Mrs. Shortley's religion is purely pragmatic:⁵⁶

For people like herself; for people of gumption, [religion] was a social occasion providing the opportunity to sing; but...she....considered the devil the head of it and God the hanger-on. With the coming of these displaced people, she was obliged to give new thought to a good many things (203-04).

O'Connor is implying that Mrs. Shortley's newfound religion is an opportunity to improve herself in the eyes of others. O'Connor also explicitly links the arrival of the Guizacs to Mrs. Shortley's new interest in religion, suggesting that she is using religion to make up for her loss in class.

O'Connor also describes Mrs. Shortley's renewed interest in the Bible, stating that "she started from that day to read her Bible with a new attention" (209). Mrs. Shortley focuses on the apocalyptic portions of the Bible, using them to gain what she believes is access to divine power:

She poured over the Apocalypse and began to quote from the Prophets and before long she had come to a deeper understanding of her existence. She saw plainly that the meaning of the world was a mystery that had been planned and she was not surprised to suspect that she had a special part in the plan because she was strong. She saw that the Lord God Almighty had created the strong people to do what had to be done and she felt that she would be ready when she was called. (209)

Although Mrs. Shortley immersed herself in the Prophets, she ignores their message of justice towards the marginalized. Instead, her interpretation emphasizes the protection of her own place in the world. She gains "a deeper understanding of *her* existence" (emphasis mine) rather than God's mercy and justice, and uses the

O'Connor describes as a monument to the Judge's economic legacy. O'Connor cloaks the Judge's artifacts with religious language. The office "was dark and quiet as a chapel" (221) with the empty safe "set like a tabernacle inn the center of it" (221). O'Connor has Mrs. McIntyre dedicate this space to his legacy and again links the spiritual to the economic when she writes "It was a kind of memorial to him, sacred because he had conducted his business here" (221). Indeed, it is only after she spends time sitting at his desk that Mrs. McIntyre's body is restored, allowing her to confront Mr. Guizac: "She sat motionless at the desk for ten or fifteen minutes and then as if she had gained some strength, she got up and got in her car and drove to the cornfield" (221). O'Connor seems to recognize that these memorials to the older, slave-owning generation, which Wilkerson calls "the symbols of caste" (*Caste* 333), empower Southerners to commit acts they would otherwise avoid.

56 For another example, note how Mrs. Shortley describes her son's surface level reasons for entering the ministry: "He had a strong sweet voice for hymns and could sell anything" (197).

Bible to defend her own “special part in the plan”. Mrs. Shortley believes in her own importance “because she was strong”, again implying that she is of a higher value than other races because of her innate physical qualities. Mrs. Shortley abuses the Bible in order to justify her white supremacy.

While Mrs. Shortley perverts religion in order to justify her racism, Mrs. McIntyre’s faith is dependent on the wellbeing of her economy. When Mrs. McIntyre notices how hard Mr. Guizic works when compared to her previous tenant farmers, she declares ““That man is my salvation!”” (203). Yet race trumps economics, for after her discovery of Mr. Guizic’s marriage proposal Mrs. McIntyre decides he must go, regardless of the benefits he brings to her farm. Despite Mrs. McIntyre’s certainty over her decision, she is unable to deliver Mr. Guizac his notice because of her guilt in rejecting a Holocaust survivor. Her excuses haunt her dreams, and in one of them the priest asks her to “think of the thousands of them, think of the ovens and the boxcars and the camps and the sick children and Christ Our Lord” (231). Her response to her stricken consciousness is to dwell instead on the perceived social upheaval that Mr. Guizac brings to her farm — “he’s extra and he’s upset the balance around here” (231) — and to insist that “there are no ovens here and no camps and *no Christ Our Lord*” (231, emphasis mine). Through this line, O’Connor implies that Mrs. McIntyre’s social ethics and emphasis on economics has pushed Christ’s presence out of her land. By rejecting the needs of those whom Mrs. McIntyre considered other, Mrs. McIntyre has rejected the God whom she claims to follow.

While O’Connor’s Christian imagination and keen awareness of her culture’s spiritual poverty give her stories prophetic insight, this insight was “sabotaged” (to quote Morrison) by the racist habits she deliberately cultivated. Just as these habits hindered her prophetic imagination, so too have the habits of racism cultivated by the western church hindered its embodiment of Christ. Jones’ detailed analysis of lingering racism in the American church includes language remarkably similar to how Wilkerson understands the habits of racism. He writes that “after centuries of complicity, the norms of white supremacy have become deeply and broadly integrated into white Christian identity, operating far below the level of consciousness” (10). Just as Mrs. McIntyre’s priorities led her to reject Christ’s presence (as represented by Mr. Guizac), so too will Christians continue to reject Christ’s presence (as represented by the marginalized) if Christians do not confront and root out embodied habits of racism.

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EM WILLIAMSON

Staked: Carmilla, Unspeakable Desires, and Lesbian Invisibility

No one wants to say “lesbian.” In her essay “What has Never Been: An Overview of Lesbian Feminist Literary Criticism,” Bonnie Zimmerman discusses the way that lesbians have been erased from literary history not only by patriarchal male criticism, but even by feminist criticism, in which authors would either ignore lesbian writers entirely or fail to include biographical details about their female companions while making special note of any prominent male figures in their lives. Valerie Traub’s essay “The Rewards of Lesbian History” similarly analyzes the ways that lesbians have also been excluded from queer theory, with even the most (supposedly) thorough texts on gay and lesbian literary heritage outright denying the presence of lesbianism in Western European history while simultaneously maintaining the greater visibility of male sexuality, be it gay or straight. It is factors like this which come together to produce what is referred to by many lesbian feminist scholars as “lesbian invisibility,” a phenomenon by which lesbian writers and texts explicitly depicting lesbianism are either heavily censored or erased entirely. My essay will discuss the way that the phenomenon of lesbian invisibility is present in both the textual history, and the text itself, of the Gothic vampire novel *Carmilla*, particularly by comparison to other, less subversive texts such as *Dracula*. In my analysis, I will discuss this matter both from a historical perspective — which is to say, the way that *Carmilla*’s depiction of an explicitly lesbian vampire has caused it to be neglected in literary history to the point of relative invisibility where texts like *Dracula* have become canonical in its place — as well as from a literary perspective, which is to say that despite *Carmilla*’s nature as a more subversive text than the comparatively repressive *Dracula*, it is nonetheless illustrative of many of the ideologies and practises of its time which were oriented towards erasing and demonizing lesbians.

1. The Queer Gothic — A Critical Perspective

Although I mentioned in the introduction to this essay that a key aspect of lesbian invisibility is the exclusion of lesbians not only from heterosexual, patriarchal spaces but also from feminist and queer theory, I nonetheless consider it important to this essay to discuss the common association of the queer with the Gothic as a whole. There in fact exists much debate over whether the association of the queer with the dead, the uncanny, and the predatory can be reclaimed or redeemed, or if this association is doomed to remain an unflattering part of the history of both Gothic and queer studies. In “Uncanny Recognition,” for example, Mair Rigby mentions that:

The impression that repressed queer meaning has come to light [in Gothic texts] produces the uncanny sense of recognition in the feeling that Gothic texts are really speaking about ‘us’. But perhaps what is demonstrated in the Gothic is the extent to which the rhetorical construction of sex and gender nonconformity has been mediated through the uncanny, in which case, what we really recognise is our own construction as uncanny beings, bodies of knowledge that ought to be repressed. (53)

Rigby suggests that the frequent exploration of the queer subject in the Gothic genre may have granted a voice and a kind of empowerment to those individuals who did not see their “uncanny” identities represented elsewhere, there is an unsettling suggestion overall that the association of the queer is something doomed to be repressed, and to remain in the margins of our collective knowledge. Despite the apparently conflicted quality of this relationship, though, what is nonetheless clear is that this association existed from the advent of Gothic literature in the Victorian era and continues to exist to this day. In her essay “Tracking the Vampire,” Sue-ellen Case describes the roots of the association between the queer and the Gothic uncanny:

Historically, the category of the unnatural was one of an aggregate of notions aimed at securing the right to life for a small minority of the world’s population... Against the homosexual, this right was formulated as the seeming contradiction between sterile homosexual sex and fertile heterosexual practise... From the heterosexist perspective, the sexual practise that produced babies was associated with giving life... and the living was established as the category of the natural... In contrast, homosexual sex was mandated as sterile — an unlive practise that was consequently unnatural, or queer, and, as that which was unlive, without the right to life. (4)

Based on this, it becomes fairly clear why vampire fiction in particular might often be the subject for the exploration of queer themes, as vampires of course by nature are imbued with themes of the undead and unnatural, and at once are predatory creatures who survive by feeding on the blood of the living — this “living” in many cases being innocent young women, as in the cases of both *Dracula* and *Carmilla*.

2. Lesbian Demonization & Invisibility Inside & Outside the Gothic

Yet, for lesbians at least, the equation of subversive sexuality to being predatory was not something which existed exclusively within Gothic fiction, but is rather a stereotype that was perpetuated throughout broader Victorian society as well. Claire O’Callaghan’s essay “Sarah Waters’ Victorian Domestic Spaces; Or, The Lesbians in the Attic” discusses how lesbianism “represented a threat to patriarchal protocol” within the Victorian era due to the subversion of both patriarchy as well as heterosexism (127). Not only did lesbians as a social group represent the idea of women taking control of their own sexuality and expressing sexual desire outside of traditionally regulated spaces, but they simultaneously claimed through their own lived experiences that women were not necessarily just domestic figures meant to serve men, but were rather capable of forming their own relationships and domestic lives which *did not necessarily need to involve men in the first place* (133). Because lesbianism was viewed as such a threat by patriarchal society, it would of course follow that lesbians themselves would come to be depicted as dangerous and predatory. And of course, this is where we can tie in this depiction to the Gothic, and to vampires — Bonnie Zimmerman suggests in her essay “Daughters of Darkness: Lesbian Vampires” that the reason lesbian vampires have become so prevalent in popular culture may be exactly because of this association of lesbian desire with being inherently predatory. Regarding this, she says the following:

Lesbian sexuality is infantile and narcissistic; lesbianism is sterile and morbid; lesbians are rich, decadent women who seduce the young and powerless. Lesbianism — love between women — must be vampirism; elements of violence, compulsion, hypnosis, paralysis, and the supernatural must be present. One woman must be a vampire, draining the life of the other woman, yet holding her in a bond stronger than the grave. (23)

But of course, the focus of this essay is not simply to discuss the stigmatization of lesbianism, but also the idea of lesbian invisibility — not simply depicting lesbianism as dangerous and predatory, but so horrifying as to be entirely unspeakable, or even unrecognizable. Returning to Valerie Traub’s text, she mentions on page 365 that even in societies which thought of male homosexuality as normal or at least tolerable, there existed a tendency to view desire among women as “monstrous, lawless, licentious, unnatural, and shameful.” Furthermore, in those rare cases where female-female relations were to be tolerated, they were “permitted precisely because they were considered insignificant.” (368). While it seems to have varied from one society to another whether lesbianism was so dangerous as to require special attention to repressing, or whether it was something so deeply insignificant as to simply be ignored entirely, the commonality remains that lesbians have historically been subject to a unique form of oppression that cannot necessarily just be summed up by calling it homophobia. A combination

of the representation of female desire as insignificant, and the targeted erasure of lesbian authors and literature depicting lesbians, has resulted in a societal perception of lesbian desire as unspeakable, or unthinkable — something which Sarah Parker brings up as being representative of a Victorian cultural myth that lesbians do not really exist because the idea of a woman desiring another woman is quite simply impossible (4-5). Parker attributes this to a perception of women not as subjects, but rather as objects that serve the specific purpose of being commodities for use in the marriage market. She states the following on this matter:

The total relationship of exchange which constitutes marriage is not established between a man and a woman, but between two groups of men, and the woman figures only as one of the objects in the exchange, not as one of the partners... Therefore, women are possessions, and the real basis of power lies in the relationship between the men that exchange them. (5-6)

Parker further asserts that this perspective is not simply something which is impressed upon women by men, but rather something that women themselves internalize. The idea of lesbianism suddenly causes women to be confronted with the idea of perceiving themselves not simply as objects for male desire, but rather as subjects, capable of desiring. This concept is frightening, even panic-inducing. Thus lesbianism must continue to be repressed, and continue to be unspoken.

3. *Le Fanu & Carmilla*, *Stoker & Dracula*

If we were to compare the ongoing cultural impact of *Carmilla* against Bram Stoker's famous Gothic novel *Dracula*, we would all too often find that it was *Dracula* which was all the more recognizable, where *Carmilla* has largely faded into obscurity. Indeed, in conversations with peers, I have as a general rule found that while most people have at least heard of *Dracula* and have an idea of the text's contents (however corroded by modern adaptations it may be), mention of *Carmilla* tends to be greeted with little more than a confused expression. This is something which I have always found quite interesting, given not only that *Carmilla* precedes *Dracula* by about twenty years in terms of its release but is also cited by certain scholars as being a primary inspiration behind it, as well as a text which is as a whole "of equal or greater literary distinction." (Saler & Zeigler 218). In their article *Dracula and Carmilla: Monsters and the Mind*, Saler & Zeigler speculate on why it is that *Dracula* not only sparked a massive proliferation of vampire narratives in Britain and the United States, but also became the more "canonical" of the two texts, and throughout their analysis they argue that the reason for this is as follows:

Stoker's novel *Dracula* is more prototypical than *Carmilla* because its narrative features conform fully to the general structure of widely encountered monster-slaying stories whereas that is not the case for *Carmilla*...the monster-slaying narrative structure of which the novel *Dracula*

is an example is itself both warranted by, and an expression of, the evolved architecture of the human mind. (220)

The argument of this essay is essentially twofold: firstly, Carmilla is not the archetypal monster that Dracula is. Despite modern depictions which might color our image of the Count as an gentlemanly figure, in Stoker's novel he is very much a monstrous figure, depicted as frightening and animalistic, as hairy and foul-smelling, a horrible and evil creature who desires human blood above all else and can even shapeshift into such animals as bats and canines (Saler & Zeigler 221-2). By contrast, Saler & Zeigler describe Carmilla as uncannily, ethereally beautiful, not the slightest bit animalistic (with her only animal quality being the fact that she *might* be able to transform into a cat), and even as a potentially sympathetic individual whose primary desire is intimacy with a human (Ibid.). Second, this text mentions that *Dracula* demonstrates the archetypal resolution for a "monster-slaying story" (the genre into which they categorize both *Dracula* and, to an extent, also Carmilla) in which the monster's destructive reign is ended when it is killed by a human hero, providing a sense of closure to the reader as the unambiguously evil is defeated by the unambiguously good.

But does Carmilla follow this format? Well, to an extent; Carmilla is certainly a vampire who kills humans, and she is certainly dispatched by the end of the story. But as mentioned earlier, Carmilla is not so unambiguously horrible or evil as Count Dracula, nor is the ending to her story conclusive in the same way — not only is Carmilla's end lacking in the same sense that some kind of colossal threat to society has been dispatched, but there is the suggestion that her primary "victim," Laura, may neither be free of vampirism nor of anything else which Carmilla may have awakened in her:

The following Spring my father took me on a tour through Italy. We remained away for more than a year. It was long before the terror of recent events subsided; and to this hour the image of Carmilla returns to memory with ambiguous alternations — sometimes the playful, languid, beautiful girl; sometimes the writhing fiend I saw in the ruined church; and often from a reverie I have started, fancying I heard the light step of Carmilla at the drawing room door. (Le Fanu 196)

And it is this very contrast between the two texts which Saler & Zeigler theorize has caused the gap in popularity, and in "canonicity," between *Dracula* and Carmilla. *Dracula* is self-contained, it is "safe," and it provides no additional implications that the reader must think about by way of its ending. It is a relatively simple story in which human defeats monster, and good prevails over evil, and this appeals to human beings:

We fear monsters — vicarious fear is still fear — and we derive pleasure — vicarious pleasure is still pleasure — from killing them...Predation

involves death, which converts a human into a nonperson. This in itself does not constitute a counter-intuitive feature of the monster; but if the monster's agency reanimates the person whom the monster killed, as happens in many vampire stories where victims are turned into vampires, then the monster is counter-intuitive on that score, for that kind of power is not part of our prototypical conceptualizations of the Person category. (Saler & Zeigler 224-225)

Dracula is a story which depicts an unambiguous monster who feeds on humans and turns them into "non-persons" as a precedent to transforming them into monsters. By the end of the story, the story's "persons" have safely eliminated its "non-persons" in a neat restoration of order. In contrast to *Carmilla*, the final entry in the story of *Dracula* reads:

Seven years ago we all went through the flames. And the happiness of some of us since then is, we think, well worth the pain we endured... In the summer of this year we made a journey to Transylvania, and went over the old ground which was, and is, to us so full of vivid and terrible memories. It was almost impossible to believe that the things which we had seen with our own eyes and heard with our own ears were living truths. Every trace of all that had been was blotted out. The castle stood as before, reared high above a waste of desolation. When we got home we were talking of the old time, which we could all look back on without despair, for Godalming and Seward are both happily married. (Stoker n.p.)

This ending, contrary to Laura's lingering thoughts of *Carmilla* (which, I might add, do not present themselves as being entirely fearful or negative) gives the distinct implication of a harrowing sequence of events which, while traumatic for all involved, have been wrapped up such that everyone involved who survived is now able to live an entirely normal and happy life; it almost seems *too* happy an ending given the amount of people who perished throughout the course of the story, but perhaps this is what makes this ending so emblematic of a traditional monster-slaying story. While the events of the plot may have been frightening, there is no lingering question in the reader's mind of whether killing Count Dracula was the "right" thing to do, or whether the characters will be able to live out happy lives after what has happened; we are essentially directly *told* both of these things by the story, and thus the reader, upon seeing Dracula gone and the characters returning to their lives as before, is comfortable, and satisfied. "Every trace of all that had been was blotted out." "We could all look back on the old time without despair." While the ending is not necessarily an entirely tidy one given the violence that pervaded the narrative, Saler & Zeigler describe it as "cathartic," suggesting that the sense of closure comes not from "all being well" by the end of the novel, but a distinct impression that normalcy has been restored.

Of course, by highlighting *Dracula's* ending in such a way, I am aware I may invite the criticism that *Dracula* is most certainly not a text which is entirely uncomplicated in itself — especially when we consider that we now have scholarship which suggests that Stoker himself may have been a closeted gay man who was rumoured to have had a “sexless marriage” and kept close company with Oscar Wilde (Glover 1). Yet I believe that in this context it is important to note that even queer authors are not necessarily exempt from the more negative associations of the Queer Gothic, and it is possible even for depictions of homosexuality *as written by a queer author* to be characterized by suppression and anxiety. Though Clark's essay “Preying on the Pervert” unfortunately fails to acknowledge the possibility of Stoker's homosexuality, it nonetheless brings up an important point regarding the ways that the text overall presents a distinctly “us vs. them” view of sexuality based on the stigmatization of homosexuality and supposed sexual degeneracy (168). I would thus argue that just because a text *depicts* characters who can be interpreted as embodying queer desire in some capacity, this does not necessarily mean (even if the author themselves is queer) that the presentation of such characters is not innately repressive and heteronormative. Clark mentions that Dracula himself is essentially depicted within the text as a dark and dangerous figure who infiltrates English society and corrupts its values, especially its sexual values, from the inside. This process begins not even when he actually steps foot on English soil, but rather much earlier, during his meeting with Renfield:

Renfield embodies the ideal of British maleness before he encounters Dracula. [He] was such an established member of the culture that, as he tells Lord Gadalming, he “had the pleasure of seconding your father at the Windham” (215), a gentleman's club. Yet, after he mysteriously encounters Dracula, he is a sexually changed man...institutionalized for madness that manifests through his deviant desire to become servant, slave, mate and bride of Dracula...Although Dracula never physically penetrates a man in the novel, the case of Renfield indicates that he does not have to...The mere suggestion of penetration transforms Renfield into a sexual deviant who must be institutionalized in an attempt to “cure” his sexual hybridity. (172)

Clark cites one particular passage in this analysis in which the formerly-institutionalized Renfield escapes from his cell and runs to Dracula, all the while crying out about how he is Dracula's slave, worships him, and is eager to be granted his rewards. The overall relationship between Renfield and Dracula thus exhibits a distinctly pathologized view of queer desire, in which the homosexual relationship is not an equal partnership between two men but rather one in which the passive partner is a psychologically compromised slave and the dominant partner is a heartless, predatory monster.

Furthermore, one of the key reasons for which I refer to *Carmilla* as a “subversive” text has to do with not only its nature as a queer text, but as a specifically *lesbian* text, which requires that its subversion be rooted not only in the

queer subject but also in the feminine subject. Thus, I believe it is important to now address Dracula's presentation of female vampires, especially as contextualized by their interaction with the novel's male characters. Again turning to Clark's analysis, his paper highlights a particular passage in which Jonathan Harker awaits with "languorous ecstasy" to be bitten by Dracula's brides, noting how, in much in the same way as Renfield, Harker is pushed into a sexually subversive passive role by the experience — which, likewise, will later be pathologized when Harker is driven into a temporary catatonic state after being bitten (173). Yet in addition to the parallels between Harker and Renfield's experiences, Clark also notes that despite the apparently active sexual roles taken on by the female vampires of the novel, they are less agents in themselves and more vessels by which Dracula's dominance and penetration can be executed, with the fangs of the vampire women acting as a kind of phallic stand-in. The brides are not subjects, and do not execute their own desires, but rather objects which Dracula acts *through*, the prefix "brides of" therefore depriving them of their own wills (Ibid.).

Lucy Westenra, the oft-cited example of Dracula's "corrupting influence" (i.e., sexual subversion), is likewise hardly given a chance to be little more than an object. Although Lucy does from the introduction of her character express a desire to marry more than one man, she at first recognizes this as "heresy" and comprehends that it is something unspeakable, stating that she knows she "must not say it." (Stoker n.p.). When turned into a vampire, though, Lucy is seemingly freed of the trappings of heterosexual monogamy and expresses these desires openly — to an extent. Kathleen Spencer mentions that Lucy's transformation is not so much a transformation of her entire self, but rather something focused largely around her body, where her soul apparently remains sweet and pure — she is "voluptuous" and "wanton," she is "callous as a devil" and a "creature of sexual appetites who "accedes to violent penetration by the vampire," but only as she sleepwalks, and not when she remains awake. While the un-dead Lucy is never described as herself but only as "the thing" and "a nightmare of Lucy," in death, as a stake is violently thrust through her heart (itself perhaps a kind of phallic "purification" of her corrupted body), she finally becomes "Lucy as we had seen her in life" once more (Spencer 211-2). Not only is Lucy ultimately punished for her sexual subversion, but this subversion is not even attributed to her own will in the first place, and is seemingly a manifestation of Dracula's will acting on her body — and I would thus suggest that, although neither Dracula nor its author are entirely free of complexity, its depictions of both queer and female desire are ultimately characterized by a deep repression and anxiety which we cannot ignore, with the eventual murders of both Lucy and Count Dracula contributing to the overall sense that English society has been restored to its repressive norms. By contrast, though, I believe that *Carmilla* potentially has something more subversive to offer both in its depictions of queer sexuality and of a "playful, languid, beautiful girl" who occupies a distinct subject position of her own.

4. Carmilla

So then, who is Carmilla as a character? — what does or does not make her a monster? What is it about her that is so unequivocally “lesbian” as to cause this text to fall into the category of those which have been obscured by the phenomenon of lesbian invisibility?

As mentioned earlier, Saler & Zeigler point out that Carmilla’s characterization differs substantially from that of your typical monster-slaying narrative’s horrific antagonist. When she is initially introduced as a young girl and invited into Laura’s home as a guest, upon asking for information about Carmilla, Laura is told that she is “almost the prettiest creature I ever saw,” “so gentle and nice” and with “such a sweet voice”; Laura will later describe her similarly, indeed stating that Carmilla was “certainly the most beautiful creature I had ever seen.” (Le Fanu 20-1, 25). This is in itself a far cry from our mentioned description of Count Dracula, who at every instance except the initial encounter is cited as horrible to look at, foul-smelling and generally monstrous.

Furthermore, Carmilla is somewhat lacking in the kinds of monstrous traits we would typically expect of the antagonist of this type of narrative, and there are relatively few instances in the novel in which she is described as anything *but* beautiful. Even when Laura’s father and the General open the grave of Countess Mircalla, Carmilla’s supposedly monstrous alter ego, she is still described as “beautiful,” and “tinted with the warmth of life.” (92). Furthermore, when a stake is driven through her heart, her only reaction is described as “a piercing shriek... in all respects such as might escape from a living person in the last agony.” (Ibid.). Nothing monstrous, no horrifying final stand from a creature near death, only a rather anticlimactic scream much like what would come from any young girl who had just been stabbed — perhaps the reason that Laura describes this final scene as “shocking” is less because she has witnessed something monstrous, and more because what she has witnessed appears like little more than the murder of the lovely young girl with which she has maintained a close and intimate friendship up until now. Indeed, Carmilla’s monstrousness appears to exist only in that she is ascribed the label of “vampire” — a label which, itself, is not uncomplicated within *Carmilla*’s pages:

The vampire is prone to be fascinated with an engrossing vehemence, resembling the passion of love, by particular persons. In pursuit of these it will exercise inexhaustible patience and stratagem, for access to a particular object may be obstructed in a hundred ways. It will never desist until it has satiated its passion, and drained the very life of its coveted victim. But it will, in these cases, husband and protract its murderous enjoyment with the refinement of an epicure, and heighten it by the gradual approaches of an artful courtship. In these cases it seems to yearn for something like sympathy and consent. (94)

While the beginning of this passage seems to resemble the expected narrative of a monster who seduces and drains the life from a human entirely for its own benefits — note, for example, the vampire as a figure still being referred to with the non-person pronoun “it” — the idea of a vampire desiring “sympathy and consent” throws an interesting wrench into the idea that vampires must surely be innately predatory and monstrous. If a vampire merely thinks of a human as its prey, then why would it need consent? Why would it feel the need for “the gradual approaches of an artful courtship?” Why not merely stoop to manipulation or force if the sole purpose is to devour the victim’s life force? Looking at it this way, Carmilla certainly does not act as though all she wants from Laura is her blood:

...with gloating eyes she drew me to her, and her hot lips travelled along my cheek in kisses; and she would whisper, almost in sobs, “You are mine, you shall be mine, you and I are one for ever”... It was unmistakably the momentary breaking out of suppressed instinct and emotion. (30)

Were this “breaking out of suppressed instinct and emotion” merely some kind of predatory impulse, one might imagine that it would more likely take the form of aggression, some kind of ravenous attack like a sudden biting of the neck. Yet instead, all that Carmilla gives Laura are trailing kisses, which Laura describes as being “like the ardour of a lover.” (Ibid.). These instances furthermore do not present themselves as mere manipulation or seduction with ulterior motives, as Laura describes the sudden occurrence as being “*unmistakably* the momentary breaking out of suppressed instinct and emotion” — as though Carmilla’s deeper feelings for her companion are suddenly breaking through to the surface, and what she cannot control is her desire to treat Laura like a lover, to lavish her with affection.

It is passages such as this that support the identification of Carmilla as a lesbian within this essay, but we need not ignore the ways that love between women was disingenuously tolerated in Victorian society under the pretense that the women involved were most certainly not lovers, and were still all too available for use by the men of their society as marital currency. Thus, I believe it is important to take this opportunity to discuss what differentiates the relationship between Laura and Carmilla from this kind of appropriated homoerotic (yet still very much heteronormative) narrative. Sharon Marcus mentions that in Victorian society, there existed “tensions between a heterosexual femininity packaged as homoerotic and a transgressive, marginal lesbianism whose centrality to hegemonic heterosexual femininity can only be phobically disavowed.” Lesbian sex and desire (and perhaps even female desire in general) were so marginalized that it became easy to exploit female homoeroticism without ever having to worry about this exploitation being accused of being explicitly *lesbian*. Women could, for example, engage in deep intimate relationships which involved “companionship, love, caretaking, self-sacrifice, admiration, longing, obsession, intense excitement and passion,” and even to some degree intimate physical contact such as kisses, passionate caresses, and the sharing of beds (Marcus 4). Yet Marcus goes on to say that:

It would be as absurd to think that in practice female homoeroticism never led to sex between women as it would be to think that it always did so. In the Victorian period, what is significant is that even at their most physical and exclusive, homoerotic relationships between women were rarely stigmatized as sodomy or extramarital sex — as perverse or unnatural. Rather, one woman's passionate interest in another was understood as an organic aspect of her femininity, consistent with marriage and maternity (5-6).

In this analysis, the relationships between women are essentially appropriated such that women are encouraged to look at other women as idealized representations of middle-class femininity, essentially as “real, live dolls.” (27). Love between women, and the idea of highly feminine women looking at other women as well as images of other women, was entirely compatible with heterosexual narratives in that it essentially involved women forming close, deep relationships with one another while at no point being viewed as a threat to heterosexuality or patriarchy because desire between women was quite simply viewed as something lesser, something which could never exist in *place* of heterosexuality, but only on the margins of it, alongside it, quiet, feminine, and passive as the women who were part of it.

The relationship between Laura and Carmilla is certainly one which can be characterized with all the features described by Marcus — “companionship, love, caretaking, self-sacrifice, admiration, longing, obsession, physical intimacy, and intense excitement and passion” — yet what is interesting about Carmilla is that, despite the relationship itself being not unlike Marcus's descriptions of exploitive desire, Carmilla actually does seem to disavow not only relationships with men, but also patriarchy itself, on several occasions throughout the novel. One of the meetings between Laura and Carmilla is narrated as follows:

“How romantic you are, Carmilla,” I said. “Whenever you tell me your story, it will be made up chiefly of some one great romance.”

She kissed me silently.

“I am sure, Carmilla, you have been in love; that there is, at this moment, an affair of the heart going on.”

“I have been in love with no one, and never shall,” she whispered, “unless it should be with you.” (Le Fanu 40)

Laura, in accordance with the norms surrounding female-female relationships, expects that Carmilla has been in love before, and that their relationship is nothing more than an affair started on a whim, and which could end at any time, particularly if some male suitor were to come along for either of them. She expects that their relationship carries with it the kind of noncommittal innocence that *all* homoerotic relationships between women would be intended to; Carmilla cannot really be

her lover, she can only kiss her with ardour “like” that of a lover, almost as if imitating it while not really reaching that level. Surely it is not *real* love, like the heterosexual sort, but only the kind of intimate admiration which would typically be quietly tolerated between two women.

Yet Carmilla denies this expectation entirely, stating that not only has she never been in love, but in fact does not care to be unless it is with Laura. What she feels is not simply an “affair of the heart,” but rather something with genuine desire and *commitment* behind it. Yet this is not the only aspect in which Carmilla seems to deny men, or patriarchy, as another instance of this rejection lies in the question of names. Elizabeth Signorotti mentions an interesting phenomenon in *Carmilla* by which, contrary to what one might expect of a male author living in a markedly patriarchal society, Le Fanu often fails to even concern himself with giving the novel’s male characters distinctive names: Doctor Spielsburg and General Spielsdorf have interchangeable punning names which are little more than jokes, Laura’s father remains unnamed throughout the novel, and Laura herself even has her mother’s maiden name as a surname, suggesting that their family does not track its ancestry through patriarchal lines (38). Yet in contrast:

... Though Carmilla’s identity remains elusive, she has at least four names, all anagrams of one another: Mircalla, Millarca, Marcilla, and Carmilla Karnstein. Carmilla, like her forbidden love for Laura, is at first *non nominandum* in the novella as characters try to make sense of her origins and her unseemly fascination with her hostess. Ultimately, however, the male characters in the text who are threatened by her male-excluding passion discover that the clues to Carmilla’s identity as well as her sexuality lie in deciphering the origin and meaning of her original name and her various anagrammatical aliases. For the men in the novella, in contrast, there are not enough names to go around... [therefore] Carmilla’s passion for Laura not only threatens her life, but also the power structure of Victorian society. (Ibid.)

As Signorotti articulates so eloquently in this passage, Carmilla’s very presence appears to push the male figures in the novel into a place of marginality; hardly even afforded the honour of unique names, they become virtually irrelevant, taking a backseat to the ever-developing relationship between the four-times-named Carmilla, and Laura, whose identity is subversively set apart from the place of merely being her father’s daughter. Carmilla cares little for men or their arbitrary laws, and the narrative itself seems to imply that she is not subject to patriarchy through its blatant failure to give any plot relevance to the majority of its male characters in favor of focusing on Carmilla herself — forming somewhat of an interesting parallel with the tendency of historicists to obscure lesbian relationships in favour of associating lesbian writers with men.

It is at this point, then, that I find it necessary to return to the point of Carmilla's beauty. Certainly, the female vampires of *Dracula* are also described as beautiful, with Lucy specifically even being cited as "more beautiful" than in life by Van Helsing once becoming undead — so why is it any different for Carmilla, another female vampire, to be beautiful? (Stoker n.p.). My suggestion would be this: Carmilla in herself represents a similar kind of subversion of cultural and sexual norms that Count Dracula does, something which the female vampires of *Dracula* do not. It is acceptable for the female vampires of *Dracula* to be beautiful because they do not occupy subject positions, but are rather objects by which Dracula's will is carried out. The vampiric Lucy does not move her offending body by her own will, but it is moved by the will of the Count, while her human soul supposedly remains pure. Dracula himself, on the other hand, *must* be foul, and must be ugly, and *must* be monstrous, because he is no mere innocent victim of a corrupting influence, but acts as the influence himself, making the corruption the result of his will as a subject. Carmilla, likewise, is not an object through which other wills act but quite clearly has her own desires — desires which act in subversion of heteronormativity and patriarchy, at that. Carmilla desires Laura not simply in the way that a predator desires its prey, but romantically, sexually, like a lover, and she is unwilling to submit to the laws of her society which dictate that both women ought to resign themselves to being little more than the marital currency of men. Her very existence in the novel makes male existence marginal, twisting the narrative such that women are at its forefront and men are hardly afforded the privilege of their own names. Carmilla is no "bride of" — she herself is the Countess, and one who seemingly needs no Count to be granted importance. In a narrative like *Dracula*, beauty seemingly serves the function of representing goodness and purity — even in its eventually corrupted state — but the cause of the corruption itself must always be monstrous, lest the beauty of goodness be compromised. Yet Carmilla, despite her subversion of patriarchy, despite her lesbianism, and despite her vampirism, is allowed to be beautiful, and not merely a dangerous kind of beauty, but gentle, sweet-voiced, with a soft smile. While a woman being beautiful is not itself anything to call subversive, Le Fanu's descriptions of Carmilla's delicate beauty work to further complicate any depictions of her as a monstrous figure, especially given that her character in itself represents a kind of anti-patriarchal stance in which men become marginal figures and the only significant relationships are those between women. Carmilla, in all her languor and loveliness, takes hold of the narrative and twists it to her own purposes, and is not made monstrous for it. This, I assert, is why *Carmilla* is a text which has not come to be part of literary canon in the same way that *Dracula* has.

Obviously, it is worth it to point out that *Dracula* was not always considered such a "canonical" text as it is now, and J. Jeffrey Franklin mentions that the "outpouring of *Dracula* scholarship" which has come to exist today is largely only

the product of the last thirty or so years⁵⁷ (127). Yet *Dracula*, and not *Carmilla*, is still the text which *has* gained the outpouring of scholarship, and which *has* come into such public recognition as to now be a household name in the Western world — because for all its complexities and homoerotic undertones, it is still a text which maintains itself as a classic (if gory) monster-slaying narrative, and despite questions of its author’s sexuality, it still presents queerness as something to be ultimately repressed and pushed from the reader’s mind, slain with the staking of both Lucy and Dracula himself. Even then, as opposed to *Carmilla*’s unusual focus on the feminine subject, *Dracula* is less worthy of suppression because it is ultimately a text which focuses on male sexuality. All that is “queer” about this text is queer only insofar as it is about male homosexuality, which even in itself is only depicted in the ambiguous master-slave relationship between Dracula and Renfield, and the stand-in for penetration that is the fangs of Dracula’s brides. Lucy’s desires are still for men; in the first place, her only subversive desire is that to be able to marry several men at once, still leaving her firmly rooted in the position of being marital currency, as Stoker either could not or did not want to conceptualize that a woman could possibly have any kind of transgressive desire aside from one centered around being a bride. But *Carmilla*, who tells Laura firmly that she will love no one but her, and whose very presence is just the kind of subversion which threatens the patriarchal system in every form, inevitably becomes a figure who must remain suppressed, and must remain invisible. As the embodiment of lesbian desire, she is representative of a narrative world which does not need men to function, and this is why *Carmilla* the text still remains on the margins of our collective knowledge. Yet even as a text which has been suppressed for its forefront representation of lesbianism, is *Carmilla* itself even all that subversive?

5. Invisible Even in her Own Domain

As a text written by a male author in the Victorian era, when patriarchy was even more of a widely dominating force than it is today and lesbianism was seen as virtually nonexistent, one would of course expect that *Carmilla* as a text would not be free of its own harmful ideologies about lesbianism. Indeed, although I have highlighted up to this point the ways that the text is subversive in comparison to a repressive text like *Dracula*, *Carmilla* nonetheless exhibits many of the repressive ideologies of its time surrounding lesbianism as well, albeit less blatantly so. To begin with, Elizabeth Signorotti mentions in “Repossessing the Body” that a particular nineteenth-century stigmatization of lesbianism had to do with the idea that lesbians, who were typically women of distinct power and influence, would surround themselves with other women upon whom they became a distinct emotional and intellectual drain — meaning that, due to the growing popularity of female vampires in fiction, it would of course become the case that lesbianism could be depicted as a kind of vampirism in itself, in which the bonds between women became a drain on the victim’s vitality (610). Although *Carmilla* may not

57 Cited article says “twenty years” but is from 2012.

have directly followed this trend in that it is likely the first novel which depicted a woman vampire as the protagonist, it nonetheless exhibits this trend in quite an overt manner, as the more Carmilla begins to push her affections on Laura, we also see a gradual worsening of Laura's health as Carmilla both emotionally and vampirically drains the life from her. At first, Laura's reactions to Carmilla's advances are coloured with a mixture of temptation and resistance; she mentions both feeling "drawn towards her," but also feeling "something of repulsion," and describes how she felt "a vague sense of fear and disgust" at Carmilla's kisses and embraces, yet how her "murmured words sounded like a lullaby in my ear, and soothed my resistance into a trance." (Le Fanu 25, 29). Undoubtedly, Laura is gradually being seduced by her lovely companion, despite her initial misgivings, and it is much the same after her first truly *vampiric* encounter with Carmilla. Though she is at first quite horrified by the nightmarish episode in which Carmilla is implied to sneak into her room and bite deep into her breast to feed on her blood, as the days pass and she is gradually drained of more and more of her life, her response approaches something like acceptance:

For some nights I slept profoundly; but still every morning I felt the same lassitude, and a languor weighed upon me all day. I felt myself a changed girl. A strange melancholy was stealing over me, a melancholy that I would not have interrupted. Dim thoughts of death began to open, and an idea that I was slowly sinking took gentle, and somehow, not unwelcome, possession of me. If it was sad, the tone of mind which this induced was also sweet. Whatever it might be, my soul acquiesced in it. (Le Fanu 50)

At this moment of acceptance, we can see that Laura no longer appears to view her relationship with Carmilla as something horrible and unpleasant, or as something to be resisted, yet at the same time her burgeoning lesbianism seems to become something not unlike sinking into sweet death. Indeed, as Laura is drawn further away from the idea of loving anyone but Carmilla, she is drawn from life, too; their bond, much as described by Case, is something "unlive," which will inevitably kill Laura if it continues, no matter how pleasantly it may do so. Laura's initial resistance and horror at Carmilla's advances indeed seem much like what Sarah Parker describes as "lesbian panic" in the Gothic genre, a phenomenon by which women, afraid to depart from their object positions as exchange commodities, experience sensations of "shortness of breath...dizziness, unsteady feelings, or faintness; palpitations or accelerated heart rate; trembling or shaking" during romantic or sexual encounters with other women, something not unlike the sensations of terror typically described in the Gothic genre (7). Of course, Laura experiences much the same thing when the vampiric Carmilla approaches her, describing how "a block of stone could not have been more still" and "there was not the slightest stir of respiration" until Carmilla eventually leaves (Le Fanu 46). Yet despite these elevated instances, Parker mentions that in most texts:

...the Gothic is the genre in which that fear can be exploited and lesbian desire successfully repressed. In Gothic texts, after all, '[p]assion is excited only to be obscured, disembodied, decarnalized. The vision is inevitably waved off' (Castle 34).

Parker furthermore mentions that the concept of "spectrality" in female-female relations is a common trope in literature, with the kiss that cannot happen because one of the women involved has been "transformed into a ghostly vapour" becoming both a metaphor and a literal phenomenon in texts which depict lesbianism (9). While Carmilla kisses Laura many times throughout the novel, perhaps the first real *lesbian* encounter — the nightmare that precedes Laura's slow descent into sweet death — is the vampiric encounter, that in which Carmilla herself appears as nothing but a catlike spectre, and a looming figure above Laura's bed. With all the sexual undertones of the vampire bite as present in both *Carmilla* and *Dracula*, Carmilla, even within her own text, where she seemingly twists the narrative as she pleases, is still spectralized, and the narrative voice still hesitates to portray her lesbianism in any kind of explicit manner.

Furthermore, as perhaps the final nail in the coffin, so to speak, of Carmilla's embodiment of lesbian desire, we must of course not fail to consider that the Countess, too, is killed by the stake of repression at the end of her narrative, much like Lucy and *Dracula*. Though Carmilla at first eludes the ritual killing, and indeed does so by way of her spectrality, the discovery of her "real" body which lies immersed in blood in her grave marks her death. From the revelation of this body, it likewise seems that the girl Carmilla was no more than a spectre of lesbianism produced by something which was itself unlive. Robert Tracy mentions that in vampire fiction, the use of a stake on a female vampire can often act as a phallic symbol, representing a repressive return to tradition from whatever sexual transgression has been made (43). Tracy here gives the example that in *Dracula*, the one who drives the stake through Lucy's heart is none other than her fiancé, Arthur, and I would suggest that in this case the stake would represent a return to monogamy from Lucy's insatiable desire for multiple partners. But for Carmilla, the stake is patriarchy, is heterosexuality. It is never mentioned in *Carmilla* who exactly drives the stake through her heart, but rather the affair is told impersonally — "the body...was raised, and a sharp stake driven through the heart of the vampire." (Le Fanu 92). It is only briefly mentioned that during the ritual, the General, Laura's father, and two medical men were present, figures all of whom which serve no purpose but to be interchangeable masculine figures ending Carmilla's reign of lesbian subversion and restoring patriarchy. It matters not who actually commits the act of phallic restoration, only that there is a man who does it, and that repression is thus successfully achieved as Carmilla dies with a final piercing shriek. As much as Le Fanu may have allowed Carmilla her role of defiant lesbian throughout the novel, he cannot allow her a happy ending, or even an ending she survives — her subversion must be repressed, her desires must remain unspeakable, and Carmilla must die.

6. Conclusion

It is perhaps not a surprise to any lesbian feminist scholar that a text written by a man in the Victorian era would contain repressive attitudes toward lesbianism. Indeed, by highlighting the ways that *Carmilla* ultimately continues to enforce lesbian invisibility even within its own pages, I doubt that I am necessarily telling any lesbian something she did not already know. Yet what is so surprising, and indeed disturbing, is that a text like this, which *still* depicts lesbianism as deathly, predatory and even unspeakable, has been pushed into obscurity for merely depicting it at all. It would seem that lesbians, even at their most spectral and predatory, are still creatures who are too threatening to patriarchy and to heteronormativity to even be allowed into the public consciousness, lest their unspeakable desires begin to become spoken. While there may be a variety of reasons that *Carmilla* has not come to receive the “outpouring of criticism” and household recognition that *Dracula* has in the modern day, I nonetheless assert that one reason we cannot ignore is that at its core, no matter how stigmatizing and oppressive it may be, *Carmilla* is still a text *about* lesbianism; about a lesbian vampire and the lover she preys upon with her transgressive desires. This is what makes *Carmilla* so threatening where *Dracula* is not — because Carmilla herself, at her core, embodies the idea that women are capable of forming relationships with one another without any regard for what the men around them believe they ought to be doing. Furthermore, as a character, Carmilla represents that women can be at the center of stories while men remain marginal to them — something which, as evidenced by the proliferation of such measures as the Bechdel test, even contemporary literature has difficulty recognizing.⁵⁸ Yet perhaps the rising amount of lesbian feminist scholars who have taken an interest in *Carmilla* would finally indicate a change in the hegemony of invisibility. Though slowly, the text is seemingly losing its spectrality and coming into greater view, at least by those who take interest in the merits of lesbian history. Sarah Parker may be right that the apparitional lesbian can be resurrected — she only needs to step out of her repressive grave and into the public eye.

58 O’Meara mentions over six thousand films had been analyzed with this test as of November 2015, and although she highlights that the test itself is overly simplistic and was originally intended as a joke by Bechdel, it is still rather startling how many films do not pass.

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Exclusive Belonging: Secret Societies in Conversation with Erin Morgenstern, Author of The Night Circus and The Starless Sea

Throughout literature, secret societies have found a new resurgence in popularity. As they once created a place of solidarity for people seeking connection with like-minded people, literature has brought forth a new way to experience the creation of an ideal space. Books like *The Da Vinci Code*, *A Series of Unfortunate Events*, and *The Mysterious Benedict Society* have introduced secret societies for a variety of ages that have started to become commonplace in literature. As real secret societies are hard to come by, literature offers up an opportunity to find some kind of connection to similar-thinking people within the pages of a novel. In author Erin Morgenstern's writing, she creates fictional worlds that connect readers to both the real world and an ideal world where they are able to feel a sense of belonging they have not managed to find in the real world. Morgenstern's desire to have imaginary worlds that are both attached and detached from the real world comes through in her own novels, drawing in readers who wish to find that connection as well.

Throughout history, there have been secret societies of various kinds. Mystery and secrets can be daunting and suspicious in a lot of ways. There are people who question why secrets would ever be necessary, as it seems as though something is being hidden. While secret keeping can be exclusionary, the want to be inside of the groups who are keeping the secrets is something that many people can relate to, "We do not say that secrecy is what is called an *evil* or *sin in itself*. Secrecy may sometimes be right and even necessary" (MacDill 2). It is human nature to want to belong yet difficult for anyone to truly feel as if they have found somewhere where they really truly belong. Secret societies open up new worlds of possibilities, especially the possibility to feel as though the group in which a person now belongs to has somehow made them extra special as not everyone is

able to belong to such a group as theirs. While secrets may seem suspicious, they can bring people together into a sense of security, belonging, as well as exclusivity. Given the many different kinds of secret societies, there may seem as though there is some kind of place for anyone. The need to belong is natural, the want to seem special alongside that belonging is also common. Secret societies can derive from political, religious, or social reasons but they all have the common factor of bringing people together for a similar cause or interest. While there can be negative and dark aspects to a secret society, there is also the potential for creating secret societies that allow for the bonding and connection of the people within it for reasons of only good intentions, “in the study of secret societies we have then a double line to follow — the course of associations enveloping themselves in secrecy for the pursuit of esoteric knowledge, and those using mystery and secrecy for an ulterior and, usually, a political purpose” (Webster 3). Fictional worlds can attract people as they give them an outlet from the real world as well as the ability to connect with those who have similar ideals. Morgenstern creates her own ideal space in her novels that lets readers enjoy that space, bringing in the common ground that people would look for in secret societies but within the pages of a book. In what follows, I will suggest what attracts people to secret societies and what creates the sense of belonging that they can find within them. Secret societies give people with common interests and/or beliefs a way to connect with others who see the world in a similar way and allow them to feel like more than just an individual. I will look at Morgenstern’s intentions towards creating secret societies within her novels as well as how culture has been influenced by real life secret societies and how they have come to exist in literary form. Morgenstern discusses not just the idea of an ideal space but what the space has to offer to the reader as well. Her books are some that have been part of a renewed interest in having secret societies in books and literature. The attraction to secret societies is strong as it leaves room for any kind of person to either join or create a society.

In an interview for her 2019 novel *The Starless Sea*, Erin Morgenstern expressed her wish for creating spaces within her novels that allow for readers to engage in not just fiction, but a form of reality as well, “I had this place in my head, and the writing process for me involves a lot of exploring this imaginary space...I wanted to figure out what the mysteries were behind it and what the story behind the space was” (Morgenstern qtd in Young). Morgenstern focuses on the idea of an “ideal space,” or somewhere where she felt like she would be able to find some kind of other-worldly element in a realistic space. Her novels encapsulate secret spaces in ways that allow for the same sense of community that her readers look for in both real life and literature. The idea of an “ideal space” is a common thread through Morgenstern’s interviews regarding her novels. She shares her desire to have spaces within her novels that show possibilities within reality without divorcing from the idea of a perfect society. In literature, it is easier to build that ideal space that Morgenstern, as the author, has full control over the space she will build. Whether the intentions are good or bad, Morgenstern will be

able to craft a secret society, as many authors also have, that fits in with her version of an ideal space that will hopefully appeal to her readers as well.

Throughout her interviews for both of her novels, Morgenstern returns to the idea that she wishes to create an ideal space for herself and her readers. The ideal space that she is looking to create for herself as well as her readers is a place that will get them away from the life they live while as well connecting them to reality, “You have all of the books and the stories and the resources to do whatever you want. It’s my version of that ideal imaginary space”(Morgenstern qtd in Lenker). Using fantasy worlds, Morgenstern is able to expand the spaces that she and the reader are familiar with in order to create worlds that start to fit the more idealized version that a person might want to see. Morgenstern uses her own life as an example:

I think I do think like that all the time. I’m always wondering, like what’s going on and especially in Manhattan, there’s so many little secret hidden things just in the city that you can walk by a door and not know what’s behind it. I used to go to all those sort of speakeasy style bars with the unmarked doorways, and it feels like another world once you go through that door. (Morgenstern qtd in Young)

Morgenstern describes the feeling that she found in walking around her city, wondering what could be hidden behind doors. While there may be nothing behind those doors other than what is advertised, she expands the known world in her novels by creating the space to have other worlds hidden within it. Secret societies are part of what can now exist in these places. A secret society can be what it the other-worldly aspect that the author is bringing into existence by expanding the known world, “as a work of literature, the novel also contains thought of the author and can also be a reflection of what happens in society” (Nur 41). While the worlds that Morgenstern has created are fictional within a novel, they contain her view on society, and her thoughts of what might be hidden behind those “unmarked doorways” she references to in her interviews. The fictional worlds she creates show just enough of reality to create someplace behind the doors Morgenstern looks at as she walks around Manhattan, but this time they can bring in her readers as well. The work of building a secret society or ideal space within fiction opens up the possibility for readers to find the perfect space for them, as well as others who feel the same about a certain space all within the pages of a book.

Robin Ronen, author of *Possible Worlds in Literary Theory*, addresses the idea of an ideal space as well. Ronen discusses the search that readers go on to find areas in fiction that will give them the sense of belonging that they have not been able to find in their own reality. Just as Morgenstern discusses her search for an ideal space through her own writing, Ronen looks at the motivation of creating an ideal space. By using fiction, Morgenstern is able to create the kind of world that Ronen states can be made through fiction:

The framework of possible worlds attests to the fact that fiction is not an extraordinary phenomenon. It is one among other categories of cultural products that present non-actual states of affairs through language (the same is true of conditionals, descriptions of worlds of desire, belief, and anticipation, and mythical version of the world) (Ronen 21).

Fiction opens up the possibility that the reader is able to search for their perfect ideal space, just as Morgenstern is discussing through her own writing and literature. By keeping a sense of reality to the ideal space, fiction writers are able to make the space seem more accessible and not completely detached from reality. As Ronen states, fiction does not have to be an extraordinary phenomenon. When secret societies are looked at closely, especially in fiction, it can be seen that those who read books looking for these ideal worlds are looking to find some sort of group in which they can find a sense of belonging while also feeling special. Secret societies are not common occurrences in the day to day lives of most people, but fiction allows for people to have access to that same feeling of connection that they would get from the space that a secret society could create. Fiction keeps alive the search for belonging in a new way, allowing for people to find what they are looking for in a made-up world as opposed to being stuck within the limits of the reality in which they live.

Part One: The Starless Sea

In *The Starless Sea*, Morgenstern introduces a secret underground world that has been created in order to protect, cherish, and share stories of all kinds. Drawn in after finding a book that tells the story of his own life, main character Zachary Rawlins finds himself a part of this secret society and responsible for all of the secrets it holds. This secret society protects and shares books, intent on keeping safe storytelling and the value it adds to the world. When bringing Zachary into this space, Morgenstern draws parallels between the secret society Zachary has entered and his previous reality:

More than anything it reminds Zach of his university campus: the long stretches of walkways connecting different areas, the endless bookshelves and something he can't put his finger on, a feeling more than an architectural feature. A studiousness underlying a place of learning and stories and secret, (*Starless Sea* 163).

Here Morgenstern uses the familiarity of Zachary's university campus to create a connection between the world in which he previously knew and the secret society he now finds himself a part of. It is hard for him to place exactly what makes the secret society feel familiar to him but there is still the recognition that something about it is already known to him. Morgenstern builds the connection here between what is familiar in reality and what is familiar in the unknown, building on the idea of finding an ideal space. While Zachary has never been to this secret society's

location before, the familiarity of it and resemblance to his university draws him in, “all relationships of people to each other rest, as a matter of course, upon the precondition that they know something about each other” (Simmel 441). Without the familiarity, it would be more difficult to find that connection. Common interests and mind sets are so important to the function of a secret society as without familiarity, there is little to bond over. As Zachary finds in the *Starless Sea*, the sense of familiarity, even if it is hard to figure out what is familiar, helps build the connection to the new world in which he does not know at all. Zachary knows he is somewhere he has never been before, but he still finds himself feeling familiar in this new location. By doing this, Morgenstern is showing how a secret society can be so welcoming to potential members as they find a sense of familiarity within a group they have never met before. This connection to Zach’s reality draws in the idea of the utopian, as within this secret society Morgenstern has created Zachary to feel the familiarity of what he loves and is comfortable with while also pushing him into a world that contains goals created by a collective.

Morgenstern builds on the ideas of what a secret society can potentially be by the descriptions she gives of the secret societies she has created. The space that is being built in *The Starless Sea* is one that is a safe harbor for those who love stories, “It is a sanctuary for storytellers and storykeepers, and storylovers” (*Starless Sea* 7). The use of three different descriptive words for people connected to stories shows that not everyone in a society is identical but are joined by some kind of commonality, in this case it is stories. “Sanctuary” is an important word to use as it does not just describe a secret place, but it implies that its safety comes from joining a secret society as well. To find sanctuary in a secret society is important as it shows that people coming to a secret society are able to find more than just commonality with the other members, but it is as well offering them a sense of real safety, something that might not be available to them outside of this secret space. In the secret society that Morgenstern has created in *The Starless Sea*, there is room for anyone who has a love for stories, whether it has to do with telling, sharing, or simply enjoying. While much of *The Starless Sea* has a more positive view on the connections that secret societies can bring to a person’s life, Morgenstern does draw attention to the permanence of becoming a part of such a group. There is a responsibility that members have to not only take part in achieving the collective goals of the group, but to be willing to step aside to help push for success for other members, “They surrender their tongues willingly. They offer up their ability to speak to better serve the voices of others. They take an unspoken vow to no longer tell their own stories in reverence to the ones that came before and to the ones that shall follow” (*Starless Sea* 11). Secret societies take seriously the protection of their secrets, as well as the protection of the people who exist within their organizations. In a study of Morgenstern’s writing, Hidayah Nur looks at how the connections built within a secret society can create strong forces for change. An important element to secret societies is the potential for creating an organization that will take on a political or protective role, “resistance

is often found in the community. Its occurrence is sometimes followed by larger movements if it involves many people...and ends up in a change in society” (Nur 16). Community allows for the space to be able to try for change without risking too much of one’s own safety. Without a community, potentially a secret society, it can be much harder to achieve change. By pledging allegiance to a specific society and the people within in it, members of secret societies become one step closer to being able to create change.

By stepping aside to listen to others voices and participating in entrance rituals to secret societies, the bond of the society is strengthened, and members gain more through the connection they have to all of the other members. It creates a sense of duty and responsibility. The surrendering of tongues so that others may speak and tell stories offers the opportunity for the spreading of voices that might not as easily be listened to. By saying, “they offer up their ability to speak to better serve the voices of others,” (*Starless Sea* 11) Morgenstern implies that the people joining the secret society she has created in *The Starless Sea* will have the opportunity to hear and spread the voices of many people, not just anyone who has the ability to talk. The idea of having a voice is important, as well as the what the characters decide to do with that voice and the stories they spread with it. The priority is not their own voice, “they take an unspoken vow to no longer tell their own stories...” (*Starless Sea* 11) but on the voices of those around them. In *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, a book written by E.J. Hobsbawm, Robin Hood and his merry men are used as an example of the kind of people who use a secret society in order to cause change. Standing up against an oppressor is difficult and potentially dangerous, but secret societies give room for revolting without have to start individual rebellions, “the tough man, who is unwilling to bear the traditional burdens of the common man in a class society, poverty and meekness, may escape from them by joining or serving the oppressors as well as by revolting against them” (Hobsbawm 13). Morgenstern follows this pattern as well with the rituals her secret society goes through in order to put an emphasis on those stories that are not heard as easily as others. The removal of tongues and the entrance into the secret society that is the *Starless Sea* reflects a key aspect of the culture of secret societies, “the initiation of any institution is the most important part. Generally, it involves a ritual built around a seemingly impossible-to-understand myth...there are tests put in place to determine whether the initiate has the ability to move father” (Gardiner 13). Morgenstern pays attention to the importance of an entrance ritual, even in a secret society that exists in literature as opposed to reality. The responsibility of carrying the secrets of such a society is crucial for existing within it as secret keeping is such an important factor. Without trust in a secret society, there is no point to trying to keep the society functioning as a large part of a such groups are to keep some part of it a secret from the rest of the world. Having initiation rituals helps to decide who is worthy of joining a society. While there is no guarantee of perfect secret keeping, the initiation, whether it be minor or something as severe as the removal of a tongue, is an important part

of secret society culture. By including this initiation ritual in *The Starless Sea*, Morgenstern keeps the reality-based danger and pressure of how far one may go in order to find belonging and a sense of self within a secret society.

While the Starless Sea is the secret society, it is as well a physical location. The secret that exists is not just the people interested in storytelling and storykeeping, but as well the intention to protect the location of the Starless Sea. When given the responsibility of keeping a secret and the job of preserving something considered valuable, it is easy for secret societies to split. In order to keep the Starless Sea a secret, it is the goal of former members to hide it through destroying all of the doorways that provide access to the society, “Preservation... You think I want to hide it, don’t you? I am protecting it. From... from a world that is too much for it. Can you imagine what would happen if it were to become common knowledge? That such a place exists, accessible from nearly everywhere” (*Starless Sea* 203). The preservation of secrets, in this case a location, is the priority of this society. Sylvia Browne, a famous self-proclaimed psychic, points out in her book how easy it can be for power and greed to become an issue when taking on the responsibility of something bigger than oneself, “The tragedy is that many of the organizations started out with the best and highest of intentions, which were then diluted down to base issues of greed, graft, and control” (Browne xiii). Morgenstern’s creation of two opposing sides of the same society shows how power can get in the way of good intentions, particularly when secret societies already give people a sense of being a part of something more than themselves. As secret societies are built off of a group interest or mindset, the same common ideas that can create a safe welcoming place can create a dangerous and dark environment. The desire to belong can be overwhelming and create toxicity within societies that leave groups torn apart:

The too-compliant initiate can be reduced to zombiehood; an unscrupulous or undisciplined master can easily yield to the temptation to take carnal or material advantage of the power they wield — or succumb to the delusion that they themselves are the Messiah or even God. (Goldwag 10)

To become too involved under the leadership of someone who believes so strongly they are right no matter what can lead previously good secret societies down a very dark road. The want to belong to a secret society is so common as it allows members to feel as though they have become a part of something bigger than themselves, and as well part of something that makes them different from others. That sense of belonging can overwhelm the duty that every person has to do the morally right thing. If the person who is supposed to be keeping members accountable is more interested in playing a god-like figure, than a leader can easily find themselves in charge of a group of people following them based off of the group mindset that what they are doing is right. The “too-compliant initiate” (Goldwag 10) can be more invested in the sense of belonging than in the duty of being a sanctuary or protective place for the members. In a study of

organized crime, Letizia Paoli makes a comparison of secret societies gone wrong to the functioning of organized crime groups, “a large-scale collectivity primarily engaged in illegal activities with a well-defined collective activity and subdivision of work among its members” (Paoli 52). Even if the intentions start off good, there can be a quick decline into the darker area of secret societies in which greed and complacency take over more than the revolutionary or protective stance, while the sense of belonging can stay the whole time.

Part Two: The Night Circus

In her other novel, *The Night Circus*, Morgenstern uses a physical location as the basis of her secret society in the form of a circus. By picking a circus as the location of the secret society, Morgenstern can use the mobility of the circus to create mystery around the functioning of it as well as acknowledge the seeming simplicity of a tent holding various unique circus acts, “the odd thing about circuses is that they are, by and large, complex organizations, but they appear to require only permission, space, and audience” (Parker 556). The Night Circus has no schedule and does not give any notice of arrival other than appearing in the city. No one ever sees it being set up or taken down, which adds to air of mystery and magic around it. The secrecy of the Night Circus helps draw people in, as those who are just visitors to the circus wish to be a part of this magical place, to be a part of something so much bigger than themselves. Playing into those wishes, the circus opens its doors to the public, letting them into the world of the secret society of the circus just enough so that the spectators can feel as though they do belong”

Leather masks in white and black and silver with ribbon ties are set in baskets by the gates and around the circus for patrons to wear, should they wish. It is sometimes difficult to discern performer from patron. It is an altogether different experience to wander through the circus anonymously. To blend in with the environment, becoming a part of the ambience. Many patrons enjoy the experience immensely, while others find it disconcerting and prefer to wear their own faces. (*Night Circus* 362)

No one who comes to the circus can really be a part of the mystery or the secrets that exist around it, but they can all feel the temporary happiness of being a part of a world that not everyone would understand. The masks allow for the line between insider and outsider to be blended just slightly, so that the people who visit the Night Circus can feel just a little bit more connected to a world that feels completely out of their reach.

One of the secret societies that Morgenstern creates in *The Night Circus* is one that exists for the upper class. Instead of drawing in someone like Zachary based off of his love of storytelling, one of the secret societies in *The Night Circus* draws in those in high society who wish to participate in secret events for the thrill of feeling a part of something. Called the Midnight Dinners, it has more of a high class feel

than the secret society in *The Starless Sea* does. “The earliest Midnight Dinners were small, intimate gatherings of friends and colleagues. Over time, they have become more frequent and more extravagant, eventually turning into something of an underground sensation. An invitation to a Midnight Dinner is coveted in certain circles” (*Night Circus* 69). The secret society that exists around the Midnight Dinners does not give sanctuary to anyone; instead, it becomes a coveted invitation that shows a certain level of status. The coveting of invitations to these events shows less of a secret society that exists to create community between people and more to create a society that is secretive and exclusionary, leaving many people wanting to join. The “small and intimate” (*Night Circus* 69) feel that the Midnight Dinners create is not intimate with the goal of being close with the people in the society, but to show the limited access that outsiders have to the group. Wealth and connection can be an influence in the building of secret societies just as much as the want to make some kind of a difference. The secret society of the Midnight Dinners is a higher up institution and reflects the want of status that can overwhelm people, “this interpretation relies on a methodology that embeds secret societies in their local settings and examines the relationships between the societies and other institutions in these settings” (Ownby 3). As important as the sense belonging can be for some people in secret societies, there as well is a potential for class systems that create exclusion for anyone who is not as high up in society as those creating a society like the Midnight Dinners. The intimacy formed through the Midnight Dinners is based solely off of status, not connection or reliance on other people to have similar life views. In *The Night Circus*, the societies working around each other are numerous and overlapping. The higher up society of the Midnight Dinners base themselves off of the exclusivity they aspire for, which increases their appeal. There is no revolutionary aspect to this secret society, as it is the one acting as the expected controlling hand.

Born out of the secrecy of the circus is another separate society, one built with the specific task of admiring and chasing after the circus. As the secret society of the circus is an impenetrable entity, the group, known as the *Rêveurs*, is born from the feeling of wanting to be a part of something that is special and unique, “They are enthusiasts, devotees. Addicts. Something about the circus stirs their souls, and they ache for it when it is absent. They seek each other out, these people of such specific like mind” (*Night Circus* 184). While the circus is the secret society in which the *Rêveurs* would all love to be members of, the closest they can ever come is to be admirers and followers. Mary Ann Clawson, researcher of fraternities and exclusivity regarding secret societies, states that the birth of new organizations is typically because of a previous organization’s existence:

Successful social movements typically draw upon a variety of resources but...resource mobilization theorists identify the character and extent of pre-existing social networks as one of the key variables affecting the emergence of movements and shaping their actions. (Clawson 7)

As the Rêveurs was built off of their love for the Night Circus and all of its magic, secret societies over centuries have as well followed the pattern of one influencing another, causing more societies to pop up in response to the original secret societies. As a public attraction, the goal of the Night Circus is to draw people in. As a society with mysteries and secrets they as well have to repel and push away those who feel entitled to understanding how such a circus can come to exist. When stopped from joining the bigger secret society that they are devoted to, the Rêveurs do what Clawson writes is a common occurrence among those wishing to be part of a secret society: they created their own.

It is a long-held tradition that those who can bond over similar experiences will bond together if given the means and opportunity, which ends up bringing together secret societies of many kinds, “Mankind has always been forming himself into groups. There is strength and numbers and, as feeble humans, the only possible way to succeed and be the strongest and fittest species on the planet was to use ingenuity and the strength of a crowd” (Gardiner 7). The Rêveurs is a society that exemplifies how average people in contact with a secret society will become influenced by it and wish to be a part of it. For those outside of the secret society, it is not possible to fully understand what goes on behind the walls of the secret society, or in the case of the Night Circus, beyond what they are allowed to see. As the Rêveurs come together, meeting across various cities in wait of the Night Circus, new people come to join the group and engage in conversation with others who as well love the Night Circus enough to pause their lives to find it. As more people join up with the Rêveurs, the group goes from more than just wanting to follow the Night Circus. Through the Rêveurs, they have all managed to find people who are similar enough to have this one similar goal, yet are probably entirely different people, “when they depart they shake hands and embrace like old friends, even if they have only just met, and as they go their separate ways they feel less alone than they had before” (*Night Circus* 185). The members of the Rêveurs do not know each other or have anything all that in common other than their love of the Night Circus, but that ends up being enough. Through this society, they have found enough people just like them that when they meet the other Rêveurs, they find something just as good as the love they have for the Circus. They have found people who make them feel a little less alone, a very common reason for wanting to join a secret society. Everyone wants to be a part of something and feel known, yet somehow special. The members of the Rêveurs cannot join the Night Circus, as they truly want to. The Night Circus will never let outsiders really be a part of the behind-the-scenes secrets they have, but the Rêveurs can feel as connected as possible through the commonality they have found with each other:

Since no one can ever absolutely know another, as this would mean knowledge of every particular thought and feeling; since we must rather form a conception of a personal unity out of fragments of another person in which alone he is accessible to us, the unity so formed necessarily depend upon that portion of the other which our standpoint toward him permits us to see (Simmel 442)

The Rêveurs exemplify how little pieces of similarity can bound together people so strongly. As said in *The Sociology of Secrecy and of Secret Societies*, it is not possible to know everything about one person. The most knowledge we can ever have of another person is the little pieces we learn over time, but those little fragments of knowing a person can be enough to join together and bond over. In this case, the Rêveurs show how knowing little pieces of someone can allow for the bonding that people look for in secret societies. All they have in common is a love of the Night Circus, yet it is enough to bring many people together across many cities. As Simmel states, to truly know someone is basically impossible as there is no way to be so connected that you know every part of a person's thoughts, no matter how badly any person wants to be known. Societies such as the Rêveurs make up for that inability to know a person fully by creating strong connections based off little details that matter a lot to multiple different people. Without the Night Circus, the members of the Rêveurs would never know each other, and would probably have little to nothing in common to connect with each other about.

While containing different kinds of secret societies and displaying both the good and bad side of them, Erin Morgenstern's books both participate in the fictionalization of ideal spaces that create worlds in which readers can find a sense of belonging, as can the characters within the novels. The mystery surrounding a secret society is useful as it allows those within the society to feel as though they have not only found belonging, but as well found a place to exist in which they somehow stand apart from the rest of the world:

Mystery is never located and dissipated but only displaced and reinvented.

In this way, the secret societies act as duplicitous gatekeepers with a kind of metaleptic agency, in that their trickery is designed to dupe readers...as much as fellow-characters. (Wigelsworth 262)

Secret societies have the power to make people feel as though they can belong to something that is bigger than themselves and over the years literature has helped to build more of those connections while still remaining in fictionalized worlds. Both characters within novels as well as readers can take part in the ideal spaces that have been created and find a place in which they would like to exist within that space. Morgenstern has taken her own want to know more about the unknown spaces around her and created worlds through literature that have in turn allowed her readers to feel that sense of belonging that comes from becoming a part of a secret society. Secret societies written in fictional worlds have created a way for those who wish to find places of solidarity and belonging to find spaces to belong to. Secret societies have existed across history for a variety of reasons. Through literature, people have been able to find the like-mindedness of what can be found in a secret society. Morgenstern's own desire to find ideal spaces within the world she knows exists draws in readers, as it is a common feeling to want to be part of a world in which people not only belong but can stand out from the masses. Secret societies allow for members to as well find something special about themselves. If

there was no secrecy around these spaces, then anyone would be able to join and the sense of being special would go away, diminishing the sense of belonging that members are looking for.

In conclusion, secret societies resurgence in literature has created a genre of novels that open up fictional worlds that allow people of various ages, genders, and circumstances to take part in societies that allow for anyone to feel a sense of belonging. The reality that exists outside of their front doors can be opened up into something that is more than what they can see, allowing for secret worlds that otherwise might have just been a normal door. Erin Morgenstern's creation of a multitude of secret societies allows for her readers to take part in worlds so close to their own reality yet detached enough from it that they can find connection to new and interesting places, ones that may not exist for them within the real world. Morgenstern's own desire to find out what potentially could be behind doors in her city translates into her books, creating worlds behind said doors that pull readers into societies that can be dark and dangerous, or welcoming and familiar. Either way, they allow for a sense of belonging that can seem unattainable for normal life. Secret societies in fiction open up so much more possibility for the world. Worlds like the ones within *The Starless Sea* and *The Night Circus* have done what Morgenstern says she wished for, to find the imaginary spaces she had created in her head and make them into something more. In doing so, Morgenstern has attracted readers to these worlds, allowing for them to join in on the secret societies she has built and find belonging, security, like-minded people, and ideal spaces that may be harder to find in real life than they would in the pages of a book. Morgenstern's creation of ideal spaces has taken all that a secret society could potentially offer a person in real life and allowed them to enjoy it in a fictional world, letting in any kind of person to a world that may have been closed off to them in their own reality.

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JOSHUA DAVEY

Tricksters, Treachery, Tragedy and Comedy: A Comparison of Characters, Genre and Archetypes in Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream and Othello.

The works of William Shakespeare involve the combinations of the genres of comedy and tragedy. Though they are tonal opposites, Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies employ similar archetypes and plot elements. This essay showcases two plays *Othello* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. These two plays have differing subject matter; *Midsummer's* is a romantic comedy with fantastic elements, the antagonists are members of the fairy court. *Othello*, meanwhile, chronicles the downfall of a military leader through the vice of jealousy and has a human villain pulling the strings behind the scenes. However, these plays are more similar than at first glance. While the plays are tonally different at first glance, the characters of Robin Goodfellow, the Puck of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Othello's* Iago have similarities. Both characters are underlings of a powerful man, and they involve themselves in a plot surrounding the man's marriage and the ideals of love. These characters both use their intelligence and ways to wreak havoc with their environments. By comparing and contrasting these two chaotic characters as well as the similarities of the plays they belong to, this essay will analyze how Shakespeare's genres of comedy and tragedy effect the tone and severity of a trickster archetype.

In his "Preface to Shakespeare", 17th century scholar Samuel Johnson praises Shakespeare's ingenuity for tackling genre:

Shakespeare's plays are not in the rigorous and critical sense either tragedies or comedies, but compositions of a distinct kind; exhibiting the real state of sublunary nature, which partakes of good and evil, joy and sorrow, mingled with endless variety of proportion and innumerable modes of combination; and expressing the course of the world, in which the loss of one is the gain of another; in which, at the same time, the reveller is hasting to his wine, and

the mourner burying his friend; in which the malignity of one is sometimes defeated by the frolick of another; and many mischiefs and many benefits are done and hindered without design (Johnson 395).

Shakespeare's genres, according to Johnson can sometimes be viewed as superfluous. Although these plays this essay focuses on are generally viewed as opposing in tone, both of them include severity and levity. This intermingling of genre, as per Johnson, shows the reader that genre itself is not fixed. However, before the genre is analyzed, the plot must be told.

In order to differentiate the two archetypical antagonists, their prominence and role in the plot must be analyzed. The fantastic elements present in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, specifically the cast of characters from the fair court, do not appear until act two; the plot therein lies with the human characters. Theseus and Hippolyta are going to be married when a pair of Athenians, Lysander, Demetrius, Helena, and Hermia interrupt them. Lysander and Hermia are in love, but Egeus, Hermia's father, bids her to marry Demetrius. Hermia and Lysander plan to run away together into the woods, and Demetrius, determined to win back his bride, follows them, with the smitten but forgotten Helena wanting to woo Demetrius, following him after. The plot hinges on the marriage between Theseus, King of Athens, and Hippolyta, and the four Athenians trapped in a love triangle. The humans are at the crux of the plot, and the fairies interfere with them, despite their superiority over them.

Shakespeare renders the King and Queen as flies on the wall, unburdened by human affairs until an opportunity presents itself. The humans drive the plot along until it is time for fairy intervention. Oberon instructs Puck to get the certain flower so he can beguile his wife Titania with it, so she falls in love with a beast, and he, the ever-charming husband, can save her, thereby leaving their tumultuous argument about the Indian boy null and void. However, while Oberon plots to trick Titania, he is drawn into the human plot; it is only by Oberon's observation of the squabbling Athenians Helena and Demetrius that he himself decides to play matchmaker. Oberon commands Puck to perform the duty of pouring the juice of the flower in the eye of Demetrius, and Puck follows his King's orders. Puck however blunders this task by giving the juice to Lysander, Hermia's love, instead of Demetrius. Puck is to blame for this folly and is reprimanded, however, his blunder is not malicious, it is a simple misunderstanding that causes the problem, and it is the fae's job to fix it. Lysander is in love with the wrong woman, and a comedy of errors unfolds.

The opening scene of *Othello* contrasts this, as the main antagonist, Iago is seen outright. There is no other plot thread, other than his hatred of Othello. Although the reader does not know the truth of this hatred until his first monologue, Iago remains the focal point; Shakespeare does not show the titular character until Act One, Scene 2 of the play. He instigates the plot by coming to Desdemona's

father, Brabantio, slandering Othello and connoting his lord's sexual deviancy. "Even now, now, very now, an old black ram is tupping your white ewe!" (1.1, 86-87). Iago uses Othello's age and race as well as sexuality to rouse Brabantio. His insinuation not only incriminates Othello, but it also connotes Desdemona's own wantonness. In one fell swoop, Iago clouds Brabantio's mind with rage, setting off the sequence of events, while also mirroring what he would later do with Othello. The severity of such acts darkens the play from the start.

If one disregards the genre of these plays, as Samuel Johnson suggests, the plots of the plays therefore run parallel to each other. Each of the plots start off with the father of a prospective bride objecting to their daughter's love for another man. In the essay "Othello, Comedy in Reverse," Steven Rogers makes note that Brabantio and Egeus both play the "possessive father role" (Rogers 210). Indeed, they are similar characters, as they both try to put a stop to their daughters' marriages by appealing to the higher power; Egeus goes to Theseus and Brabantio tells his story to the Duke of Venice. The difference arises however with the racial undertones of *Othello*. Once again, Iago instigates the father's rage in Act 1, Scene 1 spewing out racial slurs towards the Moor, while also commenting on his age. Both characters play the angry father who is against their daughter's suitor, but Egeus' role in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is less severe because he is dealing with the pangs of teenage love, devoid of the sexual component that Iago uses as Brabantio's motivation. Egeus learns about the digression himself and is not swayed by another party, and his anger is brought out by his daughter's choice in a suitor. The seriousness lies in the intent of both fathers, as they are both hurt by the accusations and lack of control they have over their daughters. Othello plays this situation more seriously however, as Othello is an older general, called away on a military excursion, and his wife joins him. *Othello* therefore subverts the romantic comedy tropes that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* presents, even before Iago begins to plot his general's downfall. The militaristic setting clashes with the romance that Othello and Desdemona share; and Othello spends his 'honeymoon in Cyprus' with the company of his underlings as well as his beloved.

On the coattails of Samuel Johnson's assessment of genre, Stephen Orgel goes one step further in terms of Shakespeare's characterization:

If we think about comedy in terms of stock characters, Shakespeare provides some startling examples. Here, for instance, are two hypothetical casts: (1) A jealous husband, a chaste wife, an irascible father, a clever malicious servant, a gullible friend, a bawdy witty maid; (2) A pair of lovers, their irascible fathers, a bawdy serving woman, a witty friend, a malicious friend, a kindly foolish priest. Both of these groups represent recognizable comic configurations, though in fact they are also the casts of *Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet*. (Orgel 122)

Of course, the characters of *Othello* can neatly fit in the stereotypes and stock characters present in comedy, but again, the severity and seriousness of the story twists these stock characters into something more tragic. As stated before, Iago as instigator serves to sour the ever-present tropes of the comedic mode, as he stokes the rage of the 'irascible father' and makes the husband jealous, serving the role of the devil on Othello's shoulder. If we think of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as a comedy of errors, *Othello* would be a tragedy of precision as Iago orchestrates his plan to a tee.

Iago is the main instigator of the events in *Othello*, whereas *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has no clear-cut antagonist. Oberon initiates the plot of *Midsummer's* due to his feud with Titania, and harbours no ill will to the humans, even though the fae see themselves as gods among mortals, and in fact, he decides to help the squabbling Athenians after seeing their own unrequited love. It is obvious that the fairies are on a different level than the humans that walk in their forest, but they do not actively oppose the lower species. Several characters call Puck an impish sprite, but he does not seek to actively impose against the heroes as Iago does. Furthermore, Puck is too an underling. Though still a being of great fae magic such as shapeshifting and invisibility, his power pales in comparison to King Oberon. Unlike the power-hungry Iago, who hates his superior, Puck possesses no ill will towards his master, even with the clear fairy hierarchy of Oberon and Titania as well as their other servants.

Examination of the characters' first monologues in the plays highlight the differences between the two antagonistic tricksters. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Robin Goodfellow, known as Puck, displays both his arrogance and his trickster nature in his first monologue, conversing with a fairy, who is traversing the woods:

Thou speak'st aright;
I am that merry wanderer of the night.
I jest to Oberon and make him smile
When I a fat and bean-fed horse beguile,
Neighing in likeness of a filly foal:
And sometime lurk I in a gossip's bowl,
In very likeness of a roasted crab,
And when she drinks, against her lips I bob
And on her wither'd dewlap pour the ale.
The wisest aunt, telling the saddest tale,
Sometime for three-foot stool mistaketh me;
Then slip I from her bum, down topples she,
And 'tailor' cries, and falls into a cough;
And then the whole quire hold their hips and laugh,
And waxen in their mirth and neeze and swear
A merrier hour was never wasted there. (2.1. 410-25.)

While Puck speaks this bombastic monologue to a fairy, purely stating who is to others as well as the audience, Iago conveys his character-building monologue differently:

I hate the Moor:
And it is thought abroad, that 'twixt my sheets
He has done my office: I know not if't be true;
But I, for mere suspicion in that kind,
Will do as if for surety. He holds me well;
The better shall my purpose work on him.
Cassio's a proper man: let me see now:
To get his place and to plume up my will
In double knavery — How, how? Let's see: —
After some time, to abuse Othello's ear
That he is too familiar with his wife.
He hath a person and a smooth dispose
To be suspected, framed to make women false.
The Moor is of a free and open nature,
That thinks men honest that but seem to be so,
And will as tenderly be led by the nose
As asses are.
I have't. It is engender'd. Hell and night
Must bring this monstrous birth to the world's light. (*Othello* 1.3.364-380)

Iago informs the audience of his true nature, hiding it from any other character he interacts with. He also states his grievances, reasons for hating Othello. Though his honesty extends to the audience he tells this to, he is known by the epithet “Honest Iago” by his comrades, deepening the irony of his deception.

There is a parallel between Iago and Puck established here, as the reader meets these two characters before their superiors, forecasting their initial importance to the plot at hand is greater than their commander. The difference lies in the subservience of these characters and the degree of honesty they harbour. Puck is open about being the merry wanderer, as well as his duty to Oberon. Iago states to the audience he hates the Moor and plots his downfall from within; he feigns his subservience whereas Puck remains steadfast in his loyalty. In his speech to the fairy, he acknowledges his reputation of being a ‘shrewd and knavish sprite’ (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 2.1.33) and proudly states he is as his reputation portrays, although he remains subservient. ‘Jesting to Oberon’ and ‘making him smile’ comes first, though he addresses himself as a wanderer. The placement of the roles highlights the importance of Puck’s relationship to the King. Iago remains a puppet master, only speaking openly with the audience, revealing his reputation to be a lie, though he sows seeds of his own self interest in Act 1. “I follow him to serve my turn upon him” (*Othello* 1.1.40). The two characters parallel each other, but they deviate as more information is brought to light.

The contrasting characters are put into a plot that has similar elements. Each plot entails the use of an object that changes the mood of the protagonists. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the object is magical; the juice of a flower which has the power to make anyone fall in love with the first thing they lay their eyes on. Iago's object is grounded in reality and sentimentality, he uses Desdemona's handkerchief to plant suspicion in Othello's mind that his wife is being unfaithful with Michael Cassio. Oberon orders his underling Puck to collect the flower for him, while Iago plants the handkerchief with the help of his unsuspecting wife. Oberon's mission is mainly improvised as he relies on his subject to find the players in question; he leaves Puck to find the beast that Titania must see, and to use the flower on the Athenian young man. Iago's plan is fully formed as the audience observes in his first monologue, and he plays a role to convince Othello of his wife's infidelity. Iago is the manipulator, far from the role Puck himself plays.

Puck contributes to the intertwining of the fae and human plots when he unwittingly mistakes Lysander as the Athenian man that loves Helena. He administers the flower's juice to the wrong person, leaving Oberon to fix his mistake. Yet when the mistake is fixed, Puck still finds it hilarious that the two mortals will fight over one lover:

Captain of our fairy band,
Helena is here at hand,
And the youth mistook by me,
Pleading for a lover's fee,
Shall we their fond pageant see?
Oh Lord, what fool these mortals be!
Then will two at once woo one,
That must needs be sport alone,
And those things do best please me,
That befall preposterously.
(*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 3.2.110-15, 118-121)

While he speaks to Oberon about his blunder with the flower, these passages provide insight to Puck's overall character and role within the play. Even with his own folly, Puck delights in the mischief he has caused, expressing interest in the Athenians' 'pageantry'. Bearing in mind that he himself caused this pageantry, he is more than happy to watch the exploit unfold, as he enjoys watching the mortals make fools of themselves; it pleases him. His own mishap simply opens the door for more mischief, even if his commander thinks it trite. Indeed, he is the one to implore Oberon to stay and watch the ensuing chaos, even if that means weathering the wrath of his King. In this instance, Puck means no harm, but realizes his folly has caused unforeseen problems for Oberon's plan of reconciliation. He acknowledges what he has done, but also makes no intent to make it right until Oberon himself is the one to stop it. And now that Oberon has administered the flower to the right suitor, Puck has no choice but to acknowledge his own mischief

will be ending soon.

Puck is seen to be dismissive to the humans surrounding him, but he still has some morals. He does try to follow the King's orders, as he has made Bottom, one of the mechanicals into an ass on Oberon's behalf to spite the fairy queen. It is this moralistic integrity that stops him from spiting the mortals. Although he is a mischief maker, his loyalty to the King comes first.

Puck sees his blunder as harmless slapstick, that will end by the will of his King. This scene, as well as his opening monologue, casts him into the mold of a trickster. In the book *Mythical Trickster Figures: Contours, Contexts, and Criticisms*, William Hynes illustrates some characteristics of a trickster archetype. "As his name explicitly states, the trickster is a consummate and continuous trick-player and deceiver. In many cultures and religions, the trickster acts as the prima causa of disruptions and disorders, misfortunes, and improprieties" (Hynes "Mapping Mythic Tricksters" 34). Puck fits this role as he causes the Athenians' disruption, albeit involuntarily. Although Oberon punishes him, he still relishes in his deed; a deed with no lasting malevolence, only "pageantry". Hynes adds that "Once initiated, a trick can exhibit an internal motion all its own," (Hayes 34). and that is also true for Puck. He has no idea where these two dueling Athenians' squabble will take him; he is just glad to be along for the ride.

Hynes' theory that a trickster is a deceiver also a new perspective on Iago. Iago is the biggest deceiver of Shakespeare's pen. He deceives every character he involves himself with, only showing his true self to the audience. If Iago was categorized as a trickster, he would be, in Hynes words, "a malicious spoiler." (34). Iago's plans are indeed malicious, as he plans Othello's downfall by "pouring. . . pestilence into his [Othello's] ear" (Othello. 2.3.341). Iago's 'trick' goes further than simply giving his commander false information; Loren Cressler states that "Iago transforms *Othello's* characters into unwitting actors, effectively becoming the playwright of the revenge tragedy playlet carried out at Cyprus" (Cressler 75). Puck's theatrical metaphor contrasts Cressler's metaphor for Iago; while Puck concerns himself with the pageantry and envisions his trick as a comedy, Iago directs and produces a revenge drama. These two archetypal characters produce opposing genres within the genres Shakespeare pens them in: comedy as comedy, tragedy as tragedy.

Stating that both Puck and Iago are trickster archetypes helps the audience identify that archetype, though it also complicates the problem it solves. Puck, being a fairy from a comedic play, fits in with the conventional mode of trickster. In his essay 'This Sport Well Carried Shall Be Chronicled': Puck as Trickster in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," Robert B. Evans claims "There seems some value, then, in simply exploring the ways in which Puck, in Shakespeare's play, fits the various criteria that scholars proposed as the common criteria of tricksters" (Evans 110). Looking back on Hynes' list of trickster characteristics,

not only does Puck adhere to being a Deceiver and Trick-Player, but Puck can also be categorized as a Situation-Invertor (Hynes 37), and a Messenger and Imitator of the Gods (Hynes 39). Puck twists Oberon's plan by administering the flower to the wrong Athenian. He has the power in that situation, whether it was accidental or not, and sits back and watches his mischief unfold. Puck's status as a magical fairy, in the servitude of King Oberon, connotes that he is Oberon's messenger, akin to the Greek trickster god Hermes. Hermes was one of the first trickster gods in the Western world, allowing Shakespeare, as Robert Evans suggests, to base Robin Goodfellow on the Messenger God.

Iago is more difficult to categorize in the conventional trickster mode because of the genre he is in and the fact he has no fantastical traits. Iago is a manipulator which fits in with Hynes' description of a Situation-Invertor, but also a Deceiver and Trick-Player. He categorizes himself as a villain in the play, something darker than the morally ambivalent conventional tricksters of myth. "The villain appears in the most scenes and speaks the most lines in the play, particularly in its early acts...He also drives all the play's action not decreed by the Venetian senate or precipitated by natural forces" (Cressler 76). Iago is a more complex character than the "comical if not marginal figures" that are associated with trickster archetypes. He commands the stage in every scene he appears in, using the characters he converses with as pawns, from Rodrigo to Cassio to his own wife, all in order to take down his general. There is a section of *Othello* criticism that paints Iago as the devil, the conjecture itself brings forth more troubling views than villainy or a meagre trickster figure. "Iago, who in his envious hatred and destructive negativism is reminiscent of Satan, would have represented anti-Christian values" (Seigel 1068). Yet this view downplays the humanity of Iago, and it is the humanity and realism in *Othello* that makes Iago a compelling character in his own right; he is capable of this malevolence, like a trickster would be, but he is grounded, distanced from the myth, unlike Robin Goodfellow.

The classification of genre once again becomes relevant here, as the setting these trickster characters occupy can shed light on its severity. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* can be categorized as a romantic narrative. Shakespeare has penned many a Romance later in his career such as *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is somewhat a precursor to these titles, as it contains many of the tropes seen in these later works. In the book *Shakespearean Romance*, Howard Felperin suggests that "Oberon's control over the wood outside Athens anticipates Prospero's control of the island in *The Tempest*" (Felperin 58). Although the genre remains a comical farce with the fairies looking over the humans, Shakespeare plants the seeds of the romance genre here. The fairies provide a fantastical interlude to the already humorous misunderstandings of the Athenians' plight, as Felperin states. "The tyranny of error that the fairies exert over the lovers works ultimately to sift out the elements of fancy and fantasy, of sentiment and sentimentality in their love" (Felperin,

58). The pastoral and fantastic backdrop of the Athenian wood, coupled with the series of misunderstandings the fae cause, as well as the lack of an antagonist only bolsters the amount of levity the play holds compared to *Othello*.

Othello, however, remains grounded in reality. Iago plays the straightforward villain, orchestrating events to destroy Othello from inside his circle. Thus, it is more difficult categorizing Iago as a trickster archetype based on the tropes shown above. Doty and Hynes' pull their list of trickster characteristics from mythology and classical folk literature. Iago is a grounded character with no fantastic elements, he is a mere human with a talent for manipulation. Although he fits with the deceiver characteristic, Iago's 'trickery' only serves to benefit himself. Being grounded in reality makes Iago more dangerous than Puck the conventional trickster. Shakespeare's villain is a human that is devoid of the lighter characteristics that Robin Goodfellow embodies; indeed, his humanity makes him more despicable. Through Iago, Shakespeare shows the human capacity for malevolence. The fairies of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* view themselves as a higher species than the mortals, looking down on them akin to Olympian gods of Greek mythology, though they do not actively impede the human protagonists. There is no such distancing in *Othello*, as the viewpoint characters are of the same rank, barring Desdemona and Iago's wife Emilia; it is a strict military operation.

The pastoral feel of *Midsummer's* contrasts the military deception of *Othello*. "Shakespeare's forest comedies are also pastoral romances in which the benignity of nature calls forth the natural benignity of man, where the evils of civilization are purged, and where society regains something like a prelapsarian integrity" (Felperin 130). If the pastoral mode represents the freedom from the evils of civilization, then *Othello* represents the opposite. Although Othello takes his beloved Desdemona on a honeymoon to Cyprus, it is still a military operation, and the evil is hidden in plain sight, ready to poison the nuptials with a misplaced handkerchief. Iago is bringing the evils of civilization to this idyllic honeymoon if we frame Cyprus as an escape from the Venetian turmoil.

A Midsummer Night's Dream plays the conventional pastoral, as the lovers escape into the forest, leaving Egeus' threat of exile behind. The tranquility of nature replaces the turmoil they face in the city, opening the door to adventure, and uniting the Athenian and fairy realms. The fairies are tied to nature, as Oberon and Titania's argument has tipped the scales of the weather:

Therefore, the winds, piping to us in vain,
As in revenge have sucked up from the sea
Contagious fogs which, falling in the land
Hath every pelting river made so proud
That they have overborne their continents. (2.1.88-92)

The association of nature attributes to the fairies a godlike power, although their fantastic exploits fit into this romantic mode.

However, Puck often calls the fairy species 'shadows', often connoting to the malevolent view of fae. "Puck's infernal vision of fairies is not without foundation and draws on a wider tradition that identifies fairies with consciously evil and malicious aspects of the supernatural" (Woodcock 112). Yet, the audience never sees Puck's malevolence, he is a mere mischief maker and a follower of the King. Oberon rebuffs his darkness, declaring fairies as "spirits of another sort" (III, ii, 338). However, Woodcock suggests that Puck is having an identity crisis. "Puck asks effectively, 'aren't we supposed to be the bad guys here?' Oberon's reply assures him that they are not that particular kind of fairy" (Woodcock 113). Puck does not see himself as a malevolent being, but that he does not belong to the high Olympian analogue that Oberon and Titania inhabit; he is a different breed, an honest Puck, detached from the King and Queen.

And now we return to Robert Evan's parallels between Puck and more traditional tricksters. Puck's trickster tendencies are paradoxical, in the way he causes social upheaval while also planning to reaffirm social norms, e.g. giving Oberon his power back. Robert Evans cites Hynes by saying that paradox is inherent to the traditional trickster. He is Oberon's messenger, which Oberon even states himself. However, unlike the human Iago, Puck does not use his trickster like talents to accumulate power. He follows his King, and ultimately makes things right in the end by preserving the status quo to the Athenian Forest. Robert Evans suggests that after Puck commits the transgression with the flower, "it is Puck who seems a fool, and the play seems even funnier than it would otherwise appear since Puck so often proves a trickster (like many other tricksters) who is never quite in control of the anarchy he unleashes" (Evans 117). Puck's blunder forces him to admit and rectify his mistake.

Puck's main flaw in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is his lack of control, which never fazes the adversarial Iago in the contrasting play. Throughout *Othello*, Iago remains in control of his vengeance against the Moor. "While no allegorized or supernatural Vengeance figure appears onstage in *Othello*, as in Shakespeare's other revenge plays, the play nevertheless exhibits a number of structural parallels to paradigmatic revenge tragedies" (Cressler 78). The dangerous aspect about the play is there is no supernatural figure that calls for vengeance, unlike the previous revenge plots such as *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*. Iago is the only figure to bring about Othello's downfall. The supernatural world, as seen in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, provides some kind of buffer zone between fantasy and reality. Shakespeare presents *Othello* within the real world, peeling away the veil, and giving the audience a glimpse into human depravity in the pursuit of revenge. 'Honest' Iago does not care whose toes he has to step on to get his way; the people around him are just pawns that he manipulates.

Further contrasting the grimness of *Othello*, *Midsummer Night's Dream* offers comic relief not limited to the fairies. The mechanicals subplot does more than give Puck a target for Oberon's trick, it also provides the comedy in class distinction. The actors are in the forest putting on a play with Theseus and Hippolyta. These actors are not good actors, and at the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the Athenians poke fun at them. For instance, Nick Bottom's hammy acting and personality is played for laughs. The climax of the play not only belongs to the Athenians, it is also Bottom's time to shine, as Puck turns him into an ass (one of Shakespeare's puns at work) to spite Titania. During this sequence, "He sees the mysterious and accepts it as perfectly ordinary; he behaves as though the inexplicable and the explicable were simply no different at all" (Miller 260). The character of Bottom is a character so oblivious; he could only belong in a comedy. He does not know he has a head of a donkey throughout the sequence. This obliviousness works in Puck's favour too, as it renders the trick harmless. Bottom is not being harmed by his affliction, on the contrary he carries on as normal, and does not notice the fairies as otherworldly, even when faced with them directly. "For just a moment Bottom's imaginative fundamentalism asks us to take the fairies literally and to observe how much these airy, symbolic creatures suffer by the touch of the earthy and the actual" (Miller 263). Miller's allusion to Bottom's natural obliviousness also works to explain the harmlessness of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as a whole. The fairies are from a different plain, they do not seek to harm the human visitors who enter their realm; they only concede to play a while. As Woodcock states, Shakespeare's fairies are morally ambiguous (114), yet they do not actively harm the humans they continue toying with.

Whereas Bottom and fairies connote harmlessness, Iago works his trick to harm Othello. The fae 'tricks' are improvised, with Puck picking the victims by chance. Iago calculates his scheme from the start, stoking the fire. Unlike the mythical flower plucked from the forest to connote love, Iago uses a much more personal weapon to disturb Othello, Desdemona's own handkerchief. The two objects remain similar in their purpose, but again, the differential lies in the harm it causes the protagonist. Iago uses the handkerchief as an indicator of sin, adultery, far and away from the flower of love. While Puck and Oberon's trick relies on the humans and Titania falling in love, Iago plans to poison Othello's love by planting the seed of adultery in his superior's head. The fae's harmless fun contrasts Iago's serious plot, leading to rage and murder.

The handkerchief may serve as the evidence of the plot, but Iago's first weapon is his words. Iago is personally invested with Othello, and proceeds to be his righthand man, a position that was previously held by Michael Cassio. Through this new position, Iago speaks candidly to Othello about Cassio and Desdemona. It is important to note how he cultivates jealousy in his officer; he asks questions, just enough to arouse suspicion in Othello's mind. "Did Michael Cassio, / When you wooed my lady, know of your love?" (3.3.93). Such questions like this grow

to unnerve Othello, make him suspicious and more likely to fall into Iago's trap even before the handkerchief is dropped. The handkerchief is merely the smoking gun to seal Cassio's fate, a symbol to enrage Othello, ruining the sanctity of his marriage to Desdemona. The symbol of the handkerchief is more than an heirloom, as Iago's wife Emilia says:

I am glad I have found this napkin;
This was her first remembrance from the Moor.
My wayward husband hath a hundred times
Woo'd me to steal it; but she so loves the token, —
For he conjur'd her she should ever keep it, —
That she reserves it evermore about her
To kiss and talk to. (3.3.288-294)

It is the sentimentality of the handkerchief that causes Othello to react with such rage when Iago presents it as the evidence to the infidelity. It represents their marriage, their bond. Othello is said to have performed magic on it so Desdemona would keep it close. Note this is the only supernatural allusion in the play, so the reader can choose either way. Iago knows the item will deal a killing blow to Othello's ego, and sends him into a rage so violent, he does not stop until he pays the death price.

If we portray Robin Goodfellow and Iago as directors, the characters execute their work differently. Puck sets up his original trick, merely watches the pageantry unfold with his plot, delighting in the follies of the squabbling, lovesick Athenians. Iago on the other hand, goads his target, twisting the proverbial knife until Othello sees red. If Puck is an audience member watching the Athenian love blunder, then Iago is both actor and director, playing a part as we, the audience, are unable to stop Othello's descent into mad rage. Othello also plays his part, as Iago deceives him into trusting him and that his friend and wife have betrayed him. Iago watches as Othello makes a promise. "Arise, black vengeance, from the hollow hell; / Yield up, O' love, thy crown and hearted throne / To tyrannous hate" (3.3.442-433). Seigel suggests that Othello succumbs to the devil here but let us unpack a different parallel. Iago goads Othello to such madness, he makes the Moor inhuman; yet Puck's fumble does the opposite. Puck is able to view humanity through a distance, enhanced by their passion for love, not hate. The two characters are revelling, yet while Iago revels in Othello's hatred, Puck marvels at their tomfoolery.

Love is a central ideal to both *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Othello*; though *Midsummer's* cultivates it, *Othello* transforms love into hate through perceived adultery. The issue then, must lie in the trajectory and tone of the piece in question. We have established that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is a comedy, and the heroes of the story, or in this case, the fairies, must re-establish the social normalcy from a place of social upheaval. When Puck amends his folly with the flower by letting the Athenians sleep, he sings the following: "Jack will have Jill, /

Nought shall go ill: / the man shall have his mare again, and all shall be well” (3.2. 461-3). Puck has gone from the bringer of chaos to the restorer of normalcy within this act and seems pleased with the resulting love that will bloom in the forest. He wants the couples to be together and no more turmoil to befall them. Robin has learned from then on to put right the blunder that he caused in the first place; in a way, his character has evolved throughout the course of the play. Robert Evans too, appreciates this change in Puck’s character, stating that in the play’s ending monologue, he sheds his trickster persona, calling himself an “honest Puck” (5.1.417) that wants to “restore amends” (5.1.423). “In these lines, Puck is no longer playing the trickster as mischievous, deceitful thief, or malevolent practical joker; by this point he has become the trickster as comrade and kindly benefactor, the trickster as a well intended messenger sent, if not by the gods, then at least from a supremely creative and benevolent mind” (Evans 118). Evans’ analysis is poignant because it gives Puck the ability to become more than the archetypal trickster; his involvement in the plot and his blunder humbles him into the creature seen at the end of the play.

And if Robin is the restorer, Iago becomes the antithesis, as he destroys Othello and Desdemona’s lives. Othello, fuelled with rage, kills Desdemona for being adulterous, leaving Iago triumphant, believing the Moor will be stripped of his rank and sent to jail. Though Othello is the murderer, Iago is the instigator of the plot, and when Emilia tries to tell Othello the truth, Iago murders his wife.

However, if *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* is a comedy about love and marriage, then *Othello* can be categorized as a tragedy of sexual politics. While Othello and Desdemona are happily married, Iago ruins the marriage by the insinuation of adultery. Such insinuations cause Othello to doubt his love for Desdemona. Meanwhile Emilia’s marriage is a loveless one, demeaned by a villain who calls her “Villainous whore!” (5.2.266) and murders her. Both Iago and Othello are blinded by vengeance and can not see the harmony of marriage that the cast of Shakespeare’s comedy do.

Furthermore, Iago does not experience the redemption and development that Puck goes through at the end of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. Iago’s villainy is so pronounced that Othello and the other members of the cast do not receive the justice they are owed. Iago’s last lines are “Demand me nothing: what you know, you know / From this time forth I never will speak word” (5.2.348-9). Iago silences himself and watches Othello kill himself in the grief of murdering the wife who was only devoted to him. Iago remains unchained and unpunished by the end of the play, despite his vileness. We have already established that Paul Siegel and others believe that Iago is analogous to the devil. However, it is more feasible to describe Iago as the capacity for human evil; he is the darker version of an archetype that sows lies and deceit, and this type of villain is extremely unsettling because we see vestiges of him in society: the greedy, wrathful and vengeful parts of the human psyche. Stephen Rogers shares this view. “Vanities. Iago is not merely the Vice or

the *fallax servus* alone; he is a more formidable, because more concretely human, devil, the serious and terrible embodiment of comic types” (Rogers 220). As Rogers and Orgel have both stated, the characters in *Othello* are stock characters usually found in the comedic mode, yet they are treated in a grounded and realistic way and staged in the more turbulent and adult world.

Though we have stated *Othello* is the more adult play, that does not say *A Midsummer Night's Dream* cannot be a counterpart to the tragedy. Indeed, the two plays are genre inverted. If Iago is the presence of evil in the human psyche, Puck can be an analog to the mischievousness of humans. Puck was looking for a happy ending, whilst Iago makes sure the tragic ending he hopes for comes to fruition. These two plays give the audience a different view of comedic tropes, whether twisted or played straight. Shakespeare deals with the same archetypes and themes of love in each genre, though in tragedy these archetypes are subverted, as Rogers and Orgel say. In comedy, love conquers all, even after the blunder. Characters learn from their mistakes. “Jack will have Jill” as Robin says, rather than Iago’s modus operandi of “spew poison”. Most of all, the difference between *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Othello* lies not in their situations, but how serious the situations are presented to the audience. A human villain that gets away with evil deeds shocks the audience, but a mischievous fae addressing the audience in his ending monologue, stating “if we shadows have offended” (5.1. 415) from a trick he pulled makes the audience laugh. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Othello* shows the light and the dark of Shakespearean archetypes, and although it may be hard to see, they are two sides of the same coin.

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ALVARO ORTIZ

Keeping the Monsters at Bay: Asserting Femininity in the Alien Films

While women have often been relegated to the role of screaming victim in the horror and slasher genre, Ridley Scott's *Alien* and James Cameron's sequel *Aliens* have been lauded by many for their groundbreaking depictions of a strong female protagonist. The question of what exactly a woman brings to this particular role that a man would not, remains an object of scrutiny. For instance, Robert Torry sees Ripley enacting a feminism that survives outdated cultural expectations (357), while Michael Davis suggests she has merely "appropriated masculine phallic power" (246). This analysis will examine what kind of feminist defense Ripley poses in the face of the films' multiple representations of threatened, broken, and corrupted femininity and effaced gender. Rather than merely playing the part of a male action hero, she asserts a real femininity that overcomes misogynistic structures and simultaneously evades the constraints of a purely biological conception of sex. Ripley erects a barrier between her sex and the titular Alien creature which at every turn threatens to destroy these boundaries and with them sexuality itself. The titular antagonists of the *Alien* and *Aliens* respectively pose distinct but significant challenges to feminism as a whole, challenges that — like the creature in the films — threaten to destroy women. I will show how the anthropology of German philosopher Edith Stein proves not only useful in interpreting the films but provides a framework wherein Ripley can existentially realize an authentic femininity, one that successfully keeps the monsters — and the threats they represent — at bay.

I

Alien, the first film in the series, begins by introducing the crew of the spaceship *Nostromo*, a mining vessel carrying millions of tons of ore. Halfway through their return journey to earth, the ship's computer wakes them from hypersleep in order to investigate a distress signal emanating from a derelict alien vessel on an unknown

planet. The first and most obvious fear in *Alien* is that of the creature's horrifying manner of reproduction and subsequent stowing away on board the vessel. The Alien egg releases a facehugging parasite that forcibly thrusts an appendage down the victim's throat and implants an embryo therein. This indeed is the fate of one of the *Nostromo* crewmen, Kane, who is attacked by the egg while he and his crewmates investigate the derelict vessel. The psychological and sexual aspects of this particular terrifying image have been researched and examined at length (Barkman 11). At a surface level, fear of violent rape is understandable, but the very extensive scholarship has also examined aspects such as fear of men, and of penises, which overlaps with men's fear of penetration in general and fellatio in particular (Hurley 203-223). Following these threads, the image taps into an even deeper-seated male fear of being feminized (Kavanagh 93-94). The parasitic biology of the Alien creature is terrifying not only because it reverses sexual roles but more importantly because it disregards sex: it effaces it. Though much of the fear of the facehugger scene derives from men's deep-seated fear of being penetrated and treated as a woman, the point is that the sexual is completely bypassed. Sexual perversion and sexual reversal are not as threatening as sexual erasure. The names of the characters reflect this effacement of sex to a certain extent. Dallas, Kane, Ripley, Parker, Lambert, Brett and Ash are all surnames and there is no clear indication of which of them are men or women. Indeed, the shooting script of the film has to indicate "Ripley and Lambert are women" (Hill, unpaginated). Even the names associated with the ship reveal at least an ambiguity with regards to sex. The ship's computer is named "Mother" but the actual name of the vessel is *Nostromo*, Italian for "our man".

The scene in the film that suggests the strongest connection between this the minor threat of the film, the creature, with the major one, the evil corporation, is what I have termed the "Broken Quarantine" scene. Kane's crewmates frantically return to the ship and plead with Ripley, the eventual heroine, to open the hatch and admit them but she refuses, citing quarantine regulation. However, another crewman, Ash, who unbeknownst to the rest is an android under the direct employ of The Company, pretends not to understand the order and allows the crew back in anyway, intentionally admitting the Alien as well. Crucially, a later scene reveals that the *Nostromo's* employer, the Weyland-Yutani company, has purposefully diverted them to investigate this planet with the explicit goal of bringing the Alien back to earth, ostensibly for some military or economic purpose. It is clear during this revelation that their lives are considered expendable in this project.

Though it is not as blatant, a second rape is occurring in the "Broken Quarantine" scene. The merciless company — whose will and desires are literally embodied in their android servant — rapes the ship. I read Ripley's refusal of admittance to the vessel as a distinctly feminine and vaginal image of defense against a danger that threatens to penetrate the vessel as violently as the physical rape of Kane that we have just witnessed moments before. In order to maintain the boundary of

the threatened ship Ripley must abject Kane's stricken form as it poses a threat to the contiguity of the vessel/body. This company that so blatantly sacrifices its own employees for the sake of distant economic interest is the larger, overarching Gothic enemy in *Alien*. It is interesting to note that the company behaves in the same way as the creature. While the Alien's biology necessarily dictates that it should efface sex in favour of its own, native, parasitic mode, the company makes a deliberate choice to follow this model as well as to deliberately efface sex through the violation evinced in the Broken Quarantine scene, the blurred naming conventions of its own ship and crew and even through the physical form of its sexless android instrument who is also a stowaway, a parasite that infests the ship. Both the Alien and the Company, in a kind of gothic collusion suggest together that sex is not relevant, and is even undesirable in the future.

A second scene that further illustrates the Company's hostility towards sex, is the scene wherein Ripley has defeated Ash but nonetheless re-activates his head in the hopes of finding some way to defeat the Alien. Predictably, the android has nothing but vitriol to offer. It is clear that he, like his corporate handlers, admires the creature.

ASH

You idiots. You still don't realize what you're dealing with. The Alien is a perfect organism. Superbly structured, cunning, quintessentially violent. With your limited capabilities you have no chance against it...[I admire its purity] how can you not admire the simple symmetry it presents. An intergalactic parasite, from time immemorial, capable of laying dormant for infinite periods. Its sole purpose to destroy other species merely to recreate itself, for life an anti-life...I have had the rare honour of witnessing one of those moments when a major evolutionary step is taken. Two highly successful species in immediate competition for resources and survival. I am loyal only to discovering the truth. A scientific truth demands beauty, harmony and above all simplicity. The problem between you and the Alien will produce a simple and elegant solution. Only one of you will survive. (Hill)

Ash's admiration for the Alien is fundamentally tied to some kind of alien purity that is in turn connected to its mode of reproduction. Parasitism is preferred to sexuality in service of a higher aesthetic and scientific ideal.

Aside from its contempt for sex on an ideological level, the company also parodies sexuality through its inadequate attempts to represent biological structures in the design of the ship, its robot and its governing computer. Firstly, it is important to note that the design of the Nostromo is straightforward, industrial and utilitarian. It is a cargo hauler and as such does not possess any kind of beauty or elegance in appearance; instead, all its chambers and hallways are built for function. Most of the corridors of the ship are claustrophobic, dark and forbidding. Save for the

glow of a lone emergency bulb, there is nothing to illuminate the passageways which are lined with industrial tubing and hissing hydraulics that periodically emit jets of steam. Every wall on every side is encrusted with some kind of machinery: twisted pipe, corrugated steel bulkheads, and entangled wiring. These elements are so densely placed on every surface that the entangled fixtures begin to resemble biological tissue. Every metal strut takes on a skeletal aspect, every pipe becomes a pulsing artery. This effect is necessary to realize a crucial plot point later in the film; the Alien is able to blend into the walls of the vessel in order to ambush Ripley in the lifeboat as she makes her final escape. This, in turn is made possible by the fact that the design of the Alien creature contains many elements of the technological (Torry 345-346). For instance, the appendages that emanate from the Alien costume's back are cooling tubes cannibalized from a Rolls-Royce. H.R. Giger, who designed the creature, describes this aesthetic as *biomechanical* (McIntee 30). The end result is a pervasive feeling of the uncanny (Freud 80). The industrial-mechanical ship intimates the biological just as the living alien creature possesses a hint of the mechanical and as a result, the viewer is left in a liminal space of danger and uncertainty. As in the previous instance of the egg-borne face hugger, the Alien physical presence threatens a rape-like abduction that suggests the sexual at the same time as it effaces it. The larger threat once again is the company who has, in the vaguely biological patchwork design of its vessel, created the environment for this kind of violation to occur. These two threats work in concert; the sexually parodic nature of the ship's architecture makes possible the equally parodic pseudo-sexual alien attack.

In addition to the subversion of sexuality at the ideological and architectural level, the Company abjects the sexual by corrupting one of the most notable, if not defining aspect of sexuality, that of motherhood. Yet the interplay of design and action is relevant here as well. The ship's computer which itself is named "Mother", governs most of the operations of the ship, including the communication of directives, maintaining life support during hypersleep and it is even given voice in the cold, emotionless but distinctly female countdown that announces the ship's auto-destruct after Ripley activates it. In order to interface with Mother, the highest-ranking officer must punch a code and be admitted to a spherical, white chamber. In stark contrast to the mechanical chaos that characterizes the rest of the ship's appearance, this room is stoic, sterile and completely white from floor to ceiling. An unassuming array of gently blinking lights indicate computer functions; there is no noise but the clack of the keyboard interface.

If the ship's airlock was a vaginal space then the Mother chamber is a decidedly womb-like environment, meant to provide safety to its children: the crew. The ship's captain, Dallas, is twice seen entering the room; once to receive the instructions that kick off the film's plot, and a second time to ask Mother what his chances are against the Alien now prowling through the ship. In this, his last visit to Mother, the supercomputer is unable to give any sort of meaningful answer to

his pleading, almost prayer-like petition. Dallas expects to receive the safety or at least the comfort of knowledge in Mother's "womb" but instead is met with a cold dispassionate reply that the viewer soon learns is in fact deceitful. For after Dallas' death, Ripley — now the ranking officer — enters this same chamber and uses an emergency override to compel Mother to reveal the reason for their mission. The computer is then forced to divulge, through the sterile text of the monitor, that the company has rerouted their trip home to intentionally acquire the Alien at the cost of their lives; Ripley struggles to compose herself at this revelation. It is a poignant irony that the Company chooses to deliver such a directive of death in this womb-like space via a machine meant to sustain life and named for a mother. This act constitutes a blatant corruption and parody of motherhood that demonstrates the deeply entrenched disdain by corporate interest towards sexuality in general and women in particular.

The perversion of motherhood is made startlingly obvious in the film's most memorable moment: the infamous "Chestburster Scene". With the facehugger having inexplicably fallen off, Kane awakens seemingly unharmed only to collapse later and convulse in the subsequent dinner scene. The Alien creature proceeds to burst from his chest; now fully gestated, it is "born" from Kane's body in a grotesque parody of childbirth. Stephen Scobie observes that

the image is presented with clear echoes of childbirth: the sudden onset of pains, the thrashing around on the table, the crew members trying to hold him down, even a parody of the infant's first cry as the creature bares its teeth and hisses defiance. Indeed, it is birth itself which is seen as monstrous, as a fearsome, bloody, inexplicable extrusion of the alien within. This I would suggest is a very *male* fantasy; that is a male fear of the mystery and unknown of women's power. (Scobie 84)

Scobie astutely observes the influence of some kind of male cliché of the unknown power of women at work in this scene. Unable to experience childbirth themselves, male viewers are both fascinated and frightened by Kane's sexual displacement. However, one is left to wonder if a woman's experience of this scene is somehow less frightening because she is equipped with some kind experiential knowledge of childbirth that reduces the horror. A more suitable explanation is that, as Scobie has noted, the similarity of the sequence to the process of childbirth produces the horror. Not merely a male experience of unfamiliarity with female experience but the conflagration of the familiar with the unfamiliar — their coming together in an uncanny parody. The horror lies in the blurring — the effacement of boundaries.

Much like Ripley's defense against the rape in the Broken Quarantine scene, the erection of this boundary is elucidated by Julia Kristeva's notion of abjection: the creation of a border meant to push away the unspeakable *other* that threatens identity:

We may call it a border; abjection is above all ambiguity, because, while releasing a hold, it does not radically cut off the subject from what threatens it — on the contrary, abjection acknowledges it to be in perpetual danger.

It is...not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect boundaries, positions, rules. The inbetween, the ambiguous, the composite. (Kristeva, 4)

In this view, the sexual horror posed can never be completely removed in the act of abjection, only constantly kept at bay. Nevertheless, according to Kristeva, this action is necessary for the formation of one's identity. In the act of abjection, the subject expels the abjected from their self, defining the self as "*not-that*".

Barbara Creed concurs with Kristeva in her seminal work, *The Monstrous Feminine*, asserting that the concept of a border is central to the construction of the monstrous in the horror film:

[T]hat which crosses or threatens to cross the 'border' is abject. Although the specific nature of the border changes from film to film, the function of the monstrous remains the same — to bring about an encounter between the symbolic order and that which threatens its stability. In some horror films the monstrous is produced at the border between human and inhuman, man and beast; in others the border is between the normal and the supernatural, good and evil. (Creed 60)

She also asserts, however, that the abject fascinates desire even as it must be repelled, emphasizing along with Kristeva "the attraction as well as the horror of the undifferentiated" (Creed 58). This attraction accounts for the allure of horror films in general and the allure of the creature in particular. In an intriguing analysis of the act of watching a horror film, Creed observes another boundary destroyed, that between the viewer and the film itself:

Confronted by the sight of the monstrous, the viewing subject is put into crisis — boundaries, designed to keep the abject at bay, threaten to disintegrate, to collapse...the horror film puts the viewing subject's sense of a unified self into crisis, specifically in those moments when the image on the screen becomes too threatening or too horrific to watch, when the abject threatens to draw the viewing subject to the place 'where meaning collapses', the place of death. By not looking, the spectator is able momentarily to withdraw identification from the image on the screen in order to reconstruct the boundary between self and screen and reconstitute the 'self which is threatened with disintegration. (Creed 124)

This analysis of the experience of watching the film, underscores the centrality of the role of abjection in the creation of subjectivity. It not only happens at a narrative level to the characters in the movie, or at some vague meta-level where

we identify with them but it is a real and immediate danger to the viewer in the very act of seeing the film. Understanding the horror of *Alien* as one that must be abjected to maintain the body, characterizes the erasure of sex as a challenge that threatens the existence of feminism as such.

II

It is in the sequel to *Alien*, the appropriately named *Aliens*, that Ripley combats these destructive effects of the Alien by asserting her own femininity, abjecting the horror that the creature represents. Having survived the ordeal of the previous film, Ripley drifts frozen in space for fifty-seven years until she is recovered and brought back to Earth. At a debriefing, company officers disbelieve her survival story, gloating that during the time she was adrift they have in fact set up a colony on the planet where the Alien was originally found and her warning of a derelict space craft containing *thousands* of eggs is disregarded. Of course, the colonists stumble onto the eggs and Earth quickly loses contact with them. In response, company officials send out an elite group of marines and coerce Ripley into accompanying them as an “expert” on the Alien. The team is too late and the Aliens are everywhere — they ambush the heroes who in spite of their high-tech gear and training are hopelessly outmatched. The film plays out as a high-stakes scramble to escape the planet before Ripley and the marines are overwhelmed by the enclosing swarm of merciless Aliens.

At the film’s core, however, lies a pivotal conflict which Scobie summarizes as “a contest between two mothers or rather between two different ideas of motherhood” (82). As the action progresses, the team encounters a little girl named Newt, who has survived by hiding in the colony’s ducts and catacombs. Ripley quickly attaches herself to Newt, assuming the role of a mother to the orphan girl. At the film’s climax, when the heroes are near escape, Newt is abducted and Ripley goes back to venture daringly into the aliens’ lair, risking everything to recover her. The film’s biggest and hitherto unknown monster lies dormant in this place; the Alien Queen, a larger and more deadly version of her drones is revealed to be laying the countless eggs that have implanted and burst forth their progeny from the bodies of the abducted colonists. Ripley must fend off this opposing mother figure as she rushes Newt to the awaiting dropship and to safety.

Aliens firmly establishes the Alien Queen as yet another demonic parody of motherhood. However, instead of the erasure of sex that was implied by the single, asexual and parasitic Alien, the addition of a distinctly female figure places the antagonist in the opposite extreme — the position of pure biological essentialism. Although the Alien Queen is seen to possess very basic problem-solving abilities, she is not a sapient creature; all of her actions and those of her progeny, appear to be motivated by pure animal instinct. She is only a mother in a strict biological sense, performing none of the social actions that are culturally associated with motherhood. Such a characterization contrasts dramatically with

Ripley who, though not a biological mother to Newt, nonetheless chooses to enact the maternal. The biological determinism of the Alien Queen is presented as horrific; her mothering leads to life only at the expense of other lives. She is the embodiment of the kind misogynistic logic that insists women's actions must flow exclusively and without exception from their body parts. In the Alien Queen, this idea is taken to the logical extreme — for this mother, there is nothing beyond biological motherhood except the endless repetition of biological motherhood. This notion is very graphically embedded in the presentation and behaviour of the character; in her initial reveal she is shown to be attached to a massive ovipositor membrane, physically connected to her egg-laying sac like an insect. When Ripley and Newt enter the egg room, the Queen is unmoving and stoic, her head somewhat withdrawn into her carapace. Evidently, if not for Ripley's interruption, she would be perfectly content to exist merely for the sake of laying more eggs.

To be sure, though it is a continuation of Ripley's story, the sequel addresses a completely different feminist issue than *Alien* does. The original rails against the erasure of sex demanded by corporate interests in the struggle for equality, one that that is hardly worthwhile if it is achieved on men's terms, "defined and differentiated with reference to man" (Beauvoir xxii). *Aliens* combats the dehumanizing notion of a woman consigned to reproduction by her body, a concern of 3rd wave feminism while the preceding film addresses an issue of 2nd wave feminism. Although the films address two distinct problems at two distinct times, these monsters continue to rear their heads, assaulting the feminist project from opposing sides. Although the threats that *Alien* and *Aliens* present are distinct, they can nonetheless be placed in a continuity as two dangerous extremes that must be abjected to preserve the subject and preserve the woman.

Some scholars, such as Susan Jeffords are pessimistic about the clash of mothers in *Aliens*, seeing it as detrimental to feminism:

Ripley's "feminism" . . . is victorious only because it accepts the point of view of a corporate masculinism at the expense of relations between women. In order to "survive" as a feminist in this new environment, Ripley must brutally excise from existence ("Let's nuke the planet") a reproducing mother that is repulsively "alien" to her, and that the film presents as a threat, not only to her but to humanity itself. Severing any ties, she might have with other women, these films succeed in recreating Ripley's "community" as a revised nuclear family supplied and supported by a corporate structure. *Alien/s* presents a "feminism" that can succeed only by making women "alien" to themselves. (73)

The first problem with Jeffords' interpretation is that she imagines the Alien Queen on equal footing with Ripley, ignoring the clear parody of women that the Queen represents. It is very difficult to argue that real women actually behave according to the strict biological determinism herein embodied. Since it is nearly

impossible to interpret this character as anything but a mocking parody of femininity it is therefore incoherent to suggest that she and Ripley are on a level playing field, so to speak, and that their battle is therefore a clash of two valid feminisms.

Jeffords' second, closely interwoven argument is that Ripley's triumph over the Alien Queen is a hollow victory because she merely accedes to existing patriarchal and corporate interests such as the nuclear family. This interpretation falls victim to its own prejudices; it presumes that since Ripley enacts the role of a mother it automatically plays into the hands of patriarchy. This reasoning would only be cogent if we could see that Ripley defaults or is relegated to the mothering role but the evidence for this is scant. No other member of the team comments on Ripley's increasingly close relationship with Newt. There is nothing to suggest that any outside force compels Ripley or any of the women in the film to adopt this little girl. Indeed, Ripley's own relationship to motherhood is strained. Early on in the film, in two separate dream sequences, Ripley imagines herself in a hospital bed giving birth, not to a human child, but to a monstrous alien creature, ready to burst from her chest. It would be a stretch to say that Ripley is at peace with the idea of motherhood. All the evidence therefore points to Ripley's motherhood of Newt being a deliberate, authentic choice on her part.

The argument for Ripley's submission in the face of patriarchal and corporate interests is further weakened by overwhelming positive evidence from a sequence in *Aliens* that I have dubbed "The Invitation Scene". As the marines prepare for their initial military drop onto the colony, Ripley wanders the loading dock and asks Sergeant Apone if she can be of help:

ANGLE ON APONE standing with Hicks, as Ripley approaches him.

RIPLEY: I feel like a fifth wheel here. Is there anything I can do?

APONE: I don't know. Is there anything you can do?

RIPLEY (pointing): Well, I can drive that loader. I've got a Class Two rating.

Apone turns. A SECOND POWER LOADER sits unused in an equipment bay.

TWO SHOT APONE AND HICKS.

APONE (gesturing): Be my guest. (Cameron, 38)

Ripley proceeds to climb into the power loader exoskeleton and pick up a hefty load. Turning to Apone and Hicks she cheekily asks "Where do you want it?" The two men laugh appreciatively and Apone indicates the cargo's destination. It is interesting to note that the brief bit of sexual innuendo here serves as a remedy to the sexual erasure enacted by the Alien in the first film. Whereas in *Alien*, the creature blurs sexual distinction itself through rape, violence and fear, in this scene Ripley's male-phallic action of "lifting a big load" productively challenges sexual roles because, by contrast, it is situated within a discourse of vulnerability, trust and humour.

Moreover, this seemingly insignificant dialogue exemplifies the idiom of the whole film. With the interrogative “is there anything I can do?” Ripley makes herself vulnerable to the corporate-military interest overtly represented by the two soldiers, asking what role women have in this framework. Apone has hitherto been depicted as a stereotypically brash and loud army sergeant constantly sucking back a cigar and barking orders to his unit. With playful lines like “Another glorious day in the corps! Every day in the marine corps is a like a day on the farm! Every meal is a banquet! Every paycheque a fortune!” he shows himself to be committed to the corporate-military machine albeit aware of its absurdities. His characterization defies Jeffords’ argument in that he — the perfect representative of Jeffords’ observed patriarchy — does not answer Ripley’s offer by relegating her to the sidelines, nor does he specifically dictate commands but instead turns the question back to her. His reply, which answers Ripley’s vulnerability with vulnerability, is simultaneously an invitation and a challenge; it refuses to tell women who they are and what they can do and refuses to relegate them but instead asks women themselves to demonstrate what they can do, and who they are. This is the project of the film as a whole; the perverse femininity of the Alien Queen asserts through blatant parody what women are *not*. Rather than seeing Ripley’s struggle with the Alien Monarch as a battle between two femininities on equal footing, I interpret the Queen’s “femininity” as a debased and demonic challenge to Ripley, inviting her by negative example to demonstrate through her actions what a woman is. Furthermore, this challenge functions much like the Kristevan notion of the abject:

It lies outside, beyond the set, and does not seem to agree to [the superego’s] rules of the game. And yet, from its place of banishment the abject does not cease challenging its master. (Kristeva 2)

The formation of the subject is not exclusively founded upon positive demonstration but depends also upon the exclusion of the abject which always threatens to destroy subjectivity. Ripley must abject the perverse femininity of the Alien Queen in order to constitute her own.

III

If the ongoing feminist project necessitates the rejection of the threats posed by *Alien* and *Aliens* — effacement of sexual difference, and biological determinism respectively — then the feminist philosophy of Edith Stein proves to be particularly successful in navigating a middle way between these two pitfalls. According to Elizabeth Hill, feminist theories that understand gender in terms of passivity or in terms of lack (such as psychoanalysis) fail to properly analyze an action heroine like Ripley that “confound[s] binaristic logic.”

Action heroines represent something of a methodological crisis for film theory and its theorizing of active, aggressive female characters, opening up an interesting set of questions regarding the ongoing need to critique and transform the theories we use. (Hill 39)

In Stein's view, "unlike timeless essences, persons become in acting and suffering" (Haney 215). Her thought combines essentialism with existentialism, permitting Ripley to cogently respond to Sergeant Apone's interrogative by revealing her essential femininity through her actions. Reading the characters through the lens of Stein's philosophy situates them within the framework of an anthropology that both resists patriarchy and also upholds the dignity of both men and women.

The most useful element of Edith Stein's philosophy for the purposes of analyzing *Alien(s)* is her formulation of the intrinsic value of women which

Consists chiefly in the ability:

7. To become a *complete person* oneself; i.e., a person all of whose faculties are developed and coexist in harmony;
8. To help others become *complete human beings*;
9. In contact with all other persons, *to respect the complete human being*.

Certain *maladies of modern culture* such as the dehumanization of the person, fragmentation, and the one-sided development of certain faculties leading to the atrophy of others may be *cured* through recourse to the intrinsic value of woman. (Stein 39, italics in text)

Such a view gravely risks slipping into a kind of idealism that has undergirded patriarchal structures for centuries — the notion of woman as a panacea or venerated object, a view that pays lip service to women but merely contributes to patriarchal hegemony (Beauvoir 253). However, Petr Urban points out that

Edith Stein holds that woman's peculiarity *per se* does not demonstrate any value in itself. It is nothing but a raw material which, if handled correctly, may acquire great value, but which can become perverted, even harmful when left to itself. (Urban 544)

Stein rejects any idea of a feminine nature defined on male terms but rather places the onus on women to realize their femininity by demonstration, anticipating Judith Butler's idea of performance but does not go so far as to deny a feminine essence. (Butler 2384)

Haney illustrates Stein's description of women's intrinsic value with an example of a doctor who not only cures a disease but bears in mind the entirety of the person: "The sick person is wholly diseased. She can best be comforted, be strengthened through therapies which include empathy as well as medication" (Haney 229). This understanding of women possessing a kind of holistic view of the human person has a cognate in the idea of an "ethic of care" proposed by Carol Gilligan (109). Both she and Stein question the

masculine assumptions that undergird Modernist moral theory, claiming that the existing models exclude women.

The problem according to Stein, and she is hardly alone in this diagnosis, is that the masculine and feminine are valorized differently in the societies of fallen men...the problem with masculine modernity (and there can be no other form of modernity) is that it is not limited and disciplined by love and care. Possibilities are realized too often just because they are possible, with little attention to how well their expression actualizes human value. Stein provides a story, a myth, many would say, about how possibilities are to be evaluated, reasoned and chosen. (Haney 232)

Both of the *Alien* films display the masculine social malady that Haney observes Stein and Gilligan addressing. The *Nostramo*'s ill-fated "rescue" mission to acquire the Alien exemplifies corporate greed at the expense of human life. After Dallas authorizes Ash to store the dead facehugger for the trip back to Earth, Ripley confronts him and exhorts him to consider their safety but Dallas can only feebly justify himself through the (male) idea of specialization.

INT. COMPUTER ANNEX. Ripley and Dallas.

RIPLEY: How could you leave that kind of decision to him?

DALLAS: I just run the ship. Anything that has to do with science division, Ash has the final word.

RIPLEY: How does that happen?

DALLAS: Same way everything else happens. Orders from the Company.

RIPLEY: Since when is that standard procedure?

DALLAS: Standard procedure is do what they tell you...Besides, I only know about flying...I haul cargo for a living. (Hill)

Dallas deflects by citing his and others' particular roles on the ship to the detriment of a consideration of the well-being of the crew which Ripley attempts to draw out of him in a rather Socratic manner. Stein's idea of a woman's holistic perception also elucidates Ripley's behaviour in the quarantine scene; while the others demand to be let in to save Kane, Ripley's consideration of the whole crew's safety informs her refusal.

The various marines in the sequel provide even more examples of what Stein refers to as a "hyper-masculine type of abstract objectivity [that suppresses] the drive to total humanity" (Stein 40). For instance, Lieutenant Gorman, the posturing but inexperienced leader of the mission to the planet, demands that his unit execute the mission "by the book" with "a clean drop". Unlike Ripley's "by the book" quarantine, enacted to protect others, his exhortations are mere posturing in order to assert an unwarranted authority. Though he adheres to these strict formulations, they prove to be useless in the heat of battle and he is totally paralyzed when his troops are ambushed. It is Ripley who must point out the danger of using firearms beneath the reactor and tries

to shake him out of his torpor, taking decisive action when he fails to react. Hudson also falls victim to his fearful abstractions as he despairs over their fate soon after Aliens destroy the dropship. In an elegant etymological subversion, he is completely hysterical. Ripley is the one to calm him down and remind him not to get carried away in his abstract objectivity, pointing out that if Newt can overcome the odds, they can all survive. In both cases, Ripley exhorts the men to retreat from their distorted perspectives and confront the situations with the totality of their personhood — one that has been mutilated by the industrial, militarist and patriarchal structure of their “society of fallen men” (Haney 232). In terms of form, the multiplicity of masculine failures in the films harmonizes well with the Alien Queen’s abject challenge to Ripley. The men’s insufficiencies reveal femininity apophatically, in the same way that the Queen’s negative example demands a positive response from Ripley.

Stein contends that the nature of man and woman are complementary, not in a mere biological sense but rather they help one another to realize their full human potential and become “a completely formed human being, a mature and self-contained personality” (40). She suggests that women’s holistic tendencies can go too far, to the point where they lose objectivity. At this point she must learn to develop the corresponding masculine, abstracting mindset, in order to achieve

a certain detachment from oneself and from others. . . to gain a clear insight into the proper relation between personal uniqueness and the possibilities of development of oneself and of others. (Stein 41)

In this view, all men and women partake to some degree in masculine and feminine essences in a kind of balancing act wherein the dominant nature does not completely overtake a person. In the film, this kind of dynamic is present between Ripley and Hicks. Throughout *Aliens*, Hicks demonstrates empathy with Ripley and does not allow his objectivity to blind him to the individual needs of the people under his charge. Crucially, after Newt is abducted and Ripley begins to lose control, Hicks steps in, acknowledges Ripley’s fears and hopes, but nonetheless convinces her that the most pressing objective need is to escape the oncoming Alien horde — the rescue of Newt must wait until a later time. One of the reasons that Stein’s feminist philosophy is so robust (and thus helpful in working through the problems proposed by the films) is that it posits a nature proper to each sex without considering them “merely from the biological point of view” (Stein 157), thus anticipating and avoiding the problems that modern feminism faces as incarnated in *Alien(s)*. In addition to the overlap with Butler, she also overlaps with Beauvoir in her assertion that a woman cannot be summed up by her gender — she is a human being first (Pearsall xi). Stein’s position constitutes a *via media* in the field, proposing an anthropology rooted in Husserlian Phenomenology.

Stein’s understanding of the essences of woman and man is rooted in phenomenology, a field that rejects the Enlightenment conception of understanding the world purely through reason, and observes that the first principles from which we reason: our thoughts, emotions and sense experiences are not rational but intuitive.

Phenomenology seeks to understand consciousness using experience and self-evident intuition as a base.

I share the view that the philosophical method differs from that of the positive sciences. It commands its own function of cognition, and it is exactly this function which makes possible the foundation necessary for the other sciences. (Stein 178)

Stein's essentialism is grounded in these kinds of self-evident, intuitive cognitions. She abstracts the essences of man and woman much like Aristotle and Aquinas do, but she departs from them by synthesizing this view with existentialism, proposing that these essences are contingent on the experience of enacting them (Haney 222).

Within this framework, Stein's project becomes one of rehabilitating the stereotypical reason/intuition, male/female divide. If indeed, intuition is not something irrational but rather a foundation for reason, then it becomes an asset rather than a detriment to women, as Stein claims (82). In *Aliens*, Ripley displays this intuition as a strength during her damning speech wherein she explicates Burke's treacherous actions to the surviving marines. She and Newt have just escaped the medical lab where Burke locked them in with two live facehuggers. Ripley explains that his plan was to smuggle Alien embryos to Earth in their bodies and sabotage the remaining hypersleep capsules to cover his crime. Although there is no positive evidence from which to reason out this conclusion, Ripley intuits Burke's scheme and it becomes clear to the rest that hers is the only possible explanation. Stein performs a similar act in the formulation of her anthropology; she does not derive essential femininity from scientific or biological evidence but instead intuits an essential femininity from her lived experience of being a woman and interacting with women.

True to Stein's existential and experiential essentialism, Ripley realizes her femininity through her intuition and her actions: choosing to mother Newt and exhorting her crewmates and teammates to a more complete vision of the human person. The result is an expression of womanhood worthy to meet the Alien Queen's challenge, one that reasserts the sexual difference effaced by the parasitic Alien and simultaneously abjects the biological determinism of the Alien Queen, solidifying Ripley's identity as a woman in the process. By posing these issues, *Alien* and its sequel function like an arena — one where battles lines are drawn and ideas can be tested. Like Ripley, contemporary feminism must contend with both of these problems that assault it from two opposed camps. The feminist theory of Edith Stein provides a useful way of interpreting Ripley's actions in a manner that overcomes these problems. What Stein reveals in particular, is that through her actions, the character of Ripley makes visible an invisible reality — a femininity that abjects and battles against the forces that seek to subjugate and efface it, while upholding the dignity of the entire human person.

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The Queer Gaze in Cinema: As Demonstrated by Blake Edwards' Film, Victor/Victoria

Abstract

Focusing on Blake Edwards' 1982 film Victor/Victoria, I will be examining the queer gaze in cinema through the shift in how women are perceived and understood throughout the history of our society from the 1950s to the present day. Laura Mulvey's definition of the 'male gaze' from her 1975 text, Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, is essential in answering the question of how the gaze affects women and the LGBTQ+ community in traditionally straight films and how the shift towards a queer perspective alters this narrative. The Freudian theories of development also significantly contribute to the analysis of the gaze in cinema, as the compulsory heterosexuality and internalized homophobia that exists in our society, ultimately affects the queer representation in film. The ways in which female and LGBTQ+ film writers and directors redefine how the "male gaze" is used and experienced in cinema or other visual media performances is evident in the film Victor/Victoria, as the duality of performance throughout the narrative reveals the stereotypes surrounding the (male) gaze and how it is affected by the perceptions of heterosexuality. My project will approach the academic conversation of queering the gaze through an analysis of the film, Victor/Victoria (1982), with an examination of the contributions of Mulvey — as a theory text from the historical realm of the film — and more recent film theory/ queer theory and criticism that contributes to my critical conversation. As the film challenges the heterosexual norms of cinema, as well as those of society, the gaze alters the rhetoric of the film in order to normalize the queer perspective in an otherwise straight, comedic rendition of 1930s Paris.

In examining the shift of how women are perceived and understood throughout the history of our society from the 1950s to the present day, Laura's Mulvey's definition of the 'male gaze' from her 1975 text, *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, is essential to the question of how the gaze affects women and the LGBTQ+ community in traditionally straight films and how the shift towards a queer perspective alters this narrative. The queer interpretation of the gaze not only demonstrates a dramatic shift away from the traditional (straight) perspective in film, it emphasizes a new way into visual media through the eyes of the queer individual rather than the active/male of heterosexual films. Mulvey's definition of the male gaze is necessary for the understanding of how women are affected by the male gaze in films as well as in reality, as she provides a space for a queer interpretation to arise and ultimately challenge the traditional film industry and therefore, patriarchal societies. The various analyses of Freud's theories as demonstrated in the academic conversations surrounding the queer gaze, brings into question how the methods of Freud are interpreted in a variety of different ways by those in the queer film industry. Each faction, whether they are a part of the LGBTQ+ community or if they are heterosexual men or women, provides a distinct perspective on the effects of the male gaze on women, the LGBTQ+ community, and society as a whole, which can therefore be attributed to the Freudian theories of development. This leaves a question of whether or not the queer representation in film is affected by the Freudian theories, or if the aversion to the traditional heterosexual norms by the queer community impacts how they perceive, create, and participate in visual media.

Mulvey defines the male gaze as "the pleasure in looking [that] has been split between the active/male and passive/female" (*Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, 19), in which "the male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly" (19). Academics, following the publication of Mulvey's article in 1975, utilize the term in such a way that the audience's perception of film and other forms of visual media is significantly affected by the representation of the gaze, which therefore has trained critics to read film through this heterosexual lens, adhering to patriarchal oppression and power. This is demonstrated by the scholarly conversations surrounding the study of the male gaze in film, as it highlights the ways in which female and LGBTQ+ film writers and directors redefine how the "male gaze" is used and experienced in cinema or other visual media performances. This redefinition is evident in the film *Victor/Victoria*, as the duality of performance throughout the narrative reveals the stereotypes surrounding the (male) gaze and how it is affected by the perceptions of heterosexuality. The queer representation of the "male gaze" in academia, demonstrates not only a perspective that varies from the societal norms of a heterosexual society, it also offers an alternate approach to visual media and performance that does not abide by the traditional definition of a (straight male) audience, which is emphasized first by Mulvey, and later by other academics.

The critical and theoretical conversations surrounding the male gaze in queer films are defined through the ways in which the gaze shifts towards a queer perspective with the inclusion of LGBTQ+ creators in the film industry. This illustrates that the gaze found in queer cinema is dramatically different from that of the traditional heterosexual film, as the LGBTQ+ content and creators allow for a space to be designed that not only challenges societal norms, but it also provides an alternate way into the visual media that impedes straight men from viewing the female as a passive (sexual) object. The LGBTQ+ sources (queer newspapers, film scripts, movie reviews, etc.) in the *Archives of Gender and Sexuality*, as well as in the academic conversation of the queered gaze, continue to redefine the circumstances of which the “male gaze” is used in cinema and other visual media sources. Because of the non-traditional contexts from which these are produced, the perspective and comprehension of the audience shifts in such a way that the gaze is no longer based in patriarchal power over a passive, objectified female character or image. My project approaches the academic conversation of queering the gaze through an analysis of the film, *Victor/Victoria* (1982), with an examination of the contributions of Mulvey — as a theory text from the historical realm of the film — and more recent film theory/ queer theory and criticism that contribute to my critical conversation. As the film challenges the heterosexual norms of cinema, as well as those of society, the gaze alters the rhetoric of the film in order to normalize the queer perspective in an otherwise straight, comedic rendition of 1930s Paris.

The history of the term and concept of the “male gaze” in the *Archives of Gender and Sexuality*, can be attributed to Laura Mulvey’s use of the phrase in her text, *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, which was written in 1973 and published in 1975. Within the collection of primary sources for the historical study of sex, sexuality, and gender, the term “male gaze” can be found in 114 different manuscripts, newspapers, or periodicals from 1974 to 2012. Mulvey defines the male gaze as “the pleasure in looking [that] has been split between the active/male and passive/female” (19), in which “the male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly” (19). Academics, following the publication of Mulvey’s article, utilize the term in such a way that the audience’s perception of film and other forms of visual media is significantly affected by the representation of the gaze, which therefore has trained critics to read film through this heterosexual lens, adhering to patriarchal oppression and power. This is demonstrated by the scholarly conversations surrounding the study of the male gaze in film, as it highlights the ways in which female and LGBTQ+ film writers and directors redefine how the “male gaze” is used and experienced in cinema or other visual media performances. This redefinition is evident in the film, as the duality of performance throughout the narrative reveals the stereotypes surrounding the (male) gaze and how it is affected by the perceptions of heterosexuality. The queer representation of the “male gaze” in academia, therefore demonstrates not only a perspective that varies from the societal norms of a heterosexual society, it also offers an alternate approach to visual media and performance that does not abide

by the traditional definition of a (straight male) audience, which is emphasized first by Mulvey, and later by other academics.

The Freudian theories of development,⁵⁹ as highlighted by Mulvey in her argument, further emphasize the relation between compulsory heterosexuality and the male gaze in *Victor/Victoria*, through the manipulation of the lens of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic film theory by the queering of the gaze. As Mulvey notes, psychoanalysis “takes as its starting point, the day film reflects, reveals and even plays on the straight, socially established interpretation of sexual difference which controls images, erotic ways of looking and spectacle” (14). This is represented by the ways in which the characters within the film, challenge the innate heterosexual behaviours of 1930s Paris in order to put together a performance that forces the audience to question everything they had seen from the beginning of the show. Mulvey asserts that the in order to move forward as a society that “challenges the basic assumption of mainstream film” (15), the “physical obsessions and assumptions” (16) with patriarchal oppression that have been adopted in cinema, have to begin to react against said obsessions and assumptions. This is illustrated by *Victor/Victoria* as it manipulates the male gaze that has been “coded” (Mulvey, 16) into mainstream film by the “language of the dominant patriarchal order” (16) which “leaves the past behind without simply rejecting it, transcends outworn or oppressive forms, and dares to break with normal pleasurable expectations in order to conceive a new language of desire” (16). Mulvey further explains the ‘pleasure in looking’ (scopophilia), and reversed, ‘pleasure in being looked at’ as offered by cinema, through which Freud’s use of the term in his *Three Essays on Sexuality* and later in “Instincts and Their Vicissitudes,” associated scopophilia with “taking other people as objects, submitting them to a controlling and curious gaze” (16). Mulvey continues to distinguish the film from the audience that views it, as the darkness of the theatre creates a “sense of separation” (17) that allows the “illusion of voyeuristic separation” (17) to exist and therefore, project the desires of the the viewer onto the film. The dichotomy of sexual instincts and ego libido is crucial for Freud’s argument as “the tension between instinctual drives and self-preservation, polarize in terms of pleasure” (18); however, Mulvey emphasizes that they are both “formative structures, mechanisms without intrinsic meaning” (18), which to a greater extent, affects the audiences’s perception of the world. Traditionally, Mulvey states, women have existed in cinema for one of two reasons: “as an erotic object for the characters within the screen story” (19) and as an “erotic image for the spectator within the auditorium, with a shifting tension between the looks on either side of the screen” (19). This juxtaposition is examined by *Victor/Victoria*, as the film challenges the “traditional exhibitionist role” (19) of women in which

59 For additional information on the Freudian theories involved with the male gaze see: Block, Marcelline, *Situating the Feminist Gaze and Spectatorship in Postwar Cinema*; BradburyRance, Clara, *Lesbian Cinema after Queer Theory*; Davis, Nick, *The Desiring-Image*; Manlove, Clifford T., “Visual ‘Drive’ and Cinematic Narrative: Reading Gaze Theory in Lacan, Hitchcock, and Mulvey.”

they are “simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearances coded for strong visual and erotic impact so they can be said to connote *to-be-looked-at-ness*” (19). The ways in which the characters of the film, namely Victor(ia) and Toddy, take advantage of the “sexual impact of the performing woman” (19) for their own benefit, not only forces the audience to question their initial perceptions of the performance, it also challenges the heterosexual (male) gaze that is a result of the innate reactions of a patriarchal society. Thus, Freudian theories of development are essential for the ways in which we, as a patriarchal society, redefine the gaze in cinema.

The critical and theoretical conversations surrounding the male gaze in queer films are defined through the ways in which the gaze shifts towards a queer perspective with the inclusion of LGBTQ+ creators in the film industry.⁶⁰ This illustrates that the gaze found in queer cinema is dramatically different from that of the traditional heterosexual film, as the LGBTQ+ content and creators allow for a space to be designed that not only challenges societal norms, but it also provides an alternate way into the visual media that impedes straight men from viewing the female as a passive (sexual) object. The LGBTQ+ sources (i.e. queer newspapers, film scripts, movie reviews, etc.) in the *Archives of Gender and*

60 For additional information on the male gaze in cinema see: Ahn, Patty et al. “In Focus: Queer Approaches to Film, Television, and Digital Media: Introduction”; Bleach, Anthony C. “Postfeminist Cliques? Class, Postfeminism, and the Molly Ringwald-John Hughes Films”; Block, Marcelline, *Situating the Feminist Gaze and Spectatorship in Postwar Cinema*; Bradbury-Rance, Clara, *Lesbian Cinema after Queer Theory*; Bronski, Michael, et al. “Queer Film and Media Pedagogy”; Bullough, Vern L. and Bonnie Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender*; Cover, Rob, “First Contact: Queer Theory, Sexual Identity, and “Mainstream” Film”; Crowder, Diane Griffin, “From the Straight Mind to Queer Theory: Implications for Political Movement”; Cvetkovich, Ann, “In the Archives of Lesbian Feelings: Documentary and Popular Culture”; Davis, Nick, *The Desiring-Image*; Dhaenens, Frederik, Sofie Van Bauwel, and Daniel Biltereyst, “Slashing the fiction of queer theory: Slash fiction, queer reading, and transgressing the boundaries of screen studies, representations, and audiences”; Dias, Belidson and Susan Sinkinson, “Film Spectatorship between Queer Theory and Feminism: Transcultural Readings”; Evans, Peter William and Celestino Deleyto, *Terms of Endearment: Hollywood Romantic Comedy of the 1980s and 1990s*; Hammett, Jennifer, “The Ideological Impediment: Feminism and Film Theory”; Manlove, Clifford T. “Visual ‘Drive’ and Cinematic Narrative: Reading Gaze Theory in Lacan, Hitchcock, and Mulvey”; Riviere, Joan, “Womanliness as a Masquerade,” (1929) *The Inner World and Joan Riviere: Collected Papers 1929 - 1958*, edited by Athol Hughes.

Sexuality, as well as in the academic conversation of the queered gaze, continue to redefine the circumstances of which the “male gaze” is used in cinema and other visual media sources. Because of the non-traditional contexts from which these are produced, the perspective and comprehension of the audience shifts in such a way that the gaze is no longer based in patriarchal power over a passive, objectified female character or image. This representation demonstrates how the term shifted from Mulvey’s interpretation of the active/male, passive/female representation in cinema throughout the history of film, into how a perspective that is female, queer, or both. The analysis of the gaze with Mulvey’s definition in mind, fundamentally affects how the audience sees and experiences visual media sources throughout history.

The LGBTQ+ sources in the archive continue to redefine the circumstances of which the “male gaze” is used in cinema and other visual media sources. Because of the non-traditional contexts from which these are produced, the perspective and comprehension of the audience shifts in such a way that the gaze is no longer based in patriarchal power over a passive, objectified female character or image. This illustrates that the gaze found in queer cinema is dramatically different from that of the traditional straight film, as the LGBTQ+ content and creators allow for a space to be designed that not only challenges societal norms, it also provides an alternate way into the visual media that impedes straight men from viewing the female as a sexualized object. Chuck Samuels, in his 1991 photo exhibition entitled “Before The Camera” (Appendix A), demonstrates the shift in the gaze through the re-gendering of famous female nude images that were taken by male photographers throughout history. In the first set of images on the left (see figures 1-3), some of the famous female nudes in which Samuels took inspiration from are represented, and the second set of images on the right are his re-gendered interpretations of the female photos (see figures 4-6). He describes the exhibition in the following way:

Established long before the advent of the camera, the conventions of the representation of the female nude in art have grown, over the centuries, to seem quite natural. Not surprisingly, practitioners of fine art photography have, for the most part, conformed to and upheld these traditions. This project directly addresses such conventions. I have studied a dozen famous nude photographs of women made by well-known male photographers, and I have faithfully and earnestly reconstructed these images, except I have positioned myself before the camera. By rendering obvious the function of gender difference in how these photographs are perceived, and by undermining the traditional, hierarchal roles of viewer and viewed, the project attempts to, with its curiously reverent irreverence, cripple the genre. (Artist’s statement, chucksamuels.com)

In the artist’s statement provided by Samuels, he describes how he challenges the social conventions of gender, which manipulates how his photos are viewed by an audience when the original images affirmed to the patriarchal ideals of the

male gaze. This exhibition is necessary in demonstrating how the (male) gaze has been questioned and ultimately, transformed by LGBTQ+ media creators in order to illustrate society's unconscious acceptance of traditionally gendered stereotypes and ways of thinking that stem from a history of patriarchal control.

Rand Webber, in his article “Bend That Gender” — published in *Bi-line*, a monthly queer magazine that began in 1978 — highlights how Chuck Samuels' project to reconstruct, rephotograph, and re-gender the nude images of women throughout history is presented to and interpreted by the audience. Webber draws the attention to the gender switch in Samuels' photographs which “thwarts the male gaze...[and] serves as a denial of the expected pleasure...[which] refers to the ability of the male to view the female unimpeded” (33). Webber emphasizes the examination brought about by the re-gendering of the original images, which asks if the new “images have a ‘life’ or an impact beyond their function of negating traditional female nudes” (33). With this in mind, the next question Webber presents to his readers is whether or not there is even an audience for the images now that the male gaze has been denied by the re-gendering of the female nudes. Sheila McLaughlin, as director, producer, and writer of the film *She Must Be Seeing Things* (1988), rejects Mulvey's idea that the “narrative [in film] is necessarily male” (Film Forum 1, 39), through the ways in which she presents the sex and power issues of women in a patriarchal society through questions about gender, roles, and power relations. The audience, through McLaughlin's rejection of the male narrative throughout the film, is therefore able to interpret the theoretical ideas within the film as well as how their “gaze” involves them within the story. This ultimately emphasizes the sex and power dynamics that are structured in (male) fantasy, which are defined in Freud's analyses of the theories of development, as well as those that are innately engrained within our own societies due to the patriarchal oppression exhibited throughout history.

The queer gaze as demonstrated in the film, *Victor/Victoria* can be seen through the ways in which Julie Andrews' character — as both “active/male” (Mulvey 19) and “passive/female” (19) — is perceived by a traditionally gendered 1930s Paris. This is illustrated by the various masculine and feminine outfits that she wears throughout the storyline, as well as how it shifts based on how she wants to be gendered by the audience (see figures 7-14). Véronique Fernández in her article, “People Believe What they See: Clothing and Gender(s) in *Victor/Victoria*,” illustrates the significance of gender-specific clothing in Victoria's act of cross-dressing and how it “reveals gender as a cultural and social construction” (73). This is significant as the gaze is manufactured by both Victor and Victoria through the blurring of gender identities and gender norms that are created on stage, which therefore allows the audience to question the normative heterosexuality of the artificial binary sex/gender system. This is demonstrated by the images in Appendix B (figures 7-14), which detail the transformation of Victoria into Victor throughout the film.⁶¹

61 The first image is Victoria Grant at the beginning of the film, the second is the

Victoria's participation in the illusion of gender as demonstrated by the stage performances, ensures that the audience only sees what Toddy and Victoria want them to see. This manipulation of the gaze by a gay man (Toddy) and a woman pretending to be a man, who is pretending to be a woman (Victoria), establishes a narrative that differs from the traditional norms of society in such a way that the audience begins to question how they view and otherwise participate in performance. Mulvey's distinction of the male gaze as demonstrated through the active male/ passive female or "woman as image, man as bearer of the look" (19) definition, is juxtaposed in *Victor/Victoria* in the viewing and participation of the audience in the genderblurring stage performance of Victor(ia). The film therefore redefines the gaze as queer through the manipulation of gender and image on stage.

Julie Andrews, in her memoir *Home Work: A Memoir of My Hollywood Years* and various interviews⁶² throughout her acting career, has described her perspective as a woman, "who impersonates a man, impersonating a woman," (271) to be daunting because of the idea of playing with gender. She continued to express her doubts to the director of the film, Blake Edwards — who was also her husband during this time — about whether or not she "would be believable as a man, even though her character was only masquerading as one" (275). Andrews needed to be able to pass as male to the audience of and in the film, both as her character Victoria Grant, and in shooting the film. To do this she studied "every man that crossed her path" (275), and found clues as to how she should behave as a man:

[She] noticed that men tend to be less "fussy" in their movements...they often sit with their legs apart, rather than crossed...[they] put their hands in their pockets rather than gesturing with them...[and] their facial expressions can be less animated than women's. (275-6)

Andrews' alteration of her voice may have been subtle, however in "pitching it lower, warmer, and huskier...to sound somewhat masculine and less recognizable" (276) as Victor, allowed for the audience to, at a minimum, question their initial judgement of the character. For the bigger production numbers throughout the film,

conceptualization of "Victor" Grant, the third is the official introduction of Count Victor Grazinski to society, the fourth is the first stage presentation of "Victor" in drag as "Victoria", the fifth is the reveal of "Victoria" to be "Victor" on stage, the sixth is Victoria maintaining Victor's persona off-stage, the seventh is the continued perfection of Victor off-stage, and the eighth is the removal of Victor, with the return of Victoria to society at the end of the film.

62 Conn, Earl L. "Julie Andrews: Kicking Up Her Heels." *Saturday Evening Post*, May/June 1996; Haber, Leigh, "Julie Andrews on Her Memoir, Home Work, and Husband Blake Edwards: 'I Miss Him Dreadfully.'" 15 Oct. 2019; Linderman, Lawrence, "Julie Andrews and Blake Edwards: A Candid Conversation." *Playboy*, Dec. 1982, pp. 77–117; "My fair Victor/Victoria: Julie Andrews." The Free Library. 1995 Dance Magazine, Inc.; Sterling, Richard, "Julie Andrews on Her Favorite Broadway Show." *Thud Magazine*, 25 Apr. 1997.

Andrews “climbed two octaves to a high note at the end” (276), which reinforced the female impersonator gimmick and believability of her character. In the reveal scene, at the end of the “Shady Dame from Saville” musical number, Andrews emphasized that she “tried to remain expressionless” (277) when she pulled off the wig to reveal Victor, as she found it difficult to know whether or not to “focus on being masculine, even when in a dress, or to show hints of the woman beneath the male façade” (277). She also continuously “struggled to remember which one was leading at any given moment” (277-8) because of how much gender is manipulated and refashioned throughout the filming of the movie. Andrews noted a particular moment during the production in which her performance was believable:

A group of guys — Garner, Preston, and some of the cameramen — were standing together, chatting casually. I was dressed as Victor in a tuxedo, and I sauntered over to join them. Normally in a situation such as that, they would have made some accommodation for my presence — a physical shift, an arm placed about my shoulder, a kind of deference to my being a woman. [But] in this case, they simply carried on without any adjustment whatsoever...and I realized...that I had been perceived as “one of the guys”. (279)

Andrews’ ability to convincingly play a man in *Victor/Victoria*, despite the daunting idea of playing with gender looming over her conscience, created a narrative that manipulates the gaze of the audience into something that can be controlled by the characters and how they want to be perceived.

In the first scene I will analyze, Victoria (the stage presence) reveals to the audience that she is actually Victor (see Appendix C, figure 15). The audience, especially King Marchand and his bodyguard, questions the entirety of the performance and their initial perceptions of

“Victoria”. This not only demonstrates the stereotypes of and society’s innate participation in the male gaze, it ultimately challenges the societal expectations and practices of a society that is firmly established in the patriarchal ideals of history. Arthur Nolletti Jr. continues to emphasize the illusion of traditional gender norms in his essay, *Gay Trappings and Straight Truths: A Study of Blake Edwards’ Victor/Victoria*, in which the character, Toddy, breaks down the elements involved in the “art of trickery” (47). Toddy’s statement that “people believe what they see” (*Victor/Victoria* 32:06) to Victoria — which continues to reign true throughout the remainder of the film — illustrates that in order to “to convince the audience that an illusion is real, all a magician has to do is create a plausible diversion” (*Victor/Victoria* 32:55). The gaze of the camera is also significant in this scene as even though Victoria is onstage, as soon as she reveals herself to be Victor, the camera zooms into her face (CU) from a full body shot (FS) (figure 16).

This demonstrates the conscious choice of the director to adhere to the traditional cinematic framing of women — in the full body shot — and men — in

the close up head shot — during this performance, which ultimately challenges and queers the gaze, due to Andrews playing both the male and female versions of the character.

In the next scene, I will examine the duality of gender that is represented in such a way that the audience can not differentiate between the masculine and feminine performers (see figure 17). This scene, through the characterization of the duality of gender — as represented by the masks and double sided costumes — forces the audience to question who is actually on stage. Is it all men? Two men and two women? All women? We, as the audience, will not be able to determine an answer to this question, as in the next scene, Victor and Toddy perform on stage together rather than having a reveal like in Victor(ia)'s show. Therefore, we have to ask ourselves what the meaning is behind the inclusion of this scene, and what it is trying to convey to the audience. When compared to the drag performance of Victoria as Victor, this scene further demonstrates how the gaze is challenged in this film. Therefore, it establishes a narrative in which the audience is constantly questioning their initial perspectives of the characters, which fundamentally alters how the audience views the remainder of the film and forces them to reconsider everything they have already seen thus far. This scene can further be compared to the contemporary film, *Jojo Rabbit* (2019), as the scene where Scarlett Johansson plays both the husband and wife (Appendix C, figure 18), illustrates the duality of gender in the combination of Mulvey's active/male, passive/female into a singular character, much like Andrews' Victor(ia). This scene further examines the re-gendering of the gaze in performance as the illusion of gender forces the audience to question which gaze — i.e. the objectified, passive female or the active male — should be prominent. Therefore, Freud's psychoanalytic film theories as demonstrated by Mulvey's "woman as image, man as bearer of the look" (19) classification, permits this scene from *Jojo Rabbit* and the cross-dressing scenes in *Victor/Victoria* to function as a means to redefine how society interprets visual media that goes against the norms of traditional (heterosexual) cinematography.

The contemporary queer gaze in cinema can be determined through the ways in which academics and creators of visual media (re)interpret Mulvey's definition of the male gaze in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema". This is represented by how the queer gaze challenges the practices of the traditional male gaze that have historically been present in cinema from its origins. Patty Ahn and the other scholars involved in the article, "In Focus: Queer Approaches to Film, Television, and Digital Media: Introduction," emphasize that the queer approach to television, film, and digital media during the 1990s, generated a deliberation of the significant developments surrounding LGBTQ+ activism, queer studies, and the media industries, which was ultimately driven by the human rights political movements of the era. This illustrates how the queer approach to media theory and practice has suggested possibilities for challenging — through a critical analysis — the overlapping structures of patriarchy, nationhood, citizenship, heteronormativity, and

the machinations of neoliberal capitalism, which ultimately produces a range of new critical approaches in the examination of queer theory in cinema. Marcelline Block and the other academics included in the collection of essays, *Situating the Feminist Gaze and Spectatorship in Postwar Cinema*, examine the interaction between feminist film theory and critical approaches such as psychoanalytic, queer, disability, postfeminist, quantum, trauma and chaos theories, in order to define the feminist gaze in film. They further analyze the departure from the concept of the male gaze as discussed by Mulvey, in order to extend the definition of “gendered looking relations” (xvi) and theories of the gaze from various critical perspectives including: “the quantum gaze, female voyeurism, the poly-gaze, the queering of the gaze, and the female director’s gaze” (xvi). Clara Bradbury-Rance in *Lesbian Cinema after Queer Theory*, continues to argue that the historically compromising gaze structures and processes of visual mediation, enables the audience of cinema in such a way that the comprehension of the complexity of desire is rooted in the conditions of feminist film theory representability. She emphasizes not only how Freud’s psychoanalytic film theory manufactures the language for moving beyond the declaration of the physical, but also how the antithetical relations between the social, material, and imagined internal worlds are created and utilized by queer film.

Academics further examine the contemporary queer gaze in cinema through the ways in which the gaze has been altered throughout the history of cinema. Michael Bronski and the other authors of “Queer Film and Media Pedagogy,” highlight how the term “queer” has been alienated by the media industry and its executives throughout history in order to manufacture an apparent LGBTQ “market” for queer audiences. This is important for the inclusion of the LGBTQ+ community in cinema, as they work to challenge and establish a dialogue that is inclusive, as well as an accurate representation of the queer community in film. This is further analyzed in Rob Cover’s paper, “First Contact: Queer Theory, Sexual Identity, and ‘Mainstream’ Film,” in which the younger generation’s ‘first contact’ with LGBTQ+ discourse has shifted to visual media that encompasses mainstream films with significant lesbian and/or gay content such as: *My Best Friend’s Wedding* (1997), *In and Out* (1997), *Chasing Amy* (1997), and *The Object of My Affection* (1998). Nick Davis in *The Desiring-Image*, further examines the fluidity of the definition of queer theory in academia, which allows for the construction of new frameworks for the understanding of what is “queer” about recent queer cinema, including films that are rarely classified in this way. The inclusion of common tropes in queer theory including, “performative repetition, minoritizing and universalizing paradigms, and debates over the fate of gendered and racial differences within this pliable term for sexual alterity” (3), as well as more recent theorizations of queerness “as a basis for counter-public coalitions, a force bound up with affect and temporality, a vantage for conceiving transgender as both an identity claim and a conceptual turn, and a site for rethinking the phenomenology of “orientation” as such” (3), allow for the gaze to be queered in visual media. Belidson Dias and Susan Sinkinson in “Film Spectatorship between Queer Theory and Feminism: Transcultural Readings” continue this

conversation surrounding the shifting stance in critical literature on visual culture education through a study rooted in queer and feminist spectatorship. They argue that through the lenses of postcolonialism, feminism and queer theory, the shift from the traditional models of spectatorship⁶³ to that of a feminist and queer viewing, ultimately affects how society comes to comprehend queer theory in visual media. Continuing the reexamination of the gaze, Clifford Manlove, in “Visual ‘Drive’ and Cinematic Narrative: Reading Gaze Theory in Lacan, Hitchcock, and Mulvey,” analyzes Mulvey’s account of the visual drive in psychoanalysis, which ultimately challenges how she interpreted the gaze in cinema. This therefore, provides an account of the transgressive power of the combination of pleasure and repetition in film, which Mulvey and Freud discuss in their texts. Thus, the queering of the traditional male gaze in contemporary cinema, as defined by Mulvey, challenges the traditional gender norms, role, and expectations of our patriarchal society in order to include the previously marginalized “Other” in the visual media of today. This allows for the younger LGBTQ+ generations to not only see themselves represented in mainstream media, it ensures that the queer perspective is portrayed in such a way that it becomes normalized and accepted by society.

The queer interpretation of the gaze not only demonstrates a dramatic shift away from the traditional (straight) perspective in film, it emphasizes a new way into visual media through the eyes of the queer individual rather than the active/male of heterosexual films. *Victor/Victoria* challenges the traditional male gaze not only in the portrayal of Julie Andrews as a woman, impersonating a man, impersonating a woman, but through its ability to challenge the audience’s preconceived notions of gender and sexuality. The gaze in queer cinema therefore, is dramatically different from that of the traditional straight film, as the LGBTQ+ content permits the designation of a narrative that questions the norms of society through the ways in which the straight man’s gaze is obstructed from viewing women as the passive (sexual) object. This redefining and blurring of gender identities and gender norms that is created on stage by Victor(ia), functions in such a way that the audience in and of the film has to begin to question the compulsory heterosexuality and internalized homophobia that has become a part of the artificiality of the binary sex/gender system in our own society that is deeply entrenched in the patriarchal oppression of women and the marginalized ‘Other’ throughout our history. The manipulation of the gaze by the film therefore guarantees what it is that Edwards wants the audience to see, which ultimately establishes a narrative in which the queer gaze takes precedence over the oppressive patriarchal perspective that had dominated the film industry from its origins. Thus, *Victor/Victoria* as a queer film, is instrumental in its representation of the shift towards a queer interpretation of the gaze, which is demonstrated through the ways in which it challenges the gendered norms of a patriarchal society in order to normalize the queer perspective in cinema.

63 In this case, the traditional models of spectatorship should be interpreted as the straight, male gaze.

Appendix A

Chuck Samuels, Before the Camera (1991) exhibition comparisons to original photographs. (Figures 1-6).

Figure 1. Avedon, Richard. *Nastassja Kinski and the Serpant*. Los Angeles, 14 June 1981.

Figure 2. Samuels, Chuck. "After Avedon." *Before the Camera*, 1991.

Figure 3. Gibson, Ralph. "Leda (Nude With Feather)". *1974 Days at Sea*, 1974.

Figure 4. Samuels, Chuck. "After Gibson." *Before the Camera*, 1991.

Figure 5. Weston, Edward. *Nude in Doorway (Charis)*. Weston Gallery Inc. Santa Monica, 1936.

Figure 6. Samuels, Chuck. "After Weston." *Before the Camera*, 1991.

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Appendix B: Transformation of Victoria Images, Victor/ Victoria, 1982.

Figure 7. Victoria Grant at the beginning of the film.

Figure 8. The conceptualization of “Victor” Grant.

Figure 9. The official introduction of Count Victor

Figure 10. The first stage presentation of ‘Victor’ in drag as ‘Victoria’

Figure 11. The reveal of ‘Victoria’ to be ‘Victor’ on stage

Figure 12. Victoria maintaining Victor’s persona off stage

Figure 13. The continued perfection of Victoria off stage

Figure 14. The removal of Victor with the return of Victoria to society

Appendix C: Videos for Scene Analysis in Section 3.

Figure 15. Victor/Victoria First reveal of Victoria to audience scene 46:00

Figure 17. Victor/Victoria Duality of Gender in Performance Scene 1:27:00

Figure 18. Jojo Rabbit, Duality of Gender Scene — Scarlett Johansson.

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MIKAYLA RAVENDA

Studying Trauma Literature: A Look at the Differences and Similarities Between How Fiction and Auto-biographical Texts Represent the Genre

What is Trauma Literature?

What is meant by term trauma literature? For starters, the word trauma can be defined as an emotional response to a disturbing event or an experience (“Chapter 3”). The lingering emotion presents in diverse ways depending on each individual person and their experience with whatever the situation, or person it is that prompts them. Instances of trauma can range anywhere from the triggering centres of abduction, rape, abuse, neglect, to childhood memories to World Wars and famine and so on. In terms of symptoms, too, trauma can appear in many forms; for some, it can take the form of flashbacks and for others, it could be an emotional sense or experience.

Trauma *literature* features the narration of instances of trauma and/or the responses to trauma; as an umbrella term, it includes various texts concerned around individual or collective trauma. Crime novels for instance, could fit in this category. Other texts such as the narration of a Veteran reflecting on the time they served would qualify, or perhaps a text recalling a house-fire where all childhood memories are destroyed, or the death of a loved one. Narratives of collective loss, such as mass shootings, natural disasters, social/statistical suffering, and domestic or sexual violence, can all be interpreted as potential examples of trauma literature. When analyzing whether such a broad term could qualify as a *genre*, one must ask whether readers expect specific things from a book belonging to this genre: is there a set of conventions to be followed when reading texts classified as trauma literature? The answer to this question in short is “yes”; however, the fuller explanation to this question reflects the same obscurity and subjectivity as psychological trauma itself. Depending on the text, one might assume there are

likely no happy endings within this genre, or readers might take the oppositional side and predict there must be an idealized ending — the healing of a psychological “wound” — *because* it is trauma literature. Be that as it may, there are conventions at work in the narration of trauma. For instance, most readers assume there to be a traumatized protagonist depicted in the text or expect an emotional reaction to be stimulated in the reader based on the tale of the protagonist or the narration itself. For the purposes of this essay, readers are encouraged to read trauma literature beyond what its suggested face value is, analyzing authorial motives for writing like narration, characterization and structure.

In *The Story Species*, Joseph Gold describes emotion as “a primary filler for sensory data” (Gold, 75), meaning that the emotions elicited towards readers from writers creates a distinct relationship between emotion and the text itself. Specifically, when looking at the relationship between trauma literature and the sensations it provokes in its readers, it is essential to first understand what is implied by the word “sensations.” The word, in context of this essay, refers to more than a mere emotional level characteristic of trauma literature, as it goes beyond having readers just “feel” something. For example, when imagining a text identifiable with crime fiction, readers often associate it with a physical trauma, such as a character being struck with an object, causing blunt force *trauma* to the head. Readers can imagine what that form of trauma might look, feel, or even taste like from the victim’s perspective, while the criminal’s perspective presents (generically) as a mystery. The historical roots of the word trauma reveal⁶⁴ it was initially created as a metaphor, alluding to psychological damage as analogous to physical damage (Bresky). Gold proposes:

Information about where emotion originates, how it functions to affect our thinking, and how it is central to human memory, decision making and belief continues to grow, confirm[s] what poets and lovers always knew: emotion is an integral, essential, inextricable part of the process of human thought and human survival. (75)

Moreover, “[b]ecause emotion has been so elusive and far from words, it has been ignored as a subject of scientific inquiry until only quite recently” (77). Scholar Suzanne Keen sheds light on the recent focus of the relationship between emotion and literature in the academic world by offering some historical context, particularly looking at the Victorian Era. Keen highlights how during this era, there was an overlap of interest regarding two components that were practically negated from the academic discussions of literature up until this point: when “aesthetics and novel theories...and psychology and physiology” (3) became a topic of interest. She alludes to

64 After Freud’s 1920 text *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. This work inevitably led to the “American Psychiatric Association officially acknowledging the phenomenon of trauma (Nadal, Calvo 2014).

the questions posed and investigated by Victorian thinkers...about novelists' efforts to stimulate development of novel-readers' sympathetic imagination, about the nature of storytelling invention and its impact on readers' feelings, about physiological responses to reading about empathy. (3)

She mentions how academic interest surrounding the combination of psychology and literature initially took off with "the growth of therapeutic psychology during and after World War I" (Keen "Narratives and the Emotions" 3). Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis, which undeniably helped formulate the relationship between narrative and emotion, will be used to help further solidify the relationship between author, text, and the emotions of readers in trauma literature more specifically, later in this essay.

Scholars such as Laurie Vickroy have suggested "literary and imaginative approaches [to trauma] provide a necessary supplement to historical, [literary] and psychological studies" (221). Writers who indulge in this subject matter in their texts excel far beyond making "terrifying, alien experiences more understandable and accessible" (222) for readers, as these texts fulfil a niche in the literary realm that has the power and ability to bridge the gap between fiction and non-fiction with their narration. Scholars have suggested this genre, in particular, is recognizable in how it "performs a complex balancing act regarding the (un)speakability, (un)narratability, and (in)comprehensibility of trauma, and trauma theory displays an equally strong concern for the interrelations between wounds and words, between wounds and signification" (Schönfelder 30-1).

Shifting from Preliminary Definitions to the Primary Textual Focus of this Essay

Readers may also expect to question whose emotions and which individual psychologies take priority in a given narrative of trauma: what are the authors' motives behind characters and characterization? Suppose there is trauma caused by a criminal act, for example. Do readers hope to understand the mentality of predator, that of the victim, or both? Such perspectival questions might be expected to unveil vital problems, leaving readers with no other choice than to ponder how they are meant to read trauma literature, and to do so in a more demanding way than a generic formula would normally require (Bresky). In keeping with the ambiguity of psychological trauma, is the purpose of readers to appreciate the author's craftsmanship and leave our understandings at the basis of what is presented in front of us? This essay will attempt to prove that despite narrative conventions that are connected with this subject matter, trauma literature cannot be boiled down to one structured, linear formula for this genre. The differing factors between subject matter and genre shape the textual comparison this essay is centered around.

This paper considers Barbara Gowdy's 2007 novel *Helpless* alongside Channel Miller's 2019 memoir *Know My Name* to contrast approaches in writing and

responding to trauma. Specifically, I aim to analyze the literary strategies authors use to characterize offenders and victims in both an abduction narrative and a piece of sexually traumatic prose. Gowdy, for example, provokes empathy from the reader for both predator and prey, whereas Miller certainly does not. My argument will establish that both authors focus on trauma and both take readers down an intimate, purposefully uncomfortable and, for some, recognizable path with their tales of abduction and sexual assault. Each author's text contrasts the other not only in their differing writing styles and by the generic differences between fiction and autobiography, but also in their distinct aims and emphasis within their own trauma narratives. I use a comparative methodology approach in dissecting the two texts; while one author attracts an audience that is taught to look for euphemisms every second or third page as a means of breaking them out of the mind of a predator, the other author engulfs their readers with details so raw and stripped of any fluff that her audience is left imagining themselves in the body of a victim. In representing various forms of trauma in literature, these authors grant the reader the ability to feel validated, regardless of if the text is fictional or non-fictional. They give their audience something tangible to hold onto: something they can hear or have their eyes read over it and say "someone gets it," speaking to their own traumatic occurrences.

Scholars have declared trauma in literature as "often personalized and contextualized, fictionalized and historicized, as well as psychologized and metaphorized at the same time" (Schönfelder 29). One main reason why interest in trauma literature is progressing is scholars are intrigued by the effects the texts have on readers and authors. In illustrating such sufferings, personal and emotional reactions arise in readers as they are transfixed into the text; oftentimes this leads readers to be lured, blurring the lines between readers, author(s) and character(s) and thus, empathy blossoms in this space. In particular, with Miller's text, she abolishes any preconceived notions of privacy that once stood between author and reader, leaving the reader to assume the position of victim. The use of narration demonstrated through Miller and Gowdy's text signifies why the narrative of the text is one of the essential and distinct pillars separating trauma literature from other literary genres:

trauma novels and 'limit-cases,' which explore self-narration and self-representation in the face of trauma within fictional and literary structures, allow authors to experiment with self-reflexivity in ways that non-fictional trauma writing may not permit, thus enabling writers to explore different perspectives on writing trauma and writing the self. (Schönfelder 30)

Here, Hubert Zapf offers another compelling reason for why narratives of suffering define the genre of trauma literature, as they evoke a particular response in readers from their imagination. He argues "[trauma narratives] remain connected, at least in principle, to a long tradition of literary representations of 'other people's pain'" (166). Miller and Gowdy both embody Zapf's notion in their examples of

trauma literature; while Gowdy includes the pain of both predator and prey, Miller ensures her textual focus remains on the pain and violation of a sexual assault and what that healing process looks like.

Helpless

Beginning with the topic of imagination, Gowdy's *Helpless* has her protagonist, Ron, commit the abduction of a young girl who, in his mind, is in grave danger and needs his help. As readers see throughout the text, Ron is consumed by his distorted perception of reality, leading him to believe a nine year old neighborhood girl, Rachel, is being molested by the man living with her and her mother (also the duo's landlord): a man named Mika. Gowdy establishes Ron's character to strangely reflect a place of concern for the child's wellbeing, while at the same time alarming readers when they read early on "he knows all the elementary schools within a fifteen-minute drive of his shop" (16). Not only does this unpack Gowdy's characterization of the predator, but as the ending of the book reveals, Ron does not succeed in hurting Rachel, other than taking her from her home; this leaves readers in a state of bewilderment with his character. As this is not the only troubling mention of Ron's attraction to young girls, Gowdy presents her readers with a snippet of what the text will uncover just on the second page of the novel when the speaker mentions "little girls are a big deal right now" (2). The true characterization of the landlord Mika, as Gowdy unveils, is a harmless man who, later on in the novel, is riddled sick with worry and concern upon learning Rachel has been abducted. While Gowdy depicts Ron as teetering along the lines of a dangerous predator, one who is described at the beginning of the text as someone who has "no intention of satisfying his curiosity" (2), the author exposes a side of the abductor throughout the novel's entirety that suggests he is a confused man, blinded by his own skewed perception of what he believes reality to be.

To further establish the characterization of her protagonist, Gowdy details Rachel's mother Celia to make unsuitable decisions for her nine year old daughter. Her character of Celia leads readers immediately to feel a sense of empathy for the hard-working mother and later, readers cannot help but feel sympathy and pity for her when she has her daughter taken from her. Keen describes empathy as "a vicarious, spontaneous sharing of effect [that] can be provoked by witnessing another's emotional state, by hearing about another's condition, or even by reading" ("A Theory of Narrative Empathy" 208). As the author has created a narrative revolving around the single mother living with their landlord Mika and daughter, she suggests "no matter how much money they get she still says she's a bad mother for bringing her [nine year old] daughter to a bar" (Gowdy 11). In the instances where she does not have Rachel singing with her at her work, her daughter is usually at home alone with an adult man. By disclosing the mother's feeling of failure to the audience, Gowdy strategically creates a bridge between audience and text in that readers can identify with the mother's feelings of being

financially helpless in this case and later helpless in losing her daughter. Gowdy assigns the power to her protagonist, Ron, to describe the characteristics of Mika to the audience. She has him initially introduce the character by suggesting “it was unfathomable that the mother of a girl as beautiful as Rachel would leave her alone with a man under the age of eighty” (27). This passage is critical to pluck from the entirety of the novel as it sets a few things up for the author. In having Ron set up a perimeter of what age is deemed safe and threatening for a man to be in contact/connection with a tender aged girl, he puts himself in the same category as the man he is trying to protect Rachel from. By placing men over 80 to be in a position that is seen as less threatening, the author is creating a space for safety. This is important for readers to follow as Gowdy reveals the only “threat” of the novel is Ron and as he is younger than 80, he is automatically considered a threat by his own criteria. She uses this distinct commonality shared between the two to suggest Ron is projecting his own desire for “child sexpots” (31) onto all men in close proximity to his age.

Another reason this passage is so vital and compelling for readers is that the author chooses to falsely display Mika within the same confines as Ron as being a predator, rather than the helpful father figure he truly is. Once readers recognize that Mika is not actually a threat to the child and that the implications suggesting he is come from an estranged predator, readers feel obliged to have empathy for a man wrongfully accused of such monstrous acts. In contrast to these feelings of empathy, as Gowdy’s text progresses into an abduction narrative, it leaves readers feeling uneasy, having to grapple with understanding Ron’s true character; the author leads readers to continuously question if “his feelings are those of a father, a protector, or was he romanticizing his lust” (21).

Returning to the topic of what trauma literature entails, scholars like Dominick LaCapra in his work *Writing History, Writing Trauma* speaks to the large gap in literature studies that lack focus or emphasis on individual or collective trauma. He refers to atrocities “such as genocides, wars, rape, and various forms of victimization and abuse of both humans and other animals” (x) as instances of trauma. He alludes to the potential reasons for this absence of trauma in literature studies to be viewed as a threat, unveiling some sort of “political focus or some seemingly alternative paradigm” (ix). Readers see that Gowdy’s protagonist is the only *real* threat that is established in the text and the only ‘alternative paradigm’ Ron presents is the dichotomy between his yearning to keep Rachel safe, and “his fantasizing [of] Rachel down there, asleep” (Gowdy 42). This essay will prove the only result to come out of following the preconceived notions highlighted by LaCapra regarding the lack of trauma as a focus in academic studies, is the silencing of victims. In opposition to this side of the argument, his studies in trauma literature eventually lead to his coined term “empathic unsettlement” in literature studies. His term empathic unsettlement refers to “the reception of another’s traumatic past” (Sanyal, 303). Gowdy brilliantly touches on the academics’ term with one of

her characters who, at first glance, appears to be just Ron's lover, but proves her to be one of the most compelling characters to recognize throughout the entire novel.

When looking at *Helpless*, LaCapra's term offers readers some form of explanation towards Gowdy's characterization of Nancy. She provides Ron with a partner, Nancy, that readers too learn to be both suspicious of and empathetic towards at the same time. She portrays the couple's relationship to follow a traditional predator meets prey dynamic: the dominant individual (Ron) picks a partner who is vulnerable (potentially maybe even someone who has been victimized themselves, someone who is easily manipulated.) For the first half of the book, the author peppers the plot with vague tidbits of information, suggesting that yes, perhaps Nancy has fallen victim to some form of sexual abuse in her younger years. Gowdy ensures that the reader is reminded that Nancy, like Rachel, is a victim through her use of diction; the author depicts Nancy's defensive dialogue to be aimed at almost all mention of offender(s). Nancy's only knowledge about the dangerous man is told through Ron's understanding of who he is and, more importantly, what Mika supposedly exposes Rachel to. He manipulates Nancy into believing the false pretense that Mika is the real predator from which Rachel needs immediate protection from, as "he saw the two of them together on a porch chair, Rachel sitting in the guy's lap and the guy's right hand (Ron couldn't swear to this, but the more he goes over it in his head, the surer he gets) moving beneath her pyjama top" (27). Nancy is sparked with a fleeting moment of empathy for the predatory landlord when Mika's character is questioned in front of the supposed victim, Rachel, the young girl flies into a fit of rage defending him. The child-abductor's partner wonders if she would "have defended her father that way" (169) if someone publicly denounced him; she "remembers how upset she got the time her uncle Barry called [her dad] an evil bastard" (169), suggesting perhaps Rachel's reaction is justified, pleading for an innocent man. The uncertainty that keeps readers guessing about Nancy and her experiences with trauma up until this point come to an immediate halt when readers learn Nancy "was almost fifteen before she worked out that her father didn't chose her because he loved her the most, he picked her because she was the scared one, the one who wouldn't tell" (169). Readers momentarily ignore the fact that Nancy is knowingly engaging in keeping a young girl against her will because the two believe "[they] haven't abducted her, [they have] rescued her" (160). This disengagement of readers almost justifies or sweeps their actions under the rug as they both feel empathy for helpless victim, suggesting an example of LaCapra's empathic unsettlement.

Know My Name

Miller's memoir *Know My Name* invokes the opposite feeling of empathy for predator, allowing readers to only feel anger and disgust when they think of his name. One of the many notable distinctions in Miller's text is her refusal to relinquish any power to her attacker, including allowing her audience to feel

compassion for him or his actions. The events that unfold within her three hundred twenty eight pages may be recognizable to some readers who are familiar with her story, its contents and the people involved, such as Emily Doe and Brock Turner. I will explain the bare bones of that story, however, for readers who have little or no knowledge of the assault. Stanford student Brock Turner, who had “just turned twenty and [dreamt] of becoming an Olympic swimmer” (Miller 154) sexually assaulted a young woman who was alone and unconscious behind a dumpster on a January evening in California in 2015. As the author addresses her assailant, she says “I will use Brock’s name, but the truth is he could be Brad, Brody, or Benson, and it doesn’t matter” (vii). She will not give him any more power than what he has already forcibly taken from her. She makes this abundantly clear when she identifies herself as a victim: “I am a victim. I have no qualms with this word, only the idea that it is all that I am. However, I am not *Brock Turner’s victim*. I am not his anything” (viii). Miller, formally referred to as “Emily Doe” throughout the case as well as her text, took her experience of trauma and transformed it into *Know My Name*, bringing readers into the disturbing/disturbed mind of both predator and victim, leaving not even one detail out. Undeniably, there is an underlying tone of “*Emotional contagion*, [which is the] communication of one’s mood to others,” (“A Theory of Narrative Empathy” 409) in Miller’s text. This component is not seen as evidently in Gowdy’s text for instance; however, that is not to say it is not present in pieces of literary fiction or other genres. In fact, scholars have argued “readers’ cognitive and affective responses do not inevitably lead to empathizing, but fiction does disarm readers of some of the protective layers of cautious reasoning that may inhabit empathy in the real world” (“A Theory of Narrative Empathy” 213). Moreover, the use of emotional contagion is so striking in Miller’s text, readers see not only a text that is being told from the first-person point of view, but the subject matter in and of itself is enough to know that emotion cannot be disappeared in narrating events of this nature. Miller follows in “a small set of narrative techniques, such as the use of first-person narration and the interior representation of characters’ consciousness and emotional states — as devices supporting character identification” (“A Theory of Narrative Empathy” 213) in her piece of trauma literature. While this becomes very apparent throughout Miller’s full text, it is particularly significant when the author is taking readers (and the court) through her recollection of Brock sexually assaulting her. Through countless tears and unspeakable, irreversible trauma endured by the victim, the narrator expresses how her attacker, his defense attorney and society made her feel as though “he was the one who lost everything. [She] was just the nobody it happened to” (48). This sentence acts in a way that solidifies the authors’ character identification in that particular moment; feeling as though she is ‘nobody’ brings the reader into the mind of the narrator, allowing them access to her internal monologue. This access reveals the true pain, damage and agony of a survivor of sexual assault to readers in a way that the details makes it impossible for readers to forget. Miller’s fluctuations in narration between first- and third-person narration suggest she is using the literary tool as a means of healing in order to tell her story.

Healing through Narration I

The process of healing from trauma follows in the same disorganized, sporadic lineage as does the variety of ways individuals find reconciliation with their sufferings. For example: storytelling, self-expression through narrative, whether it be a piece of fiction or nonfiction may act as in scriptotherapy as a form of healing from instances of trauma. In the sense, the text itself represents the cure in helping rehabilitate a fractured self; the text lives on as the victims' everlasting medicine. This therapeutic attribute characterizes Miller's style of narration in particular and marks it as one of the most notable contrasts between Gowdy's piece of fiction and her auto-biographical text. Miller's technique of self-narration immediately categorizes her as a victim. However, it is important to understand when stating this, the intention is not to label the author, but rather to pose the question of how this epithet reflects her writing style. Miller's self-narration demonstrates her ability to write from her pain of being sexually assaulted; more importantly she forces readers (and herself) to question the motive(s) and influences behind her attack/attacker. It is helpful to think of Miller's self-narration in comparison with a detective recounting the events of an assault; the focus is not solely based on who is innocent versus who is guilty, but to achieve an understanding of why this happened.

Both pieces of trauma literature address separate experiences of suffering as Gowdy's text shows that "while fiction is a mode of travel into textual space, [Miller's] narrative is a travel within the confines of this space" (Ryan 5). To clarify, Miller balances her narrative between speaking to the audience and occasionally voicing an internal dialogue, something absent in Gowdy's fiction. By including such personal internal dialogue, Miller suggests that during the process of writing and publication, she deemed it necessary to include her most intimate and sometimes harshest conversations with herself throughout her traumatic experience. Halfway through the text, readers are consumed by details of the assault, making it beyond the bounds of possibility for the reader to look away or put the book down. To set the scene, the author brings readers into the very courtroom she once stood in, surrounded by her family and support system. Adjacent to the victim and her family is a small gathering of legal professionals, her attacker, and his family, who are broken hearted that their son is being subjected to such cruelty over what they claim to be a mere twenty-seconds that now defines the rest of his life. Upon her question and answer with Brock's defense attorney, when the victim is shown images in "People's 16" (Miller 169) as evidence, she must confirm the photo shown to the court revealing the state in which she was recovered, her head and hair covered with debris and pine needles from having her head held down to the ground. She tries to shield her parents from seeing photos of their baby girl curled over in the fetal position, unresponsive, helpless and vulnerable. Tapping into her internal dialogue, she begs "*don't look at it, just look at me, look at me [right here]*" (169). This haunting plea absorbs readers, making it impossible for anyone's eyes

to gloss over those words without feeling a part of their heart break, whether it be for reasons of empathy for the victim or the relatability one might have with trying to protect a parent from a world of hurt. The reasoning behind these emotions is irrelevant, similarly to the reason Brock gave for raping an unconscious woman; the reason is irrelevant, the action is of paramount importance.

As it conveys Miller's experience of reliving her abuse, the representation of internal dialogue in her text accomplishes more than adding substance to the plot. I would argue that it is more powerful than bringing readers into her trauma with her. The moments in which she transitions the voice of the speaker to reflect her internal dialogue demonstrate to readers that these are moments/memories the author cannot fully bring herself to expose to the literary world, so she shields readers and herself through this shift in narration. On the one hand, Miller attempts to protect herself and readers with this alteration in speaker, while on the other, one could argue the author is in no way cushioning the blow for readers in that, by the author preserving her assault through literature, she is allowing her readers into a small chapter of her life that brings readers to experience her trauma with her. Clearly, these are intentional shifts, not just temporary losses of control in narration for Miller. The benefits readers gain from the derailed speaker include a level of relatability in her having to relive her trauma; readers gain a sense of empathy, for some can say "we understand it. We understand you and the pain you have gone through," uniting reader and author. In addition, it triggers the conversation surrounding narration as an isolated factor, calling into question: do these altering narrations shift the tone from being subjective to ominous? Deborah Miranda, among the many scholars studying the effects of writing through sufferings, has spoken about the healing properties that follow in narrating trauma in an article centering around rape. She discloses:

even if a rape victim goes through the long process of reclaiming his or her body and processing the most intimate kind of invasion there is, healing is not guaranteed and is not immediate. And no matter what kind of justice occurs, nothing can bring that person back to who they were before the rape. (105)

As the scholar stresses: healing is not guaranteed, this essay is in no way suggesting that *Know My Name* miraculously riddled Miller of her trauma; however, as Miranda alludes: "the ripples of a rape spread in every direction. How we respond to rape determines whether those ripples continue to be destructive or move towards restoration" (105) and Miller's text is a clear example of ripples on the path to recovery.

Healing through Narration II — Scriptotherapy

The author's use of internal dialogue acts as an example of scriptotherapy, a term Suzanne Henke coins in her book *Shattered Subjects*, to describe a purposive

form in life-writing. Scriptotherapy is defined as a therapeutic writing practice that often helps writers overcome traumatic life experiences by writing about them as a form of healing (Williams). As Patricia Stanley explains, “Scriptotherapy, Henke’s term for life-writing, can be the means to recover memories long repressed and facilitate the resolution of fears without the presence of a listener. She argues that by writing one can come to understand and live with these memories” (395). While readers see Miller needs no reminder to recall any repressed memories, her use of scriptotherapy proves she reclaims control of the narrative as she determines the how, when and what she shares with the world.

Readers do see snippets of the author’s internal dialogue; for example when she is first instructed “there may be some extra time left over, so be ready to come in” (Miller 155) for the trial, she originally was told it was going to be postponed to the following day. When the realization hits Miller that she will be faced with her assailant, she sinks to the floor, saying “*I am not ready. I don’t have pants. I can’t, how many hours do I have. I have to wash my hair...I’ll be alone again, I can’t*” (155-6). These moments of vulnerability remind readers they are not reading a piece of fiction that is merely categorized as trauma literature; rather, for her three hundred twenty-eight pages readers must relive the authors’ sexual assault with her, feeling as they too have been violated.

Another separate approach that can be taken when dissecting the author’s use of incorporating her internal narrative is that it requires readers to try to maintain a level of detachment when reading, not allowing themselves or their emotions to overshadow Miller’s narrative. The topic of detachment is not limited to the effects it has on readers; it also applies to authors, particularly when evaluating the context/subject matter of their text. The overall possibility of detachment seems less practical in a text such as Miller’s, in which life-writing and trauma literature combine. It would be impractical to suggest Miller is subjecting herself to a completely objective narrative, not only because of the highly personal nature attached to her text, but more so because nobody can achieve absolute objectivity. Inevitably this leads readers and other scholars to question: does the ability to detach oneself serve as a test of trauma? In other words, this genre contemplates if there is a textbook case of a person who is unable to detach from a situation in an objective depersonalized way: is the victim of a crime immediately associated/linked with trauma? The aim of this argument is not to answer these questions, but rather, to bring readers to the acknowledgment that through Miller’s relative detachment in narration, there is at least one small conventional sign of healing present.

The absence of detachment within the author is soon revoked when readers look at the setting of the courtroom in that the narrative is presented with readers’ underlying understanding that a Judge is to remain impartial. The assigned role of objectivity in the Judge bears mention, as readers must not ignore the fundamental aim of an adversarial system: to arrive at judicial objectivity by hearing competing

narratives. While the two subjective narratives compete for credibility the judge's interpretation of the events unfolding in the courtroom must remain neutral — even in hearing Miller's memories surrounding the night Brock had her “lying there, left nipple out, ass bare, stomach skin folded, while polished shoes stepped on mulch” (173) around her. In the same way, a judge is expected to listen to the defense argue how this has become a “rotten stain” (185) on his life. This form of authority must remain detached even in observing the quantifiable damages pursued by the victim. When the speaker brings readers into the courtroom with her in this part of the text, the judicial structuring of the narrative is antithetical to her scriptotherapy. Having her relive the events in her own honest, raw, words is difficult while at the same time it is undeniable she wants to persuade the judge in her favor. There is rhetorical pressure placed on the author to ensure she is characterizing the traumatic nature in its entirety.

These problems do not typically present themselves to readers when reading fiction, like Gowdy's for instance. In *Helpless*, readers are not granted with any form of closure as there is no courtroom scene holding Ron accountable for the abduction, and no identity provided to Ceila regarding the man who had taken her daughter and no judicial determination prosecuting the predator. Gowdy leaves readers infuriated with her choice of restricting the readers' knowledge about Ron's life after he lets Rachel go free. While it is not impossible for various classifications of literature to evoke this kind of emotion in its readers, it is indisputable that as Miller's text is told through the first-person narrative and internalized focalization, readers have a much harder time remaining detached from the text.

Helpless

Though Gowdy proves this is not an impossible task in fiction, as readers are reminded not only of the predator but also of the person that makes up the predator, she makes it nearly impossible for readers to remove themselves from the text. One of the most striking ways that she achieves this relationship between her text and the reader is her use of characterization of the protagonist, Ron. She does not shy away from the attributes that establish him as perpetrator of the abduction narrative, qualities that draw him to “the youngest ones...His type is skinny, with olive to light brown skin and features that through some fineness of bone structure promise to remain delicate” (16). While she makes no defense for his inappropriate cravings for young girls, the author forces readers to ask the uncomfortable question: “Were his feelings those of a father, a protector, or was he romanticizing his lust?” (21). This bewildering question grips readers as if it were a cobra entrapping its prey by engulfing them with this ethical question because initially, readers would argue there is no justification. However, as readers uncover by the end of the novel, the protagonist in no way ever physically or sexually abuses the victim, which leads readers to ponder if he truly is a “sex maniac” (63) as Gowdy leads us to believe and if not, readers are still shaken, gnawing at the

perversed intentions Ron never carries out. The environment the author encloses her readers in suggests the character, though “the thought of Rachel gave him the expected pleasure, [it was] nothing beyond that. Nothing he couldn’t handle” (21). This distorted, muddled line between right and wrong, protector versus violator, is made increasingly harder to distinguish as her novel progresses. This perplexing choice of character in Ron, in and of itself, speaks to the genre and overall subject matter of trauma literature in that, for some people who experience trauma, there is no one way to definitively close that chapter of their life; there is an impossibility of ridding oneself of trauma, for it lingers. Gowdy leaving her audience in a paralyzing state of uncertainty as to where Ron should be placed as a threat proves to be a subjective task for all individual readers. Just like the aftermath of a traumatic experience, the author remains true to the obscurity of trauma and thus trauma literature with the ending of her novel in that she is unable to fully grant readers the closure they yearn for.

Gowdy exposes this dichotomy early within the text as she has her protagonist openly confess to himself (and readers) that the day he first saw Rachel he “fell in love” (18). Moments later, she suggests “a ripple of terror went through him” (18), prompting readers to believe this is the author’s way of showing the consciousness and irresistible will of a violator. Freud’s *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* as well as his *The Uncanny* can both be used in further developing an understanding of Gowdy’s characterization of Ron. *The Uncanny* text refers to his coined term “the uncanny” (418) as “the effects of the unconscious that surprise us and create an effect of ‘uncanniness’ because we are unaware of the operation of the unconscious” (Rivkin, Ryan 2004). In his text, Freud describes:

It must be explained that we are able to postulate the principle of a repetition-compulsion in the unconscious mind, based upon instinctual activity and probably inherent in the very nature of the instincts — a principle powerful enough to overrule the pleasure principle.... Taken in all, the foregoing prepares us for the discovery that whatever reminds us of this inner *repetition-compulsion* is perceived as uncanny. (427)

Gowdy exhibits the perfect example of “inner *repetition-compulsion*” with her character Ron, as she illustrates “maybe once or twice a week he drove by a school, but there was a line in his head and he never once came close to crossing it. He’s close now” (59). This quotation of Gowdy’s text also serves to reinforce Freud’s notion of “omnipotence of thoughts” (428) which he uses to further bring clarification to the meaning of the uncanny as “every emotional effect, whatever its quality, is transformed by repression into morbid anxiety, then among such cases of anxiety there must be a class in which the anxiety can be shown to come from something repressed which *recurs*” (Freud 429). While Gowdy makes no direct claims within her text that suggest Ron is a victim of trauma himself, readers can still easily see the connection between Freud’s psychological findings and Gowdy in her depiction of her protagonist having

a “few moments of panic, picturing [Rachel] down there with the landlord. To steady himself, he pictures *his* basement room. A safe place, a sanctuary, that’s how he sees it” (41). Ron, persistent in believing he is the one securing a safe space for Rachel in saving her from an endless cycle of sexual abuse from Mika, allows his repressed desire for the child to consume his paranoia and anxiety. This overindulging craze Ron immerses himself in with Rachel, has readers not only feeling squeamish and powerless, but provokes them to ask ethical questions, like what is an appropriate relationship between an adult man and a tender aged child. This argument now opens the doors for readers to question constantly whether the author ever assigns a reason for this heightened anxiety and moments of consciousness within her protagonist. Is he anxious based on the thought of his prisoner being taken away from him, or is his panic really his conscious acknowledging what he has done and having come to terms with it? Even though Gowdy does not directly answer these questions (or the countless others presented in her text), it does provoke readers to question these types of predators and the relationships they forcibly construct. Gold claims “arousing emotion along with thought is the real goal of good fiction” (76) and Gowdy demonstrates this perfectly.

Both *Helpless* and *Know My Name* offer distinct reasons as to why studying trauma literature is vital, not only within the confinements of the literary world, but more so in our best attempts to understand humanity. By analyzing two different stylistic approaches each author demonstrates when revealing trauma in their texts, readers are able to distinguish the attributes that better establish a trauma-narrative in terms of it being a fictitious text, compared to a non-fiction text. When analyzing both Gowdy and Miller’s texts, readers must be conscious of their use of diction, characterization, structure and narration. This is particularly crucial when reading trauma literature, as it is essential in regards to how authors expose the instance(s) of trauma and the healing process (or lack thereof). Trauma literature illustrates that “the goal of reading literature is not merely to experience the pleasure and excitement of emotion, but to *cultivate an awareness of the emotion and what it can tell us about ourselves*” (Gold 82). While Gowdy’s readers attempt to understand how an individual’s skewed perception of reality could result in irreversible consequences, Miller’s readers (as well as herself) struggle to understand how an individual is capable of sexually assaulting someone. Gowdy and Miller’s texts raise questions surrounding accountability, responsibility, understanding and forgiveness that exceed the literary realm. These same questions that derive from literature occur due to humanities arduous journeys and traumatic life events. The trauma that is written cannot be reversed but in that telling of narration, comes a process of healing for both author and reader(s). This recovery process for authors allows their voices to be heard, establishing power in controlling the narrative, even in examples like Gowdy’s where the reason may not be as noticeable as, say, Miller’s. For readers, whether they too can

identify with the narration (or something similar in circumstance), putting it in a textual form allows individuals to see that they are not alone in the atrocities inflicted upon them. In exposing oneself to trauma literature, individuals may find the genre to alleviate some of their pain, or a moment of catharsis in seeing a shared traumatic experience. Furthermore, the two authors demonstrate the vast importances as to why studying trauma literature is not only beneficial for readers, but essential for individuals to further strengthen their understanding of justice, humanity, injustice and everything in between.

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TAYLOR LYN DUNPHY

Pedagogy: Oppression and Power in J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix

J. K. Rowling's popular series *Harry Potter* highlights multiple teaching and learning styles. The diversity is especially evident within her fifth novel *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*. In the fictional world of J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter*, many critics attempt to interpret the multiple themes explored by Rowling. Among the multiple approaches taken in exploring Rowling's series, one in particular is the analysis of the author's depiction of pedagogy in the Wizarding World. For instance, recently there was an academic conference that devoted itself entirely to the subject of teaching practices within Rowling's series. Studying pedagogy in *Harry Potter* involves outlining the methods and practices of each professor within the series: the "good" versus the "bad" professors and the complications that arise while defining the "good" and the "bad." In her fifth novel, *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*, Rowling's pedagogical theme develops providing her readers with a maturing recognition that those we have grown to accept as the "good" and the "bad" are not always entirely either or. In fact, we as readers begin to experience moments of realization that those we learn the most from, may not be those we necessarily like, and vice versa. Throughout Rowling's novel the Room of Requirement, The Noble and Ancient House of Black, Dumbledore's Army, the Order of the Phoenix, professors, students and the Ministry of Magic all play a specific role when analyzing pedagogy within this novel. Hogwarts and its teachers find themselves confronted with oppression and abuse of state power. *Harry Potter Order of the Phoenix* is a foundational example throughout her series entirely, that explores the multidimensions of her established fiction world. This stems from the topic of Rowling's categories of teaching styles coinciding with learning styles and pedagogy being under political pressure.

Rowling's pedagogy is noted throughout the entirety of her series, however in regard to this essay I will be focusing explicitly on *The Order of the Phoenix*. To help define the scope for my readers, a reminder will be written about in order

to emphasize what is happening specifically in this novel alone. Following the return of Voldemort (a supremacist/the most feared Dark Wizard and Harry's arch nemesis) from the previous novel *The Goblet of Fire*, Harry Potter finds himself excluded from his peers in trying to bring the wizarding world knowledge about the Dark Lord resurfacing. This is caused by the Ministry of Magic's leader, Cornelius Fudge, refusing to believe that the Dark Lord has returned. In fact, Fudge believes that this 'rumour' has been created by Headmaster Albus Dumbledore, in hopes to steal Fudge's position in the Ministry. In his state of denial, he worries Dumbledore is creating his own army to overthrow the Minister; Fudge sends in Dolores Umbridge to be the new Defense Against the Dark Arts teacher (who refuses to teach defense spells) and eventually appoints her the High Inquisitor of Hogwarts. With her new role in Hogwarts, she evaluates all faculty members and students, changing Hogwarts for the worse. Struggling to study for his fifth year Ordinary Wizarding Level exams (O.W.L's, appointed by the Ministry) as well as the anxiety engulfing him with the return of Voldemort, Harry struggles to keep his head above water with the changed atmosphere in Hogwarts. Inspired by The Order of the Phoenix, a secret society formed by Dumbledore in the past to fight Voldemort and his Death Eaters, Harry creates his own explicit group and calls it Dumbledore's Army, in hopes to prepare himself and his fellow students for the dark times that are ahead of them. Inevitably, the Ministry is faced with Voldemort in their own Department of Mysteries and has come to the conclusion that the Dark Lord has in fact returned.

This specific novel of Rowling's *Harry Potter* series is where pedagogy is challenged the most due to the introduction of The Ministry of Magic to Hogwarts school; "The Ministry of Magic exists as a parallel to the Muggle British government or is actually considered a division under the prime minister, but it clearly operates much the same way as any large bureaucratic entity" (Anatol 152). The Ministry of Magic's main fault in this novel is not being able to address and recognize the dangers of a rebutting force coming for the entire wizarding world. While Cornelius Fudge represents the "prime minister," Voldemort represents an extremist attempting to fight back against the government's current beliefs (and kill Harry Potter). The political atmosphere itself during the time of the publishing of the fifth book was particularly strained. In Janet Iafret's essay, "Expelliarmus!: Retaliation and Peaceable Outcomes in the Harry Potter Series," she believes that

"it is important to mention that by the time we reach the publication of Book 5, the world has experienced the media coverage and political atmosphere of the September 11th attacks. "Guantanamo Bay," "racial profiling" and "detainees" are now common terms, and war was declared three months before this novel's 2003 release"(?).

It is rather difficult to determine whether or not events such as these influenced her story writing; however, it is extremely arguable that she was "influenced by the political atmosphere itself."

When Harry declares that the Dark Lord has returned, the Minister of Magic's response is assembled from complete ignorance. Umbridge even announces "who do you imagine wants to attack children like yourselves...the Ministry of Magic guarantees that you are not in danger from any Dark wizard" (Rowling 227) when Voldemort is brought up to her in class. The government is unable to accept the fact of them possibly being in danger and losing control of their system, they want their patrons to believe in the safety net of the Ministry and this safety net is threatened if news reaches out that Voldemort has returned. Voldemort's attempt to overthrow the Ministry and take over the wizarding world is not acknowledged by Fudge because he does not want anyone to undermine his own authority and control; he hastily points fingers towards Dumbledore and administers falsified reports to "The Daily Prophet, [where] stories always reflect the party line and are filled with Ministry propaganda" (McCarron). This insecurity emanates during the midst of Harry's trial (pending his expulsion at Hogwarts for using a defensive spell to protect himself and his muggle cousin) where Dumbledore states that Fudge has no authority to punish Hogwarts students (Rowling 137). Unable to gain control over Dumbledore's school, he implements his own governing witch into Hogwarts. Rowling accentuates Fudge's insecurities when addressed by Dumbledore's remark on him unable to control Hogwarts and his denial of dark forces threatening the wizarding world to further emphasize the fragile platform of our own government

This particular note of the political system challenges Hogwarts' very own schooling system where "Umbridge turns her classroom — and Hogwarts more generally — into a carceral place" (Cantrell 83). Dolores Umbridge is described by Rowling as a "large, pale toad" (Rowling 134) with an unnervingly highpitched squeal for a voice. Her description alone warrants her stay at Hogwarts to be unwanted. Representing the Ministry, Umbridge's opening speech states that

The Ministry of Magic has always considered the education of young witches and wizards, [...] every headmaster and headmistress of Hogwarts has brought something new to the weighty task of governing this historic school [but] progress for progress's sake must be discouraged, [...] let us move forward [...] perfecting what needs to be perfected, and pruning wherever we find practices that ought to be prohibited. (197)

Her passive aggressive statement allows her fellow faculty members and students to know that she is here to govern Hogwarts more towards the practices and beliefs of The Ministry: "the malevolent Professor Umbridge gives her opening speech to the school, using veiled language to reveal her nefarious plans to undermine the school's values" (McDaniel 294). Beth Driscoll comments on Britain's private schools stating that "government demands are often in tension with teachers' own ideas" (259); in Rowling's book, these demands are enforced "through villainous character of Professor Dolores Umbridge" (263), reaffirming her negative point of view towards the government policing the educators, students and curriculum throughout British private schools.

With Umbridge taking part in Harry's fifth year, it creates a heavier atmosphere, not only due to Voldemort's return, but also for the sake of his O.W.L.'s. The Ordinary Wizarding Level examinations are administered to the fifth years through the government. These O.W.L.'s administered determine whether the student will be able to continue to partake in each subject, which is determined by their score on their exams. These exams are equivalent to the GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) based in England, Wales and Northern Ireland (Wilke) where the Department of Education is able to "better differentiate between students of different abilities" (Wilke). These scores not only reflect the student, but also the educator and the school itself. Professor McGonagall advises her students that "'You cannot pass an O.W.L.," said Professor McGonagall grimly, 'without serious application, practice and study. I see no reasons why everybody in this class should not achieve an O.W.L. in Transfiguration as long as they put in the work'" (Rowling 238). However, with Umbridge present, test scores become their only form of education when they enter into their Defense Against the Dark Arts classroom; Umbridge actively discourages hands-on learning within her classroom. She states that, "it is the view of the Ministry that a theoretical knowledge will be more than sufficient to get you through your examination, which, after all, is what school is all about" (226). Before she even begins her lessons she advises her students to render their wands and begin their readings, "wands away and quills out" (222). Victoria Scholz affirms Umbridge's failed classroom by stating that "her reliance of standardized testing to show application of knowledge may create a stable environment but the lack of real experience to engage critical thinking negates any potential for positive outcomes" (138). Umbridge's only concern for the students is to pass the O.W.L. exams, she does not even begin to consider the possibilities of having to use defensive spells (that should be practiced in class) in a real world setting.

The negative atmosphere Rowling assigns Hogwarts in this particular instance is enforced through the acts of Umbridge herself. While Fudge assumes that he will gain control of the education system, implementing Umbridge in the private school environment only worsens his goal for power. Shira Wolosky in her essay "Foucault at School: Discipline, Education and Agency in Harry Potter" states that "Umbridge is expert at what Foucault describes as 'combining hierarchical surveillance with normalizing judgment, constituting the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge' (Foucault 1995, p. 192)" (289). This is most noted with not only her leading by example with the government's stress on O.W.L. scores but also her job as High Inquisitor of Hogwarts where "The Inquisitor will have powers to inspect her fellow educators and make sure they are coming up to scratch" (Rowling 284). This is laughable to Harry and his peers because Umbridge is deemed to be one of the worst professors they have ever received.

Dolores Umbridge as a professor fails her fifth year students since “her approach to the class is extremely elementary” (Scholz 136). Her students find it hard to actually learn when she attempts to establish a curriculum where spells will not physically be practiced. She continuously tells her students that “as long as you have studied theory hard enough, there is no reason why you should not be able to perform spells under carefully controlled examination conditions” (Rowling 226); to which Harry replies “and what good is theory going to be in the real world” (226). Scholz comments that “the best efforts of educators to promote a healthy and effective learning environment are often dismissed by government officials more interested in test scores than in applicable skills” (123). Rowling introduces Umbridge as a government official reinstating a Ministry approved curriculum, but portrays her classes as “desperately dull” (Rowling 223) due to Umbridge constantly dismissing hands-on learning techniques. This reinforces Rowling’s disapproval of a government restricted curriculum where Umbridge’s classes are based off of the entirety or memorization and test scores and is “motivated by politics rather than the interest of students” (Driscoll). Umbridge’s persona embodies a villainous teacher where she lacks mutual grounds with her students and colleagues, active learning strategies and communication, thus making her an enemy amongst all, specifically Hogwarts school itself (Scholz 138).

One thing readers must note when introduced to each *Harry Potter* novel of Rowling’s, is the curse of the revolving door of the Defense Against the Dark Arts classroom (Bresky). Each novel of hers contains a different professor implemented into Hogwarts in attempts to teach the Dark Arts. In *Philosopher’s Stone* Rowling had Professor Quirrell who was absolutely terrified of anything, and turned out to have Lord Voldemort located on the back of his head. Gilderoy Lockhart was Rowling’s second professor in the *Chamber of Secrets* who was inevitably a fraud. Then came Professor Remus Lupin, who was arguably one of the best Defense teachers, however he turned out to be a werewolf and was forced to step down in the *Prisoner of Azkaban*. MadEye Moody was featured as the professor in the *Goblet of Fire*, although he turned out to be an impostor: Barty Crouch Jr. Umbridge of course being the fifth, and Severus incidentally being the sixth in *HalfBlood Prince*. The final professor was a Death Eater, Amycus Carrow, in the *Deathly Hallows*. Each professor heightens Rowling’s books by creating different plot lines each time, highlighting the significance of the class itself. With Umbridge being the fifth professor, she brings her students attention to this curse by stating that:

The constant changing of teachers, many of whom do not seem to have followed any Ministry-approved curriculum, has unfortunately resulted in your being far below the standard we would expect to see in your O.W.L year. You will be pleased to know, however, that these problems are now to be rectified. We will be following carefully structured, theory centred, Ministry approved course of defensive magic. (Rowling 222)

However, Rowling's villainous portrayal of Umbridge from the beginning inevitably leads to her own demise. The revolving door Rowling produces within the Defense Against the Dark Arts classroom provides students with multiple teaching styles for a very serious subject. With Rowling including multiple professors for one subject, she is reinstating the importance the subject holds in the real world.

The learning environment that Rowling establishes within Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry is brought on not only by the professors, but the students themselves; one case in particular is Harry Potter leading Dumbledore's Army. Melissa C. Johnson speaks of Harry Potter and Headmaster Albus Dumbledore as being two of the "most effective instructors in the book despite the fact that neither is officially a teacher at the school or teaching a class in the required curriculum" (Johnson 77); neither of the two are established teachers but are still categorized as the best successors. This perspective on Rowling's pedagogy specifically emphasizes the need to learn through experience rather than through forced curriculums (specifically the Ministry of Magic's). The teachers within Hogwarts that educate their students in a more proper manner are those that force the students to teach themselves. Renee Dickinson expands on that notion of learning by stating that fellow educators should lead by Dumbledore's example to "create a safe atmosphere in which the students are given basic tools and then are encouraged to discover on their own and apply and practice their learning" (Dickinson 244). However, Hogwarts is definitely not an entirely safe atmosphere, and Dumbledore as instructor to Harry and students is revealed to have a hidden agenda that this essay will expand more on later. With that being said, to begin to understand Rowling's input on active learning strategies and cooperative classroom environment's between educator and student, readers must analyze multiple professors and the variety of pedagogical approaches that they each pursue within their classroom.

When considering the diverse number of classrooms and professors J. K. Rowling introduces in her novels, one character in particular is notably redundant and dull, and that is the character of Professor Binns. Professor Cuthbert Binns is the History of Magic professor who passes away at the school at a very old age and continues to teach throughout his years spent as a ghost in Hogwarts. The ancient characteristics of Professor Binns coincides with the subject he teaches quite impeccably. Due to his ongoing lectures after death, Binns resembles the lost art of lecturing. Kathryn McDaniel says it best where his lectures are "inducing his students into a coma-like state and alienating them entirely from what could be not only interesting but also intensely relevant subject matter...like the fictional Professor Binns, lectures are dead" (McDaniel 289). To be fair, amongst all subjects taught within the witchcraft and wizarding school, History of Magic is doomed to be one of the most "boring" lessons of them all. Students get to learn spells, potions and flying in other courses, and so students are kept engaged and active; in comparison to Binn's History course, being active is not even considered. His dull lecturing style is also emphasized due to the fact he is physically deceased as well:

Professor Binns, their ghost teacher, had a wheezy, droning voice that was almost guaranteed to cause severe drowsiness within ten minutes, five in warm weather. He never varied the form of their lessons, but lectured them without pausing while they took notes, or rather, gazed sleepily into space. (Rowling 212)

Rowling almost condemns the subject of history and the pedagogical practice of lectures from the beginning with her conception of Professor Binns himself. Not only do his lectures not provoke students to engage or think critically, but he lacks the new age knowledge of teaching itself due to his own passing.

Rowling asserts a completely oppositional approach to teaching and authority with her representation of Snape's classroom where it is active but as a professor he is rather intimidating and hard to follow due to his lack of guidance: "while it is evident that Professor Snape is a gifted potion maker, he is not interested in helping his students to achieve his level of skill, but merely to flaunt it to intimidate them" (83 Johnson). For Snape's classroom, while they are actively making potions, the environment is rather unpleasant; each student is always on the edge of their seat. In *Order of the Phoenix*, Snape's potion lessons specifically embody his intimidation strategy when he is handing back the students' essays stating that these would have been the marks on their O.W.L.'s: "the general standard of this homework was abysmal. Most of you would have failed had this been your examination. I expect to see a great deal more effort for this week's essay [...] or I shall have to start handing out detentions to those dunces who get a D" (Rowling 287). The rest of the class, Snape sits back while Harry continuously reads the instructions on the board; threatened by his superior, and discouraged by the name calling, Harry is unable to ask for guidance. Wolosky believes that "the student/teacher relationship is fundamentally hostile in Snape's class. No sensitivity, no exemplary behaviour, but only authority, contest and domination define this scene of instruction" (292). This is especially evident during their O.W.L.'s where Snape's class felt more at ease without him watching over them: "with Snape absent from the proceedings [Harry] found that he was much more relaxed than he usually was while making potions. Neville, who was sitting very near Harry, also looked happier than Harry had ever seen him during a Potions class" (Rowling 661). However, Snape is one of Rowling's most complicated characters throughout the series.

Although Snape's lessons do not particularly benefit his students due to the hostile atmosphere and his lack of guidance, he is actually a double agent of Dumbledore's. While serving as a Death Eater under the Dark Lord, he is also a part of The Order (it is not until the last novel where we find this out, clarifying all of Snape's dark attitudes and duties). As a matter of fact, in *Order of the Phoenix* Dumbledore asks Snape to provide Harry with private lessons reinforcing a one-on-one relationship between student and instructor. These lessons are stimulated due to Lord Voldemort being able to read Harry's mind. Attempting to learn Occlumency, "the magical defence of the mind against external penetration"(479),

Snape's aggressive nature is emphasized due to his hatred towards Harry's father. In chapter twenty-four he continuously snaps at him if Harry interrupts or forgets to call him sir (477-501). He in fact "deploys his greater power and knowledge as a weapon, using information obtained by exposing Harry's memories to taunt and mock him" (Wolosky 292). Alice Mills concludes that "Snape is not making a choice based on an appraisal of his own thought processes [...] he is compelled to act as Dumbledore wishes, by the force of his own feelings" (297). This, however, is challenged by Rowling when Harry enters into Snape's own mind using the counter spell, Legilimens. Harry sees that Snape was tormented by his father, and was extremely close with Harry's mother. Harry then has a better understanding of who Snape is (as a person and a professor) and creates a mutual understanding between professor and student; "Dumbledore's hidden agenda here could be to make the oppressor and oppressed work together in order to meet the greater goal" (Scholz 135). As an educator in these informal lessons, Rowling is able to establish a more in-depth version of Snape.

Although Dumbledore is not a professor at Hogwarts, he is one of Harry's most noble role models where he "embodies a number of positive principles from educational theory" (Wolosky 294), pushing Harry to become an adequate and independent learner. Dumbledore wittingly penetrates all dialogue throughout the series, subtly leaving his insight on matters allowing Harry to grow from Dumbledore's intelligence. Bill McCarron writes that Dumbledore's "name deriv[es] from the medieval word 'bumble bee': he surveys his scenery, but knows when to sting his enemies." He is contrasted from professors such as Snape or Umbridge, because although Snape's classes are active, both professors' classroom environments are extremely unwelcoming. Dumbledore actively dismisses Umbridge throughout *The Order of the Phoenix*; as it happens, when Umbridge declares her authority and fires Professor Trelawney from Hogwarts, Dumbledore contradicts her order by stating that "as High Inquisitor you have every right to dismiss my teachers. You do not, however, have the authority to send them away from the castle. I am afraid [...] that the power to do that still resides with the Headmaster" (Rowling 551), guiding Professor Trelawney back into Hogwarts. Dumbledore premeditatedly asserts his authority here, while still reassuring Umbridge's authority as well. This "generates a shared power, not one that is arbitrarily imposed" (McCarron) allowing Dumbledore to continuously be silent throughout the novel, while still obtaining his authority.

Rowling demonstrates to readers however, that Dumbledore's silence proves to be his inevitable downfall within the text. While it is later revealed that Dumbledore was avoiding contact with Harry to be cautious of Voldemort spying on the headmaster, it does not explain "why Harry could not have been trusted to become privy" (Mills 295). His passive lessons, never being able to be upfront, generates feelings of frustration for Harry; keeping him in the dark, especially through avoidance in *The Order* prompts Harry to act out. Eventually, Rowling's

faithful audience comes to realize that Dumbledore has been raising Harry like a lamb for slaughter. The Headmaster's private lessons in the end prove not to be as a protective measure for Harry as Rowling has led her readers to believe, but instead Harry is Dumbledore's pawn that will be used to engage in the final battle in *The Deathly Hallows* when defeating the Dark Lord. Although controversial, Dumbledore's private lessons provide not only himself, but Harry with teaching techniques most important for professors: "a type of research, learning how to best approach various students and catering lessons towards them based on interests and abilities" (Scholz 135). These techniques further benefit Potter when he is forced to assemble and teach his own classes in the *Defense Against the Dark Arts*.

Rowling is a huge advocate for the active learning classrooms that enable students to apply their lessons outside of a classroom setting. She makes note of the most successful instructors portraying a positive working atmosphere, alongside stimulating lessons. Kathryn McDaniel says it best where "lectures can be, and should be, vibrant, stimulating, and informative [...] they can welcome students into a discipline, topic, or problem and give students a foundation from which to build their own ideas and interpretations" (291). These notions of pedagogy are extremely evident within Hogwarts but it is notable that "certain students are more successful in some subjects than in others for reasons unrelated to the distinction between active learning classrooms and more traditional lecture-based ones" (Johnson 77). These students are characteristically sorted by Rowling, and learn in diverse ways. More specifically, Hermione Granger is one of the only students Rowling writes about in depth at Hogwarts that is successful in "monotonous lecturing and exams [where students are asked] to record and recall information" (Dickinson 24). Hermione is in complete juxtaposition for students such as Ron or Harry, who lack her note taking skills, but embody bravery. All three of them compared to student Neville Longbottom thrive, due to Longbottom's lack of confidence.

Rowling comments on the schooling system in a metaphorical way and raises questions surrounding the state of education. In a newspaper article of *The Guardian* called "Britain's Private School Problem: It's Time to Talk" Francis Green and David Kynaston state that "through a highly resourced combination of social exclusiveness and academic excellence, the private school system has in our lifetimes powered an enduring cycle of privilege." This privilege stems from the state approved curriculum, accentuating "extreme social exclusivity" for families that have a considerably high income. For Rowling, this is especially evident with "the distinct character of the houses and of the fierce interhouse rivalry" (Anatol 71). Her multidimensional series contains a diverse subset of roles that each character plays a part in. These parts accentuate the importance each character has, and the different ways they are affected in or react towards certain situations. Rowling explicitly explains the diverse range of students and professors by separating them into their own houses at Hogwarts. By dividing the school amongst four houses, Rowling introduces Gryffindor, Slytherin, Hufflepuff and Ravenclaw.

At the beginning of each student's first year at Hogwarts, the sorting hat separates the students amongst these four houses Rowling has created. Each house has discrete entities, Gryffindor values bravery in the most noble ways, Slytherin values ambition in the most cunning ways, Hufflepuff values loyalty in the most fair ways, and Ravenclaw values wit and intelligence. Rowling assigns each character to be a fundamental representation of their own house. For instance, with her characterization of Hermione in Gryffindor; each student may still not follow their house's way of learning, some may in fact look at Hermione's skills in the classroom and mistake her for a Ravenclaw. Each house Rowling has created pushes students to feel the pressure of the hat determining who they are as a Hogwarts student: "Harry recalled, fleetingly, how terrified he had felt when he had stood there, waiting for the unknown test that would determine to which house he belonged" (Rowling 188). This character analysis amongst the four houses, separated by their very own sorting hat, is extremely notable in *The Order of the Phoenix*, not only due to the intense year of the O.W.L.'s but also the change in curriculum enforced by the state. In fact, even the sorting hat recognizes the shift change in Chapter 11 by adding more noise to its very own greeting song: "The warning history shows, for our Hogwarts is in danger, from external, deadly foes and we must unit inside her or we'll crumble from within. I have told you, I have warned you...let the sorting now begin" (Rowling 191). This foreshadowing of the sorting hat cautions the students to form a union in these times of division, which contradicts the separating of houses as a whole. Harry even detects that "the Sorting Hat usually confined itself to describing the different qualities looked for by each of the four Hogwarts houses and its own role in Sorting them. Harry could not remember it ever trying to give the school advice before" (Rowling 191). This advice of uniting together foreshadows the work of Dumbledore's Army, where students of all houses come together to resist the Ministry's barriers and practice defensive spells.

One of Rowling's most clever uses of Hogwarts in *The Order of the Phoenix* is the Room of Requirement. The Room of Requirement is most notably used in this novel by Harry and his fellow students, revolting against the Ministry's forced curriculum by conducting their own student taught lessons of the Dark Arts. One thing Rowling's readers must recognize is that while it functions as a magical room that can transform into any safe haven wanderers may require, it is still largely connected to the Hogwarts School of Magic. This space she created is what Foucault would call a heterotopia:

Places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society — which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality" (3-4)

The room functions as the school's own magical way of providing a space that is of no access to them otherwise. Scholar Sarah K Cantrell states that "Harry and his friends cross the figurative border from quiet safety into the adult space of subversion, autonomy, and responsibility by forming Dumbledore's Army in the Room of Requirement [...] such a space, however, is not a constant. It can only come into existence in the hour of one's greatest need" (84). In juxtaposition to Rowling's safe space of the Room of Requirement, there is the "Noble and Most Ancient House of Black" (Rowling 102) which is not found in the Wizarding World but is located in the streets of London, England at 12 Grimmauld Place: "the headquarters of the Order of the Phoenix may be found at 12 Grimmauld Place" (54). Sirius Black (Harry's uncle) inherited the house after the passing of his mother and used it as a meeting ground for the Order of the Phoenix. While both locations serve as a sacred place for the two armies (The Order of the Phoenix which is led by the adults and Dumbledore's Army which is guided by the students) the two are completely different. In this section, I will be exploring Rowling's use of space within the novel noting the multiple differences each setting serves its inhabitants. As well as exploring the history of them both and the need for these two hidden political and pedagogical "heterotopias" (Foucault).

The Room of Requirement provides students with their own separate space, hidden from the governmental control within Hogwarts. This space is created due to the students' activism where Harry's "breaching of literal boundaries by calling for the Room of Requirement" (Cantrell 82-3). While it may serve as one of its most important properties in this novel in relation to the topic of pedagogy, the hidden space for Dumbledore's Army is not the only noted function it has provided to its wanderers throughout the series. To begin to understand its importance in the novel, readers must also take note of how Rowling made the safe space in correlation to anyone that has stumbled upon it throughout the series. The Room of Requirement is known by Hogwarts' inhabitants to be the most mysterious place Rowling conducted within the school of wizardry. It is first mentioned in *The Goblet of Fire* where Dumbledore has mistakenly discovered it on his way to the loo:

'Oh I would never dream of assuming I know all Hogwarts' secrets, Igor,' said Dumbledore amicably. 'Only this morning, for instance, I took a wrong turning on the way to the bathroom and found myself in a beautifully proportioned room I have never seen before, containing a really rather magnificent collection of chamber pots. When I went back to investigate more closely, I discovered that the room had vanished. But I must keep an eye out for it. Possibly it is only accessible at five-thirty in the morning. Or it may only appear at the quarter moon — or when the seeker has an exceptionally full bladder.' (Rowling *Goblet of Fire* 470)

This use of foreshadowing in Rowling's texts initiates the safe space Hogwarts is always readily equipped with. Bringing attention to it in the previous novel,

gives more clarification for Harry's house elf, Dobby, teaching Harry about it in *The Order of the Phoenix*:

‘I need to find a place where twenty-eight people can practice Defence Against the Dark Arts without being discovered by any of the teachers’ [...] ‘Dobby knows the perfect place, sir! [...] It is known by us as the Come and Go Room, sir, or else as the Room of Requirement! [...] Because it is a room that a person can only enter, [...] when they have real need of it. Sometimes it is there, and sometimes it is not, but when it appears, it is always equipped for the seeker's needs [...] Very few [know about it], sir. Mostly people stumbles across it when they needs it, sir, but often never finds it again, for they do not know that it is always there waiting to be called into service sir.’ (Rowling 357-58)

With this knowledge, Harry is then able to present his fellow peers with a neutral territory that Hogwarts readily equips its own army.

Dumbledore's Army is created and led by Harry Potter in hopes to provide his fellow peers with the adequate knowledge needed for students to properly be equipped to defend themselves against the Dark Arts. He states “it might be good if people who wanted to study Defense Against the Dark Arts — and I mean really study it, you know, not the rubbish that Umbridge is doing [...] it would be good if we, well, took matters into our own hands” (Rowling *Order of the Phoenix* 314). With threats from Lord Voldemort himself and the Defense Against the Dark Arts classroom being taken over by the Ministry, Harry begins an extracurricular activity, teaching fellow students the lessons himself in a non-classroom setting. Harry takes on the responsibility of guiding his fellow peers in lessons of the Dark Arts with a more hands on education. In fact:

Harry uses Dumbledore's teaching techniques to further understand his peers, their backgrounds, and their learning styles, using that knowledge in the DA meetings to teach them how to successfully use the necessary skills for the impending danger; however, Harry's intentions are clear and set him apart from Dumbledore despite their similar teaching styles (Scholz 136).

The students that partake in Dumbledore's Army are far better equipped with the proper techniques to survive against the imminent threat of Lord Voldemort. While the professors and the Ministry prepare their fifth year students for their O.W.L. exams, they inevitably fail to prepare them for real life. While Harry, Hermione and Ron attempt to assemble their own student army, a fellow peer asks them if they want to pass their O.W.L.'s, to which Hermione replies “‘Of course I do,’ said Hermione at once. ‘But more than that, I want to be properly trained in defence [...] ‘because Lord Voldemort is back’” (315). This puts

their students at an incredible disadvantage, especially during the return of the Dark Lord in which Rowling uses the Room of Requirement as a means of Hogwarts allowing its students to make provision for their own learning needs.

Rowling equips the Room of Requirement with everything the students need to learn their own defensive spells. Harry initiates their own room to fight by whispering pleas of help to Hogwarts' castle walls, "*We need somewhere to learn to fight ...he thought. Just give us a place to practice....somewhere they can't find us*" (Rowling 360). When the room magically appears, it is facilitated appropriately for assembling an army and practicing magic: "These will be good when we're practicing stunning [...] And just look at these books! [...] A compendium of Common Curses and their Counter Actions, The Dark Arts Outsmarted, Self-Defensive Spellwork [...] Harry this is wonderful, there's everything we need here!" (Rowling 361). The Room of Requirement functions as a space where Hogwarts is urging its own students to fight back! Cantrell proclaims that "having a space like the Room of Requirement means having a fighting chance at freedom, and space is absolutely necessary for the transformation of the Hogwarts' student body into a cohesive, active force for change in an increasingly dystopic school environment" (85). However, this room is where students become their own teachers; Harry takes on the responsibility of governing his own fellow peers in self-taught lessons. One thing Rowling emphasizes in these lessons within the Room, are that students practice charms that repel deathly spells back highlighting the children's refusal of Voldemort's own deadly curses: "the vision of Rowling's "army" is radical in that its purpose is not to kill, but to actually repel and disarm those who possess the weapons and rage to summon such curses" (Iafate). Meaning, Rowling's Room of Requirement and Dumbledore's Army demonstrates appropriate spaces and safe ways of being in control. The unforgivable curses are not used by her students "which action opposes oppression, but also creates, constructs, and invests in positive social forms" (Wolosky 296), and they are all practiced in an unscathed environment.

While the Room of Requirement is a space that Hogwarts has created to help guide its fellow inhabitants and inevitably, support the students and the cause of Dumbledore's Army, The Noble and Most Ancient House of Black is the complete opposite. The House of Black is actually an extremely hostile environment where Dumbledore's oldest confidants, The Order of the Phoenix, unite. Juxtaposed to the Room of Requirement, the House of Black reluctantly hosts the Order, providing them a safe space to hide but not an entirely safe space to meet. Rowling first establishes this hostile environment at the end of chapter four when Tonks accidentally trips and a portrait in the house screams, "'Filth! Scum! By-products of dirt and vileness! Half-breeds, mutants, freaks, begone from this place!! How dare you befoul the house of my fathers [...] Blood traitor, abomination, shame of my flesh!'" (Rowling 72); shortly after managing to evaporate the screaming

portrait of the woman, Sirius reveals to Harry that the woman screaming in the portrait was indeed his mother. The Black family is known for their incriminating views on blood purity and condemning anyone that is against Lord Voldemort's beliefs. Sirius Black, being one of those who disagreed, joined the Order of the Phoenix and was disowned from the Black's family tree. Years later when he became the only one left alive with the original family name, Sirius inherited the Black ancestral home:

'It's ideal for Headquarters [...] My father put every security measure known to wizard-kind on it when he lived here. It's unplottable, so Muggles could never come and call — as if they'd ever have wanted too — and now Dumbledore's added his protection, you'd be hard put to find a safer house anywhere. Dumbledore is Secret Keeper for the Order, you know — nobody can find Headquarters unless he tells them personally where it is [...]' Sirius gave a short, bark-like laugh. If my parents could see the use their house was being put to now...well, my mother's portrait should give you some idea...' (105)

By establishing the history of this space, Rowling is able to provide her readers with an understanding of why such a hostile environment was chosen for The Order to meet. They continuously use this space due to the magical spells bounding them inside, and although Sirius does not have the most pleasant memories here, him holding power over his muggle-hating-parents grants him a tiny bit of comfort. This pleasure arises from Sirius being able to establish the interface between his parents' muggle-hating home and The Order's opposing mission to defeat Lord Voldemort and his Death Eater followers, like his parents.

However, while Sirius is able to offer a safe space for education of the Order to continue, it is not a necessarily welcoming one. On top of the multiple portraits that bear an undying hatred for the cause they are fighting for (as well as the Muggles, Squibs and half-breeds inside) Rowling accentuates the dark, dirty atmosphere and accessorizes the home with a miserable house-elf, Kreacher, who lives and breathes for the purity of his masters and Voldemort's cause.

Harry even notes that certain details of the house where:

He could smell damp, dust and a sweetish, rotting smell, the place had the feeling of a derelict building. [It was] covered in dirty tapestries. The carpet exhaled little clouds of dust every time someone put their foot on it and the long, moss green velvet curtains were buzzing as though swarming with invisible bees [...] infested with dead rats, blood, snake skin, daggers, claws, Doxy's and their eggs. (56, 93, 96-7)

This untamed space that Rowling provides her readers creates a difficult environment for The Order to grow. While Dumbledore's Army is forced to hide

in the Room of Requirement from Professor Umbridge, The Order is forced to hide in an environment that is continuously rejecting their stay. Even the house elf that is meant to serve inside the Black domain exhibits complete disdain towards The Order and master Sirius himself: “comes back from Azkaban ordering Kreacher around, oh, my poor mistress, what would she say if she saw the house now, scum living in it, her treasures thrown out, she swore he was no son of hers and he’s back” (101). Rowling establishes both the Room of Requirement and 12 Grimmauld Place as completely different atmospheres: The Order which is forced to endure the Black’s hateful domain in contrast to the facilitated environment of the Room of Requirement where Hogwarts is continuously supporting Dumbledore’s Army. She explores both uses of space as crisis heterotopia: “privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis” (Foucault 4). These two sets of crisis heterotopia challenges Rowling’s characters to go against the government’s control in completely separate arrangements. These places, however separate, are both outside the school and government’s control, “seeking to assist oppressed communities” (Scholz 123) and participate in critical pedagogy, shaped by their own personal experiences (Scholz 124).

Pedagogical research in *The Order of the Phoenix* exhausts a variety of sources reflective on the author’s opinion regarding the education system. Some of the interpretations of Rowling’s views on the system are based off of close readings in her character analysis and plot summary, political influences as well as the teaching system within Hogwarts itself. Rowling’s mission in her fifth novel becomes “not only a personal project but an explicitly social and political one, in which action opposes oppression, but also creates, constructs, and invests in positive social forms” (Wolosky 296). Examining her opinion on politics through the Ministry, teaching and lesson styles within Hogwarts, the use of heterotopias in an educational setting allows her readers to prioritize progressive and alert political values, active learning and healthy work environments in order to support each student, professor and school within the education system. Educators must also be able to actively engage with students in a positive classroom setting while also instilling their students with information on the politics surrounding the real world. In the views of Rowling’s creation of the Ministry, this essay proves why it is essential for readers to discern the differences between the Ministry’s ignorance and their objective. Although the Ministry completely dismisses the dark arts ever having to be used, their goal in the end is to keep their students safe. Professor Umbridge is an extremist in that sense where she is unable to discern the two differences. If the Minister was able to acknowledge the purpose and use of Harry’s lessons in the Room of Requirement, The Order’s political beliefs and students such as Hermione with her perseverance in her academics, his pride could have been put aside. This enables readers to be able to designate Rowling’s critical pedagogy throughout

not only Hogwarts, but the Ministry itself. J.K. Rowling's notion of pedagogy is most beneficial when students are able to apply their lessons to the outside world of the classroom. *The Order of the Phoenix* works as a foundational tool in hopes for her readers to benefit from her critiques on oppression and power featured within pedagogy.

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HISTORY

JOSHUA SHEPPARD

A Culture of Controversy: Understanding the Role of Music within American Popular Culture during the Vietnam War.

The Vietnam War was a conflict rife with and characterized by the controversies that enveloped it. Towards the end of the 1960s, public discourse over American involvement in the war would reach a new height. This controversy is incredibly evident in the popular music of this era. A study of the written music, pieces that supported and stood in opposition to the war, demonstrates how popular music represented and expressed the values, hopes, and fears that would come to define the era. The music of the Vietnam War, specifically from 1966-1970, played a fundamental role for both the soldiers and the citizens of the United States. For the frontline soldiers of the war, popular music became an instrument of coping with the stress, horror, and moral ambiguity of the war, as well as connecting them to both their fellow soldiers and the lives that they left behind. For the citizens of the United States, music, both self-created and commercially popular, became a focal point to address the social and political issues and realities of the war in Vietnam, as well as to aid in the expression of sentiments and viewpoints over the controversies of protesting the war itself.

The debates of the conflict ranged and extended from political, militaristic, social, and cultural disputes that engulfed the combatants and citizenry of both Vietnam and the United States. For the soldiers and citizens of the United States, the Vietnam War would prove to be a tumultuous experience. The war would be “distinctively costly and traumatic,” becoming a “controversial and complicated topic” within the framework of American history.⁶⁵ The soldiers of the United States involved in the Vietnam War and the citizens stateside were faced with a

65 Amanda Marie Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War: Description and Classification of Various Protest Songs,” *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*, no. 1686 (2010): 14; Peter C. Rollins, “The Vietnam War: Perceptions through Literature, Film, and Television,” *American Quarterly* 36 no. 3 (1984): 419.

plethora of issues regarding the war that inspired coping, questions of morality, and widespread protest and disobedience. These controversial topics included, but were not limited to, the use of the draft to recruit American youth, ideas of morality surrounding the conflict, and the drastic loss of life enveloping the conflict in Vietnam. For the soldiers of the war, their main focus was coping with the horrors and stress of the war. The controversies of the war were perhaps most poignantly reflected in the widespread and mass political protests that resulted from both anti-war activists as well as pro-war sympathizers. The era of the Vietnam War was rampant with political protests occurring across campuses, streets, and political conventions within the United States.

The complexities and controversies of the Vietnam War were expressed in various methods, perhaps most significantly through means of popular culture. The war in Vietnam had a profound effect on the popular culture of the time in the United States. One of the most culturally significant arenas of cultural combat and expression in the Vietnam War area of the United States was through the use of music. The population of the United States was creating and reacting to music in a variety of ways throughout this era. This pertains to both the soldiers on the front lines of the war and those stateside who were faced with ideas of morality and disenchantment with the United States government. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, music was a focal point of popular culture within the United States in many ways.

In terms of the music of the era, this can be understood as both the chants and catchy tunes written by the youth of the United States to express their usually anti-war beliefs, as well as the commercially successful music that was written and recorded by professional musicians and distributed through records and radio. Popular culture in general became a battle ground for representing and promoting ideas related to the Vietnam War, but music allowed for a much simpler and swifter method of creation and spread than film or literature. Protest chants and songs became a staple of anti-war protests throughout the Vietnam War and expressed the ideas of the youth regarding the nation's involvement in the war. These songs would be quickly and effectively utilized by the protestors of the Vietnam War to proliferate their ideas, viewpoints, and sentiments regarding the conflict.

Artists of the era, such as Creedence Clearwater Revival, Bob Dylan, and Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young were among some of the artists whose anti-war sentiments would be dispersed throughout the United States and define the oppositions and critiques of the war in Vietnam. Other musicians, such as Merle Haggard, responded to these sentiments with pieces of conservative pro-government music of their own. The experiences of the United States' frontline soldiers of the Vietnam War would be characterized by the popular music of the era that expressed their frustrations, viewpoints, and fears regarding their involvement in the conflict.

In the discussion of music as a form of popular culture, popular culture will be defined as “the culture that originates from ‘the people.’”⁶⁶ This music, “of the populace,” were the songs written and created by popular professional musicians that was “marketed for profit to a mass public of consumers.”⁶⁷ This form of culture was considered “only truly popular when it resists,” a lyrical trend that was emphasized by various anti-war musicians, the work of whom will be discussed in relation to its opposition to the Vietnam War and the surrounding events.⁶⁸ The music of this era, a focal point of the popular culture, was weaponized by the members of the counterculture anti-war movement who would use the medium as a method of resistance against the ideas and actions of the American government and military. This resistance would be met by uses of popular culture that stressed conservative and pro-government values. For the American frontline soldiers of the Vietnam War, there was no opportunity to create popular culture, but the music of the time played a significant role in their understanding of the war that they fought.

The United States’ military involvement in Vietnam was one of graduality and progression, beginning with military advisement, but cumulating in the direct intervention of the various branches of the American armed forces. The seeds of the Vietnam War were planted in the years following World War II as France’s failure to hold control of the area of Indochina led to the occupation of the region by Japan.⁶⁹ After the fall of Imperial Japan, “a communist led group of Vietnamese” referred to as the Viet Minh sought independence and sovereignty for Vietnam.⁷⁰ This group, led by Ho Chi Minh, petitioned France to recognize Vietnam as an independent and unified nation.⁷¹ This led to the “First Indochina War,” lasting from 1946-1954, in which Ho Chi Minh led a revolt against Vietnam’s French imperialist rulers.⁷²

The United States feared communist success in the Southern Pacific and supported France “in the form of monetary and weaponry aid,” but President Dwight D. Eisenhower “remained wary of any kind of direct American military involvement.”⁷³ France would eventually seek peace with the Viet Minh and negotiated the separation of Indochina into the three nations of Cambodia, Laos

66 Bennett, “Popular Culture,” 22 in Holt N. Parker, “Toward a Definition of Popular Culture,” *History and Theory* 50, no. 2 (2011): 153.

67 Parker, “Toward a Definition of Popular Culture,” 154; Strinati, *Popular Culture*, 9 in Parker, “Toward a Definition of Popular Culture,” 154.

68 Parker, “Toward a Definition of Popular Culture,” 154. .

69 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14.

70 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14..

71 Tai Sung An, *The Vietnam War* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998): 14.

72 An, *The Vietnam War*, 31.

73 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17; Charles Neu, *Americans lost war*, 22.

and Vietnam, recognizing the “sovereignty and independence of Vietnam.”⁷⁴ Despite Vietnam gaining its independence, the nation was split into northern and southern halves along the 17th parallel. The north became the “Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the south being named the “Republic of Vietnam.”⁷⁵ The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was run independently under communist rule, whereas a French presence remained in the South.⁷⁶ In 1956, “reunification elections were to be held” in which the citizenry of the two nations would decide whether or not to reunite.⁷⁷

The United States feared both unification and the spread of communism in Vietnam as Ho Chi Minh held great political popularity in the South and therefore decided to support Ngo Dinh Diem, “an anti-communist” politician who “reneged on the elections” as president for the Republic of Vietnam.^{78 79} This political move was undertaken by the United States to help protect South Vietnam from the rising communist sentiment growing in the North.

The international involvement of foreign powers that would escalate the Vietnam War can find its roots in the words of President John F. Kennedy’s inaugural speech on January 20, 1961. Kennedy pledged that “one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny.”⁸⁰ The newly inaugurated President of the United States warned the communist leaders of both North Vietnam and the Soviet Union that “those who foolishly [seek] power by riding the back of the tiger [end] up inside.”⁸¹ The inaugural speech signaled the United States’ dedication to fighting communism in Vietnam by promising “to those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break that bonds of mass misery,” that the United States would offer any support that they could, “not because the communists may be doing it...but because it [was] right.”⁸²

President Kennedy committed thousands of military advisors to Vietnam but held back deploying ground troops to any combat.⁸³ Kennedy’s military advisors were tasked with combatting the “large following” that Ho Chi Minh held in “both

74 An, *The Vietnam War*, 41.

75 An, *The Vietnam War*, 41

76 An, *The Vietnam War*, 31.

77 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17.

78 Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History* (New York: Viking Publishing, 1983), 242.

79 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17..

80 John Fitzgerald Kennedy, “Inaugural Address,” speech, Washington D.C., January 20, 1961.

81 John Fitzgerald Kennedy, “Inaugural Address,” speech, Washington D.C., January 20, 1961.

82 John Fitzgerald Kennedy, “Inaugural Address,” speech, Washington D.C., January 20, 1961

83 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17.

sections of Vietnam.”⁸⁴ In addition to his mass popularity in North Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh and his group of soldiers, the Viet Cong, had a growing support in the rural areas of Southern Vietnam.⁸⁵

The United States’ military policy regarding Vietnam changed with President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Gulf of Tonkin incident. On August 2, 1964, a United States Navy vessel was attacked by patrol boats from Northern Vietnam.⁸⁶ This attack allowed President Johnson and “Congress to pass a joint resolution widely known as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.”⁸⁷ The resolution gave President Johnson the ability to “take all necessary measures to repel any armed attacks against the forces against the United States and to prevent further aggression.”⁸⁸ This allowed the United States government to send ground troops to Vietnam, joining a naval and air force presence, fully bringing in American involvement to Vietnam in defense of the political systems of the democratic and capitalist South. President Johnson’s decision to commit American ground forces to Vietnam would earn him the focus and ire of many anti-war protests, forever enshrined in the rhymes such as “hey, hey LBJ, how many kids did you kill today” and in anti-war songs such as “Lyndon Johnson Told the Nation.”⁹⁰

The United States’ involvement in the Vietnam War was characterized by the coup of President Diem, the mass usage of napalm and Agent Orange, the Tet Offensive, brutal defeats, such as Khe Sanh, and a massacre at My Lai.⁹¹ During the eleven years of American involvement in the conflict, the United States military would dramatically expand into a force of fully operational military, navy, and air force units, with ground troops peaking at around 550,000 in 1968.⁹² Financially, the war cost the United States “in excess of \$200 billion,” but far more costly were the 58, 000 American lives lost during the conflict.⁹³

A major factor in the eventual defeat of the United States in Vietnam was that the nation found itself “outmaneuvered in the international arena.”⁹⁴ While the United

84 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17.

85 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17.

86 An, *The Vietnam War*, 64.

87 An, *The Vietnam War*, 64.

88 An, *The Vietnam War*, 64.

89 An, *The Vietnam War*, 64.

90 Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber eds., *The Vietnam Songbook* (New York, The Guardian, 1969), 130.

91 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17.

92 Rollins, “The Vietnam War: Perceptions through Literature, Film, and Television,” 419.

93 Simon Hall, “Scholarly Battles over the Vietnam War,” *The Historical Journal* 52 no. 3 (2009): 813.

94 Charles E. Neu, *America’s Lost War: Vietnam: 1945-1975* (Wheeling IL: Harlan Division, Inc., 2005), 9.

States could not convince its Western allies to join the conflict, North Vietnam “skillfully exploited its two major allies, China and the Soviet Union, extracting from them diplomatic support and large amounts of economic and military aid.”⁹⁵ Although the United States supplied vast military personnel and materials, they could not overpower the North Vietnamese, well-equipped by their foreign allies and possessing an incredible determination to their cause and war effort.⁹⁶ Despite large-scale tactical bombings and a strong military ground presence, ineffective military command and an underestimation of the North Vietnamese Army and the Viet Cong inhibited the South Vietnamese and United States military forces from succeeding in the conflict.⁹⁷

The war eventually became incredibly unpopular in the United States, leading to the government adopting a policy of “Vietnamization — the gradual decrease of American troops in an effort to turn the war over to the South Vietnamese.”⁹⁸ Vietnamization helped the United States withdraw the majority of their armed ground forces, but the eventual settlement between the United States and North Vietnam in Paris in 1972 would lead to the fall of South Vietnam in 1975.⁹⁹ The American military and government leaders of the Vietnam War would be accused of not taking the conflict in Vietnam as seriously as they were preoccupied with larger scale fears regarding the Cold War with the Soviet Union as a whole.¹⁰⁰ This lack of focus led to the ineffective military strategies and setbacks that the United States military would experience, despite the “high numbers of men and material” that had been committed to the war effort.¹⁰¹

Following the end of the conflict, the Vietnam War stood as a “watershed event for American politics, foreign policy, culture, values and economy” in the same historical vein as both the Civil War and the Great Depression.¹⁰² One of the outcomes of the Vietnam War was evident in that “Americans changed the way in which they conducted their politics, foreign and military affairs, economic life, and culture.”¹⁰³ The Vietnam War was a significant period of cultural conflict and change within the United States and this shift was exemplified in the role of musical within the nation’s popular culture. Music became an expression of ideals, values, and sentiments for both the soldiers fighting on the front lines and for those stateside who voiced their ideals of the growing pro and anti-war

95 Neu, *America’s Lost War: Vietnam: 1945-1975*, 9.

96 Neu, *America’s Lost War: Vietnam: 1945-1975*, 9.

97 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17.

98 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17.

99 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 14-17.

100 Neu, *America’s Lost War: Vietnam: 1945-1975*, 9.

101 Neu, *America’s Lost War: Vietnam: 1945-1975*, XV.

102 Robert D. Schulzinger, *A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam 1941-1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997): IV.

103 Schulzinger, *A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam 1941-1975*, IV.

movements of the era. The soldiers of the Vietnam War found themselves removed from the controversies of the war within the United States, but dealt with their own struggles of fear and morality regarding the war that they were either drafted into or volunteered to fight in.

The musical cultural context of the United States would become an arena of expression, coping, and debate during the Vietnam War. Music would come to define the culture of this era instead of other mediums, such as film, television, or literature. Songs would become the primary medium of message for ideas and sentiments during the conflict as “Hollywood didn’t release films that probed the complex nature of the Vietnam War until years after the fall of Saigon.”¹⁰⁴

The speed of which a musical artist or protestor could compose a piece of music reacting to an event or to proliferate their sentiments regarding the war was unmatched by the perilous process of creating a film, television program, or written work. In the cultural context of the Vietnam War, *Melody Maker* magazine would declare music “the last medium not totally controlled by business interests.”¹⁰⁵ This view was shared by the professional musicians, artists and protestors of the Vietnam War era who would utilize the medium to express and proliferate their beliefs regarding the conflict.

Music was a part of American popular culture during the Vietnam War and helped soldiers on the front lines cope with the stresses, horrors, and moral ambiguity that they faced throughout their experiences in the conflict. “Music has always been prevalent in America’s wars,” and this was especially evident in the Vietnam War.¹⁰⁶ Many “soldiers of the war [had] different perspectives of popular culture due to their personal experiences” and used music in a variety of ways during their deployment.¹⁰⁷ The music of the war that would proliferate through the soldiers and citizenry of the United States signified the “emergence of the musical culture that has come to define Vietnam in popular memory.”¹⁰⁸ The personal testimonies of American soldiers who served in Vietnam develop the various ways that popular music served these men throughout their tours of duty.

For the American soldiers of the Vietnam War, popular music offered “a release from the uncertainty, isolation” and often “stark terror” that often plagued

104 Lauren Rebecca Skarloff, “During the Vietnam War, music spoke to both sides of a divided nation,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 15, 2017.

105 “Don’t Laugh But the Next Step Could Be Pop as a Political Power,” *Melody Maker*, October 26, 1968, 13.

106 Ron Milam, *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture* (Santa Barbara: Praeger Publishing, 2016), 21.

107 Milam, *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture*, 21.

108 Doug Bradley and Craig Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of This Place: The Soundtrack of This Place: The Soundtrack of the Vietnam War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015), 232.

the experiences of those who served.¹⁰⁹ Music provided a mechanism for coping, supplying “a lifeline connecting soldiers”¹¹⁰ to both their peers in Vietnam and their lives that they left in the United States. These songs served as “the key to survival” as well as a “path to healing” for the violent experiences and moral calamities that were suffered by these soldiers Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 165.. Popular music could be found in a plethora of ways for the members of the American military in Vietnam. Soldiers listened to the same music as their stateside peers through various albums, cassettes and radio recordings that were sent to them from their friends and family. Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 165. While on duty, “the Armed Forces Vietnam Network (AFVN)” played the most popular hits of the American music charts, often containing songs with anti-war sentiments.¹¹¹ Although the AFVN was not known for censoring its broadcasts, multiple ‘pirate’ radio stations, such as “Radio First Termer,” would become popular among soldiers for its vehement anti-war and anti-government stance towards the Vietnam War.¹¹² Off duty, soldiers could often find live music for listening. Whether it be soldiers themselves “strumming out Bob Dylan and Curtis Mayfield songs at base camps” or various musical acts in Vietnamese bars or USO shows, American soldiers were surrounded by the popular music of their time, often preaching peaceful or anti-war messages.¹¹³

Michael Allen, a Vietnam veteran, described that the confusion of the Vietnam War was “reflected in pop music of the time” and helped the soldiers of the United States army understand why exactly they were in Vietnam.¹¹⁴ Allen cites various popular songs of the war when describing that the young soldiers of the United States in Vietnam needed to reflect on the morality of their actions throughout the war:

‘Moral enough to join the army, burn women, kids houses and villages,’ as we gazed upon an ominous ‘bad moon on the rise’ while we got our shit together, preparing to die, before we left on a jet plane for an uncertain future with the unnerving promise ‘they’ll all come to see me in the shade of that old oak tree as they lay me ‘neath the green, green grass of home?’¹¹⁵

Allen believed that among soldiers, the American “popular culture identity was informed by the common experiences of military service, combined with other elements of popular culture reinforcing this identity.”¹¹⁶ Allen described that throughout his experiences serving in Vietnam and for his fellow soldiers,

109 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 165.

110 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 165.

111 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 165.

112 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 165.

113 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 165.

114 Milam, *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture*, 18.

115 Milam, *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture*, 43-44.

116 Milam, *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture*, 47-48.

“music was one of the contributing elements of this identity.”¹¹⁷ According to Allen, “regardless of any other popular memory of these songs, they allowed us to actively and purposely engage in *denying the harsh reality of impending injury or death* through music before we encountered the moment in country.”¹¹⁸ Allen believes that “music allowed for a more complete expression of the complex and mixed emotions all were encountering during that time.”¹¹⁹

Many of the soldiers drafted or volunteering in the American army came from a variety of geographies and personal backgrounds but were given the unique and connecting experiences of their military experiences in Vietnam. The soldiers of the conflict dealt with a variety of complex emotions, emotions that they heard represented and expressed through the popular music of their time. This music allowed them to understand their situation and connect them to the lives and individuals that they left behind. Their testimony demonstrates how the soldiers of Vietnam used the popular music of the time to cope with the fears and stress of the war, such as the threat of death and the morality concerning their actions abroad.

Music as a form of popular culture helped young American soldiers connect to both their fellow comrades and to the lives that they left behind in the United States.¹²⁰ For the soldiers, drafted or volunteered into the war, “music was a lifeline connecting soldiers to their homes, families, and parts of themselves they felt slipping away.”¹²¹ To the young soldiers serving in Vietnam, “the sound of a voice or a guitar” “could evoke a connection with comrades in Vietnam,” and could “ignite intense feelings of sorrow back home.”¹²² Music, as a part of popular culture, amongst the American soldiers of the Vietnam War emphasized “the ways in which soldiers used music to maintain their connections with the world and to form communities that allowed them to deal with a war that was far more complicated than they’d expected.”¹²³ To many of these soldiers, the popular music that they heard on the radio while on tour provided an “escape” from the horrors and stresses of their daily experiences on the front lines.¹²⁴

Gerald McCarthy, a “combat engineer stationed at Chu Lai in 1966,” describes the connection that music provided him while on tour in Vietnam.¹²⁵ McCarthy described how music was “an essential part of [the soldiers]” experience and that “music was our youth and a connection to the things we shared: class and work and war; it was essential because it did not divide us or stress our differences or

117 Milam, *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture*, 47-48.

118 Milam, *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture*, 50-51.

119 Milam, *The Vietnam War in Popular Culture*, 50-51.

120 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 162. .

121 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 162.

122 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 211.

123 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 233.

124 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 162.

125 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 1122.

divisions.”¹²⁶ The popular music of the era allowed the American soldiers fighting the Vietnam War an opportunity to connect with both their fellow soldiers and to the lives they left back home, preserving their humanity in the face of the horrors of a war they did not expect.

Allen and McCarthy’s experiences of music as a part of their cultural experiences in Vietnam, along with the understandings of many other American soldiers, demonstrated how “music played an outsized role in the Vietnam War.”¹²⁷ While the soldiers of the war were serving their nation, either voluntarily or involuntary, questions and opinions regarding the war flared up stateside among the United States citizenries. Debates over the morality of the conflict, the draft, and the high loss of life, among other topics, created a profound sense of disillusionment among United States citizens, a divide that would fuel a growing anti-war protest movement in the nation.

Music played an important role in American culture during other wars, but unlike other conflicts, where “musicians wrote songs to unite Americans, Vietnam music spoke to the growing number of disillusioned citizens and brought attention to the cultural fissures that were beginning to emerge.”¹²⁸ This sense of disillusionment was demonstrated by the movement of American citizens who used music as a part of their popular culture to confront and protest social issues that the war in Vietnam was bringing to the forefront. The anti-war response to the conflict did not occur rapidly, as “protest of the Vietnam War started as slowly as the commitment to the War itself.”¹²⁹ While “many early protestors focused not on the Vietnam War” but on the “fear of nuclear war,” the protests shifted as America’s military involvement increased.¹³⁰ The early stages of the Vietnam War did not put American soldiers directly in the line of fire, but following President Johnson’s decision to put American soldiers directly into the conflict, “the anti-Vietnam movement began to take hold.”¹³¹

Anti-war protest of the Vietnam War was often carried out by the American youth, particularly student-led initiatives such as the “Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).”¹³² As the war progressed and the death toll increased, the anti-war protest movement would gain new members from society, such as “housewives, returning soldiers, and American citizens tired of the seemingly endless war.”

126 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 1122

127 Skarloff, “During the Vietnam War, music spoke to both sides of a divided nation,” 2017.

128 Skarloff, “During the Vietnam War, music spoke to both sides of a divided nation,” 2017..

129 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 25.

130 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 25

131 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 27.

132 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 27.

¹³³This period of protest and civil disobedience undertaken by the citizens of America would be marked by “marches against the war, the draft, and the use of napalm and various other forms of protest against the war.”¹³⁴ The United States government itself became the target of these anti-war protests as the students of this era saw their government as an “uncaring bureaucracy” that distributed “social and economic injustice and a morality blind to anything but profit.”¹³⁵ The protest ideology of this era would also be intertwined with other social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, such as “civil rights, urban decay, rural poverty, and the burgeoning military-industrial complex.”¹³⁶ It was in the context of these social, cultural, and political protests that music would be utilized as a method of further spreading anti-war ideals and sentiments.

The different factions and groups of anti-Vietnam War protesters all “identified music as their mouthpiece” for their “social and political wings” of protest.¹³⁷ The movements of this era utilized music as a “verbalization of dissatisfaction with the status quo” as the medium enabled these groups to express their anger and frustration with the United States government’s policy of war in Vietnam.¹³⁸ These pieces of music were vital to the representation of ideas and sentiments for anti-war protesters, becoming “anthems in their crusade for peace.”¹³⁹ The protesters of this era, particularly students, were faced with new social and political realities and turned to their own culture for answers and methods of expression. The American public was faced with ideas of war to which they not previously been exposed. The United States idealized a generation of veterans of the Second World War, a conflict that “justified the sacrifices of war.”¹⁴⁰ The Vietnam War confronted the American military and public with an enemy they had never met and seemingly posed no threat to their state of existence. Many young patriotic American soldiers would identify with the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese’s attempts for independence, sovereignty, and unity, ideals that formed the basis of the American Revolution.¹⁴¹

The American public soon found itself faced with graphic images, horrific narratives, and drastic death tolls that were wholly unique to the conflict in Vietnam. The Vietnam War was defined by publicized images of unarmed Viet Cong soldiers

133 Erin Ruth McCoy, “The historical and cultural meanings of American music lyrics from the Vietnam War,” *Electronic Theses and Dissertations* 5 no. 940 (2013): 64.

134 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 36-37.

135 Kenneth J. Bindas and Craig Houston, “‘Takin’ Care of Business:” Rock Music, Vietnam and the Protest Myth,” *The Historian* 52, no. 1 (1989): 1.

136 Bindas and Houston, “‘Takin’ Care of Business,”” 2.

137 Bindas and Houston, “‘Takin’ Care of Business,”” 4.

138 McCoy, “The historical and cultural meanings of American music lyrics,” 66.

139 Skarloff, “During the Vietnam War, music spoke to both sides of a divided nation,” 2017..

140 Geoffrey C. Ward, *The Vietnam War: Resolve*, directed by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick (2017, PBS, 2017), DVD.

141 Ward, *The Vietnam War: Resolve*, 2017.

being executed at gunpoint, children scarred and burned by American napalm, and the slaughter of civilians at My Lai.¹⁴² To those who protested the war, music became a focal point and an instrument in the cultural conflict that would surround the war in Vietnam.

Definitions of protest music connects to the various songs created throughout the Vietnam War era and help convey and develop how these pieces of music would be utilized as methods of protest and expression by generations of Americans reacting to the unique situation posed to them by the context of the war itself. Protest music can be understood in a variety of avenues, such as “expressions of discontent that imply a need for change,” methods that represent “the needs of an individual of a special interest group,” a form of culture that “may be adapted by and utilized as ideological statements of a social movement,” a medium that “may inspire the creation of other messages against the status quo” and finally, a piece that “may be used to stimulate thought or reinforce and modify attitudes.”¹⁴³ All of these interpretations can be adapted to understand the music that was created in response to the United States’ involvement in the Vietnam War. Although the majority of music discussed will be in regard to the anti-war protest movements of this era, examples of conflict pro-war lyrical pieces with conservative values will be discussed to more fully understand the role that music played in the culture conflict that surrounded the Vietnam War.

Music produced during the Vietnam War that echoed previous generation’s sentiments regarding the glory and honor related to serving one’s country can be understood through the commercial success of “The Ballad of the Green Beret.” “A poignantly pro-military anthem,” this piece represented conservative beliefs regarding military service, as well as inspired satire through the music of the coming years.¹⁴⁴ The lyrics of the piece, written by Robin Moore and Staff Sergeant Barry Sadler, praise the bravery, skill, and fearlessness of the American Green Berets:

Fighting soldiers from the sky,
Fearless men who jump and die,
Men who mean just what they say,
The brave men of the Green Beret.

Silver Wings upon their chest,
These are men America’s best,
100 men will test today,
But only 3 win the Green Beret.

142 Ward, *The Vietnam War: Resolve*, 2017

143 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 54; Elizabeth J. Kizer, “Protest song lyrics as rhetoric,” *Popular Music and Society* 9 no. 1 (1983), 3.

144 Tad Tuleja, *Warrior’s Ways* (Logan UT: Utah State University Press, 2012): 249.

Trained to live of nature's land,
Trained in combat hand to hand,
Men who fight by night and day,
Courage takes from the Green Beret.

Back at home a young wife waits,
Her Green Beret has met his fate,
He has died for those oppressed,
Leaving her his last request.

Put silver wings on my son's chest,
Make him one of America's best,
He'll be a man they'll test one day
Have him win the Green Beret.¹⁴⁵

Sadler's description of the American forces as brave, courageous, and honorable would be challenged in various ways through the popular music of years to come. The lyrics were demonstrative of the American viewpoint towards previous wars, a viewpoint that was beginning to decay and would be severely challenged throughout the end of the war.¹⁴⁶ The "emotional core" of the song lies in its ideas of "self-sacrifice" for those oppressed.¹⁴⁷ This idea would become greatly questioned during the Vietnam War as soldiers and civilians alike questioned whether the intentions of the United States government's intervention in Vietnam was truly noble or needed. Sadler's lyrics are important as a piece of popular American music both in terms of understanding the pro-war and conservative viewpoints on the Vietnam War and the American military, as well as to demonstrate the ideals that new anti-war movements would rebel against.

Perhaps one of the most evocative and fundamental pieces of anti-war music created in the era of the Vietnam War was Country Joe McDonald's "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die Rag."¹⁴⁸ Not only would the song itself become "probably *the* most memorable anti-war anthem of the Vietnam Conflict," but the artists presentation of the piece was also notable.¹⁴⁹ The studio recording of the song was preceded by the word "fish" being spelled out, a nod to the band name "Country Joe and the Fish."¹⁵⁰ At "anti-war rallies and concerts," McDonald would forgo spelling and chanting the word "fish" and instead would ask the crowd to spell

145 Robin Moore and Barry Sadler, "The Ballad of the Green Beret," RCA Victor, 1966.

146 Tuleja, *Warrior's Ways*, 249..

147 Tuleja, *Warrior's Ways*, 251

148 James Perone, *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2001): 40.

149 Perone, *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*, 40.

150 Perone, *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*, 40.

and repeatedly chant “fuck.”¹⁵¹ This purposeful act of group cursing represented a “rebellious, counterculture political act” that was targeted at shocking the older and more conservative generations of the United States who supported the war.¹⁵² The lyrics of McDonald’s popular anti-war tune voice many of the sentiments of the youth and protest movements of this era:

Come on all of you big strong men,
Uncle Sam needs your help again,
He’s got himself in a terrible jam,
Way down yonder in Vietnam,
Put down your books and pick up a gun,
We’re gonna have a whole lotta fun.

And it’s one, two, three, what are we fighting for?
Don’t ask me, I don’t give a damn, next stop is Vietnam,
And it’s five, six, seven, open up the pearly gates,
Ain’t no time to wonder why, whoopee we’re all gonna die...

Come on Wall Street don’t be slow,
Why man this war is a go-go,
There’s plenty of good money to be made by,
Supplying the army with the tools of its trade,
Let’s hope and pray that if they drop the bomb,
They drop it on the Viet Cong.¹⁵³

The satirical lyrics of McDonald’s song represented many of the popular viewpoints that were being expressed and proliferated by the anti-war protesters of this era. McDonald evoked “imagery of the military recruiter as a carnival barker,” including a “chorus in which a new draftee sarcastically expresses his cluelessness about what he is fighting for and his belief that he is about to die.”¹⁵⁴ The satirical elements of this piece were often used in the anti-war protest anthems of the era and exemplified best in the “I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-to-Die Rag.”¹⁵⁵

McDonald’s primary focus was his disgust “with the increased trivialization and commercialization of the war.”¹⁵⁶ McDonald characterizes the war as a battle that the United States government had foolishly found itself in and that then required the lives of the average American youth, despite the status of many of them as students. The song also criticizes the military-industrial complex and

151 Perone, *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*, 40.

152 Perone, *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*, 40.

153 Joe McDonald, “The ‘Fish’ Cheer/I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-to-Die Rag,” Vanguard, 1967.

154 Perone, *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*, 40.

155 Perone, *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*, 40.

156 Bindas and Houston, “‘Takin’ Care of Business,’” 19.

its involvement in the war, citing the belief of many anti-war protestors that corporations were exploiting the death and destruction of the war for profit.

The crux of McDonald's anti-war piece was demonstrated in his question of the motives of the war, to which he satirically responded, "I don't give a damn."¹⁵⁷ McDonald contradicts the images of the American military presented in "The Ballad of the Green Beret" by painting the American soldiers of the Vietnam War not as courageous volunteers, but as youth ripped from their education and homes to die in a foreign land for reasons that were both unknown and unimportant. McDonald satires Sadler's somber and patriotic visions of American service by presenting a careless and unnecessary image of American's serving in Vietnam.

The piece also directly confronted the heavy death tolls of the war on American soldiers, criticizing the United States government's attempts to make participation in the war seem patriotic.¹⁵⁸ The "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die Rag" perfectly encapsulated many of the emotions and sentiments of the antiwar protestors as they struggled with ideas of why a war was being fought and the senseless and cruel violence that contained little to no meaning for them in the United States.

A significant characteristic of the anti-war protests of the Vietnam War was the violence that often erupted at these demonstrations. One of the most iconic examples of violence occurring as an effect of an anti-war protest during this era were the Kent State Shootings on May 4, 1970.¹⁵⁹ The clash between protestors and the National Guard would become the "most recognizable battle on campus," a locale that often housed anti-war protests held by students.¹⁶⁰ A fire engulfed the university's ROTC (Reserve Officers' Training Corps) building and students "discouraged the efforts of firefighters by slicing their hoses and throwing rocks."¹⁶¹ The governor of Ohio responded by calling in the National Guard to suppress the student protests.¹⁶² The event would end in violence as "the national guardsmen fired into the crowd, killing four and injuring thirteen."¹⁶³ This senseless violence and the death of student protesters "created massive movements of student in protest" of both the war and the violence they experienced.¹⁶⁴ Publicized protests, such as Kent State or the riots at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968, "provided a new rallying point for activists and encouraged another shift in public opinion against the war."¹⁶⁵

157 Joe McDonald, "The 'Fish' Cheer/I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die Rag," *Vanguard*, 1967.

158 Perone, *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*, 40.

159 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 49.

160 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 49.

161 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 49.

162 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 49.

163 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 49.

164 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 49.

165 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 49-50.

“Ohio,” written by Neil Young and recorded by Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young was a piece that would play a significant role in American popular culture as a protest song during the Vietnam War. The lyrics describe the scene of the Kent State shootings and would go on to be used as a rallying song for the anti-war protesters of the era. The lyrics not only portray the horrors of the scene on campus, but demonstrated the senselessness of the violence, as the students were already protesting what they considered to be an unjust war and more senseless violence:

Tin soldiers and Nixon’s coming,
We’re finally on our own,
This summer I hear the drumming
Four dead in Ohio,

Gotta get down to it,
Soldiers are cutting us down,
Should have been gone long ago,
What if you knew her,
And found her dead on the ground?
How can you run when you know?¹⁶⁶

Young personally named then United States President Nixon in his piece in order to demonstrate both the antagonism towards the government as well as the feelings of alienation that anti-war protestors felt during the Vietnam War era. The events of Kent State “mobilized the anti-war protesters who fell silent after President Nixon’s and the conservative Republican Party’s victory in the 1968 election.”¹⁶⁷ By 1970, the public opinion of the war had shifted, as “a majority (56%) of Americans viewed the war as a mistake.”¹⁶⁸ The events of Kent State and the following uproar, including the proliferation and popularity of the song “Ohio,” would influence Nixon’s decision to withdraw troops from the region in 1971.¹⁶⁹

One protest song that was both commercially popular and a favorite among both protestors and soldiers was “Fortunate Son” by Creedence Clearwater Revival.¹⁷⁰ Fogerty’s lyrics are a critical look into the “inequality in the draft system.” Fogerty, author of the lyrics and guitarist of Creedence Clearwater Revival, discussed the unfairness of the draft as individuals who were wealthy or had political connections were able to secure deferments, whereas lower class citizens of the United States were drafted and sent off to Vietnam on behalf of “inherently patriotic” government

166 Neil Young, “Ohio,” Atlantic, 1970.

167 McCoy, “The historical and cultural meanings of American music lyrics,” 109.

168 Bindas and Houston, ““Takin’ Care of Business,”” 16.

169 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 50..

170 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 1482.

leaders who “only want[ed] to continue sending more troops.”¹⁷¹ Fogerty described how individuals with considerable political connections could find themselves exempt from the draft, whereas ordinary citizens were vulnerable:

It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no senator's son, son.
It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no fortunate one, no.¹⁷²

Fogerty also argued that “the poor and middle class had to go to war, while the rich could avoid the war through different opportunities presented to them.”¹⁷³

It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no millionaire son, son.
It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no fortunate son.¹⁷⁴

Fogerty contended that the patriotic leaders of the United States drafted youth to the Vietnam War and that poor and middle-class citizens had “no rights to protest the demands for troops, and [could] only followed what military leaders ask[ed] of them.”¹⁷⁵ The piece also discussed the hypocrisy of so called ‘patriotic’ citizens who promoted the ideals of war but refused to supply funds themselves for the war effort.

Some folks are born silver spoon in hand,
Lord, don't they help themselves yeah,
But when the taxman comes to the door,
The house look a like a rummage sale...

Yeah, some folks inherit star-spangled eyes,
They send you down to war,
And when you ask 'em: “How much should we give?”
They only answer: “More, more, more.”¹⁷⁶

The individuals who were not ‘fortunate sons’ were the average American citizens who could not “avoid the draft through the connections their wealth offer[ed] them” and were instead “subject to the war and the draft.”¹⁷⁷ Future President of the United States Donald Trump would draw controversy when it was discovered that he was given five draft deferments in the Vietnam War, including one for bone spurs.¹⁷⁸ Whether or not these spurs were a serious medical condition has not been discovered or disclosed.

171 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 80-82.

172 John Fogerty, “Fortunate Son,” Fantasy, 1969.

173 Skarloff, “During the Vietnam War, music spoke to both sides of a divided nation,” 2017.

174 Fogerty, “Fortunate Son,” Fantasy, 1969.

175 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 80-82

176 Fogerty, “Fortunate Son,” Fantasy, 1969. .

177 Carr-Wilcoxson, “Protest Music of the Vietnam War,” 80-82.

178 Eder, Steve, and Dave Philipps, “Donald Trump’s Draft Deferments: Four for College, One for Bad Feet,” *The New York Times*, August 1, 2016.

Doug Clifford, drummer of Clearance Clearwater Revival, who served in the United States military reserves but did not see combat in Vietnam, discussed how Fogerty's experience in the Army Reserve would help inspire a piece that would relate to the experiences of the soldiers of the Vietnam War:

John [Fogerty] was in the Army Reserve, and he saw the inequities of the lower classes and the middle class going while the privileged class didn't have to. That's what 'Fortunate Son' is about. It's written from the perspective of the poor guys who got drafted over there and exposing those that didn't.¹⁷⁹

Although the draft was designed to choose soldiers impartially, "largely it was the poor and middle class who had to go to Vietnam."¹⁸⁰ This was due to the fact that wealthy families could send their sons to college or university to obtain education deferments or that wealthy individuals could obtain "stateside military jobs" to keep them away from the horrific front lines of the Vietnam War.¹⁸¹ The song, and its lyrics opposing the draft and its inequalities, appealed to the both the anti-war protesters and American soldiers of the Vietnam War.

In the United States, "Fortunate Son" was a rallying cry that those fearful of the draft could relate to¹⁸². The song, and many others like it, were used by protestors to "provide color and commentary during those years," as well as to "highlight the diverse manifestations of social conflict."¹⁸³ Antiwar protestors in the United States were faced with many social conflicts and it was through music in the popular culture that they "discussed these issues openly" and brought many of these controversial topics, such as "the inequality of the draft, to light."¹⁸⁴ Songs such as "Fortunate Son" appealed to the young soldiers in Vietnam as the piece related to their experiences and helped them cope with the stress and horrors of war that they were dealing with on the front lines.¹⁸⁵

Loren Webster, a "heavy mortar platoon leader" in Vietnam, selected "Fortunate Son" as "the song that spoke to him most deeply about Vietnam." Webster described how the song "pretty well summarized" the frustrations and stresses of the American youth who were drafted in the Vietnam War.¹⁸⁶ Webster explained how the song related to his feelings of having to serve his country in a morally ambiguous and horrific war while "rich draft dodgers" were able

179 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 1436

180 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 80-82.

181 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 80-82.

182 Christopher C. Lovett, "A Walk in the Sun: Reflections on teaching the Vietnam War," *The History Teacher* 31, no. 1 (1997): 79.

183 Carr-Wilcoxson, "Protest Music of the Vietnam War," 80-82.

184 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 1464.

185 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 1471.

186 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 1471.

to avoid the conflict entirely.¹⁸⁷ Fogerty's lyrics highlight the underpinning controversies and inequalities of the Vietnam War that would both frustrate the drafted soldiers and compel the American public into mass protests against the war. Despite the eventual majority sentiment against the war, music was utilized by those who preached conservative, pro-war and pro-government values through their own music.

Merle Haggard's "Okie from Muskogee" is a primary example of a piece of conservative pro-war music that was created and proliferated during the era of the American conflict in Vietnam. Haggard is critical of multiple qualities of the anti-war protest movement. Haggard's music "reinforced the political rhetoric" of the pro-war ideologies of both the Johnson and Nixon administrations.¹⁸⁸ Haggard critiqued the drug use, draft avoidance, and general ways of life of the anti-war protest movements, instead promoting conservative values of government obedience and sacrificing one's life for freedom:

We don't smoke marijuana in Muskogee,
We don't take our trips on LSD,
We don't burn our draft cards down on Main Street,
We like livin' right, and bein' free.

We don't make a party out of lovin'
We like holdin' hands and pitch' woo,
We don't let our hair grow long and shaggy,
Like the hippies out in San Francisco do.

I'm proud to be an Okie from Muskogee,
A place where even squares can have a ball,
We still wave Old Glory down at the Courthouse,
And white lightin's still the biggest thrill of all.¹⁸⁹

Haggard's critique of the anti-war protest movement highlights the drug use, free love ideals, and anti-government rhetoric that characterized the protest movements. The conservative values of fighting for one's freedom and government obedience spoke to some citizens and soldiers of the United States who did not support anti-war rhetoric.¹⁹⁰ One American soldier testified that Haggard's "distinctly patriotic music played well in Vietnam, where troops regarded it as 'their kind of music' because they agreed with the message, especially the denunciation of war protestors."¹⁹¹ The anti-protesting sentiments of artists like Haggard also "resonated with many returning veterans, who generally came from blue-collar

187 Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of this Place*, 1471.

188 McCoy, "The historical and cultural meanings of American music lyrics," 143.

189 Merle Haggard, "Okie from Muskogee," Capitol, 1969.

190 McCoy, "The historical and cultural meanings of American music lyrics," 143.

191 McCoy, "The historical and cultural meanings of American music lyrics," 143.

backgrounds where angry, cavalier forms of patriotism strongly responded to anti-war sentiments.”¹⁹² The contrasting views of the American public regarding the Vietnam War created the cultural conflict that would envelop the discourse surrounding the conflict.

In addition to the professional and commercially successful music of the period, protesters themselves, especially those of the anti-war camp, utilized the growing power of music within their cultural framework to develop songs of their own to represent and express their views and sentiments on both the Vietnam War and the United States government. These protestor-created pieces of music that “were able to express [youth’s] feelings of anger and confusion with lyrics that could be abstract,” or “explicit.”¹⁹³ One of the primary thematic messages that protestor chants and songs discussed was “about America’s failure to live up to its democratic principles.”¹⁹⁴ These lyrics and songs played a significant role in the protest culture as it allowed anti-war individuals and groups to create their own pieces of culture that could be used in the cultural conflict of music and ideas that surrounded the Vietnam War. These songs included pieces such as “Hell No! We Won’t Go!” and “Love and Ashes.”¹⁹⁵ The piece “Git Gone!” encapsulates the anti-war sentiments of disappointment with the United States’ foreign policy, frustrations with the draft, and an anger against the effects of the war on the Vietnamese:

Things are in a jam down in Vietnam,
People down there don’t dig Uncle Sam.
Rule by the people can’t be wrong,
And the people down there are Viet Cong.
Well you’re wrong, Sam, scam!
Don’t you know you’d better git gone.

Got a letter other day, it said “Greeting’s son,
We want you in our war, come and get your gun.”
I wrote Sam a letter, had to tell him no,
I’m a real freedom fighter, so I just can’t go.
And you’re wrong, Sam, scam!
Don’t you know you’d better git gone.¹⁹⁶

Akin to McDonald’s “I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-to-Die Rag,” the song critiques the Vietnam War as the act of “Uncle Sam.” Protestors rejected the idea that a conflict

192 McCoy, “The historical and cultural meanings of American music lyrics,” 143.

193 Skarloff, “During the Vietnam War, music spoke to both sides of a divided nation,” 2017.

194 Skarloff, “During the Vietnam War, music spoke to both sides of a divided nation,” 2017

195 Dane and Silber eds., *The Vietnam Songbook*, 18..

196 Dane and Silber eds., *The Vietnam Songbook*, 18.

started and supported by the United States government, without the consent of the citizenry, could be foisted onto the general population and especially the young men who were drafted into the conflict. “Git Gone” and many other protestor-created songs also stressed the true patriotism of refusing to serve or support an unjust war, often quoting the actions of individuals such as Muhammed Ali and other draft dodgers.¹⁹⁷ These pieces of music did not have the reach or cultural impact that commercially successful and recorded pieces of music held, but they played an important part in the cultural conflict of the Vietnam War as they allowed protestors to utilize the power of music within the United States culture to express and proliferate their anti-war ideals. These ideals defined a protest movement that “excoriated the hypocrisy of American values, shunned commercialism and supported anti-imperial movements around the globe.”¹⁹⁸ Ultimately, these songs expressed various ideals critiquing the actions of the United States government and its actions in Vietnam in an effort to convince the state to withdraw troops, saving the lives of both American soldiers and Vietnamese citizens, and to avoid further destruction and violence.

The music of the Vietnam War, specifically from 1966-1970, played a fundamental role for both the soldiers and the citizens of the United States. For the frontline soldiers of the war, popular music became an instrument of coping with the stress, horror, and moral ambiguity of the war, as well as connecting them to both their fellow soldiers and the lives that they left behind. For the citizens of the United States, music, both self-created and commercially popular, became a focal point to address the social and political issues and realities of the War in Vietnam, as well as to aid in the expression of sentiments and viewpoints over the controversies of protesting the war itself.

The American soldiers of the war found themselves on the front line of a conflict thousands of miles from their borders. Some of these soldiers had volunteered out of patriotism, others had been ordered by a questionably objective draft system. They dealt with the stress of violence, morality, and death. Many of these soldiers turned to the popular music of this era for solace. Ideas of anti-war frustrations, class inequality, and military patriotism in the name of freedom defined the airwaves. Some pieces of music helped them connect to their fellow soldiers through shared sentiments and fears, as well as connecting them to struggles and memories from back home. The citizens of the United States found themselves faced with a war that was marred by questions of legality, morality, and righteousness. Ideas and sentiments over the Vietnam War would split much of the population over their opinions. Like the soldiers who fought this questionable war, many of these citizens turned to the music of their time. Music would come to serve a fundamental purpose in the cultural conflict that would surround the

197 Dane and Silber eds., *The Vietnam Songbook*, 18

198 Skarloff, “During the Vietnam War, music spoke to both sides of a divided nation,” 2017.

Vietnam War. Commercially successful artists rhapsodized ideals of an unjust war, draft inequality, and the senseless violence that surrounded both the conflict as well as the disputes back home. Protesters, like the students of various American campus's, utilized music in their own sense, creating catchy, satirical, and scathing critiques of the United States government through songs of their own. Other musicians responded with conservative, pro-war pieces that supported both the government and the patriotic fight for freedom. The cultural conflict over music that ensued would both engulf and define the discourses surrounding the Vietnam War, leaving a legacy of music, controversy, and unanswered questions.

The legacy of the Vietnam War was “a tragedy, immeasurable and irredeemable.”¹⁹⁹ Despite the horror, destruction, death, and violence that saturated and defined the conflict, there is value and meaning that “can be found in the individual stories of those who lived through it.”²⁰⁰ The lives of those individuals marked and characterized by the war demonstrate the “stories of courage and comradeship, and perseverance. Of understanding and forgiveness, and ultimately reconciliation.”²⁰¹ The “weight of memory” carried by those who lives were forever changed or altered due to the war and the cultural conflict that engulfed it turned to music and the opportunities it afforded them to express themselves, their anger, frustrations, patriotism, despair and hope.²⁰² The songs of the Vietnam War are their stories.

199 Geoffrey C. Ward, *The Vietnam War: The Weight of Memory*, directed by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick (2017, PBS, 2017), DVD.

200 Ward, *The Vietnam War: The Weight of Memory*, 2017.

201 Ward, *The Vietnam War: The Weight of Memory*, 2017.

202 Ward, *The Vietnam War: The Weight of Memory*, 2017.

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KATE GILLIS

Different Sides of the Same Coin: Comparing the Treatment of Indigenous Peoples on Both Sides of the 49th Parallel

One of Canada's longest unresolved issues is the historical and present-day failure of the government to recognize the treaties made between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown. Following the period of first contact, Indigenous peoples across the continent and European newcomers held a largely equal position. A large portion of these relationships were properly defined by alliances, or what later became known as treaties.²⁰³ These agreements were made between two equivalent parties; the goal was for a relationship to be formed that was equally beneficial for both parties. But these once peaceful means of forging alliances did not last. Although they have been an important feature of the country since the earliest days of contact, relatively few Canadians understand what they are or the role that they have played in the country's past. Unfortunately, even fewer non-Native Canadians appreciate that treaties are a valuable part of the foundation of the Canadian state.²⁰⁴ The Canadian Numbered Treaties represent a change in the process of treaty making. What was initially a process of mutual benefit, partnership, and peace was almost instantly turned into an imposition of power by the Euro-Canadian population who no longer viewed the Indigenous people as an equal, or even a threat, but as a doomed and dying race standing in the way of progress.

Canadians often define themselves in contrast to Americans. Indeed, not being American has often been central to defining the Canadian identity.²⁰⁵ In discussing the settlement of the west and the treatment towards Indigenous peoples, the

203 J. R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-making in Canada*. (Canadian Electronic Library. Canadian Publishers Collection. 2009.), 3.)

204 J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant*, 3.

205 Gary Brent Madison, Paul Fairfield, and Ingrid Harris. *Is There a Canadian Philosophy?: Reflections on the Canadian Identity*. (Philosophica. Ottawa [Ont.]: University of Ottawa Press, 2000.

peaceful opening of the Canadian prairies and the negotiation of treaties with Indigenous peoples is contrasted with the violence and lawlessness of the American wild west and the ruthless military campaign waged by the American government to subdue Indigenous peoples. Such simplistic generalizations are misleading and conceal the fact that there was far more in common between the treatment of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States than is often acknowledged. This paper explores the similarities between ideologies and objectives that shaped Indian policy and the treaty making process on either side of the forty-ninth parallel by examining the experience of the Blackfoot Confederacy. The reality is that the Indigenous peoples on either side of the border were subjected to policies by Canadian and American authorities designed to establish their power and superiority, open the West to settlement and development, and suppress the regions Indigenous population.

The Blackfoot Confederacy or *Niitsitapi* or *Siksikaitsitapi* (meaning “the people” or “Blackfoot-speaking real people”) consists of the following Nations/Tribes: Amsskapiikunniwa (Blackfeet Tribe) located in northern Montana, U.S.A., Kainaiwa (Blood Tribe), Siksikawa (Siksika Nation) and Aapatohipiikunniwa (Piikani Nation), all located in southern Alberta, Canada. Recognizing the differences between individual tribes and nations within the confederacy is extremely important, and when possible, this paper acknowledges the independence of each tribe. But for the sake of simplicity, when referring to the Niitsitapi in Canada, this paper will use the generic term “Blackfoot,” in comparison to the southern territory, which will be referred to as “Blackfeet.” These names, though not traditional to the tribes, represent the dialectic differences between Canada and the United States in reference to the Indigenous populations within these areas.²⁰⁶

The goal in exploring the Niitsitapi on either side of the border is to establish a culturally cohesive group of Indigenous peoples, and comparing their treatment on either side of the forty-ninth parallel under two separate government systems. It is important to remember that for the Indigenous peoples of the Plains, the border defining the difference in territory between Canada and the United States was meaningless. Their traditional territory straddled both sides of the made up line, and for years they continued to roam freely across the border. Conflicting interpretations of the Indian’s role during the 1880s led to unpleasant incidents along the international boundary. In Ottawa, officials viewed the American West as the same inhabited wilderness as their own Northwest Territories and argued

206 For the sake of this paper, the term “Indian,” will also be used regarding the Indigenous in the United States. Although this is seen as a largely outdated term within contemporary times in Canada, the “American Indian” is the widely accepted verbiage regarding the Indigenous peoples in the United States. On top of this, the term “Indian,” is unavoidable throughout the literature, especially whilst exploring governmental policies and ideologies of the time.

that the Indians should continue to follow the buffalo freely, ignoring the political boundary in their hunting. American officials, in contrast, prompted by the rapid growth of the range cattle industry in Montana, rejected this Canadian doctrine of “free passage.”²⁰⁷ In 1882 the American government acted unilaterally to end the free movement of Canadian Indigenous and Metis²⁰⁸ peoples across the boundary. Army troops forced them to return to their own hunting grounds, destroying their lodges and confiscating their goods if they returned.²⁰⁹ From that time onward the Niitsitapi were truly one people divided by an invisible line.

This paper provides a thematic approach to a comparative analysis of the treatment of Indigenous peoples on either side of the international border. It is important to state that although this paper compares both Canadian and American policies side by side, the United States was often years ahead in establishing their federal policies. For example, the treaties examined in this paper took place in 1855 in the United States, and 1877 in Canada. Because of the close proximity, Indian affairs in the south influenced Indian affairs to the north.²¹⁰ This often enabled Indigenous peoples to collect knowledge about the intent of the government and its policies before they were enacted. In order to establish some context, this paper first looks at the Federal Indian Policy in the United States compared to the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which was followed by the Indian Act in 1876 in Canada. Following this, the treaties that were established between the Niitsitapi people and the governments are compared. This is followed with the aftermath of the treaties, and the broken promises of the governments. The analysis of the United States and the Blackfeet people concludes with the peak of tension between the two groupings, the Marias Massacre of 1863. Because Canada did not take as militaristic an approach, a greater emphasis will be placed on the aftermath of Treaty 7, and the continued intentional mistreatment of the Indigenous peoples. This paper compares the similarities between the ideology, policy, and practice towards the Indigenous peoples on either side of the forty-ninth parallel, and concludes that neither position was favourable.

The American Federal Indian Policy established the relationship between the United States Government and the Indian Tribes within its borders. For the sake of simplicity, some scholars have chosen to divide the federal policy into six phases:

207 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country : The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973.), 156.

208 The Métis are people of mixed European and Indigenous ancestry, and one of the three recognized Aboriginal peoples in Canada. They were often referred to as “half-breeds,” but the derogatory nature of the term has caused it to fall largely into disuse in favour of the originally distinctly French label of “Metis.”

209 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country : The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*, 156.

210 Jill St. Germain, *Broken Treaties United States and Canadian Relations with the Lakotas and the Plains Cree, 1868-1885*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.), xiv.

coexistence (1789-1828), removal and reservations (1829-1886), assimilation (1887-1932), reorganization (1932-1945), termination (1946-1960), and self-determination (1961-1985).²¹¹ For the sake of this paper, the primary focus will be placed on the period of removal and reservations. The nineteenth-century “Indian problem,” as reformers understood it, referred to a fundamental contradiction. The United States acknowledged that Native American peoples existed as autonomous communities- sovereign or semi-sovereign-collectives that predated the United States itself.²¹² President Andrew Jackson, was elected into office in 1829. Following his election, Congress built on the foundation of the discovery doctrine which stated that as the “discoverers,” European nations assumed free title to the land, while the Native occupants they encountered were never really “land owners,” but tenants.²¹³ With this belief they moved to pass the Indian Removal Act, perhaps providing a more intentional and rational, though no more just, framework for land acquisition.²¹⁴ Slowly, but surely, the Jackson government began the process of removing Indigenous peoples from their traditional lands, all the while justifying it to themselves and the rest of the American population through a made up discovery doctrine.

The removal process of the 1830s and 1840s that was forced upon northern and southern Indians east of the Mississippi River resulted in a shocking loss of life.²¹⁵ Those who survived faced the physical and psychologically devastating prospect of establishing themselves in new and foreign territories far from their homelands and ancestors. Most of these peoples were moved westwards, but in the 1850s, increasing western settlement brought larger numbers of non-Native settlers into contact with Indian communities. In the 1850s, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George Manypenny, worked tirelessly to consolidate American territorial acquisitions and colonial control in the west. In 1850 he summarized the goals and nature of the midcentury Indian policy: “first, treaties of peace and friendship; second, treaties of acquisition, with a view of colonizing the Indians on reservations; and third, treaties of acquisition, and providing for the permanent settlement of the individuals of the tribes, at once or in the future, on separate tracts of land or homesteads, and for the gradual abolition of the tribal character.”²¹⁶ This is the context in which the Blackfeet peoples entered into treaty negotiations with the American government.

211 Jill St. Germain, *Indian Treaty-Making Policy in the United States and Canada, 1867-1877*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 26.

212 Joseph C. Genetin Pilawa, “Confining Indians,” in *Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight Over Federal Indian Policy After the Civil War*. (The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 14.

213 Joseph C. Genetin Pilawa, “Confining Indians,” 18.

214 Joseph C. Genetin Pilawa, “Confining Indians,” 18.

215 Joseph C. Genetin Pilawa, “Confining Indians,” 19.

216 Joseph C. Genetin Pilawa, “Confining Indians,” 20.

Comparatively, due to Canada's relationship with Great Britain, its Indian Policy was largely shaped by the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was issued by King George III to establish a basis of government administration in the North American territories formally ceded by France to Britain in the Treaty of Paris, 1763, following the Seven Years War.²¹⁷ It established the constitutional framework for the negotiation of treaties with the Aboriginal inhabitants of large sections of Canada. As such, it has been labelled an "Indian Magna Carta" or an "Indian Bill of Rights." King George reserved the western lands as exclusive "hunting grounds" for the "several nations or tribes of Indians" under his "protection."²¹⁸ As sovereign of this territory, however, the king claimed ultimate dominion over the entire region. He further prohibited any private person from directly buying Aboriginal lands. Instead, he reserved right of purchase for himself and his heirs alone. The proclamation set out a procedure whereby an Aboriginal nation, if they freely chose, could sell their lands to properly authorized representatives of the British monarch. This could only take place at some public meeting called specially for the purpose. This established the constitutional basis for the future negotiation of Aboriginal treaties in British North America, making the British Crown an essential agent in the transfer of Indigenous lands to colonial settlers.²¹⁹

The main difference between Canadian and American Indian policy was who held responsibility. The Federal Indian Policy in the United States dedicated responsibility of the Indigenous peoples of America to the government. In opposition to this, responsibility in Canada did not lie in the hands of the government, but to the British Crown and its Canadian agents. This imposes an interesting dynamic in treaty making processes, as the American Indian negotiated with government officials, but Canadian First Nations peoples signed into agreements not under the government of Canada, but "to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors for ever."²²⁰ The Canadian Numbered Treaties were a series of eleven treaties made between the Crown and First Nations from 1871 to 1921. The official government of Canada document of the Indian Act was released in 1876, and was largely influenced by The Royal Proclamation of 1863, but complicated the role of hierarchy and power as to who the Indigenous peoples "belonged to." A number of Indigenous groups made treaties, with Canadian governments before the 1876 passing of the Indian Act. Those groups may consider their legal identity as First

217 Hall, Anthony, and Gretchen Albers. "Royal Proclamation of 1763." *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2019, Canadian Encyclopedia.

218 Hall, Anthony, and Gretchen Albers. "Royal Proclamation of 1763."

219 Hall, Anthony, and Gretchen Albers. "Royal Proclamation of 1763."

220 "Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaty No. 7, Made the 22^{ns} Sept., and 4th Dec, 1877, Between Her Majesty The Queen And the Blackfeet and Other Indian Tribes, at the Blackfoot Crossing of Bow River and Fort Macleod," Canadian Crown, (Reprinted from the Edition of 1877 by Roger Duhamel, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery Ottawa, 1966.)

Nations people to flow through those treaties, rather than through the Indian Act.²²¹ Treaty Seven does not fall into this category.

The Indian Act is the principal statute through which the federal government administered Indian status, local First Nations governments, and the management of reserve land and communal monies.²²² It was first introduced in 1876 as a consolidation of previous colonial ordinances that aimed to eradicate First Nations culture in favour of assimilation into Euro-Canadian society.²²³ In 1876, the government consolidated the Gradual Civilization Act and the Gradual Enfranchisement Act into the Indian Act. Through the Department of Indian Affairs and its Indian Agents, the Indian Act afforded the government sweeping powers with regards to First Nations identity, political structures, governance, cultural practices and education. The Act was an attempt to generalize a vast and varied population of people and assimilate them into non-Indigenous society, and therefore forbade First Nations peoples and communities from expressing their identities through governance and culture.²²⁴ Subsequent amendments required First Nations children to attend industrial or residential schools, and made it illegal for First Nations peoples to practice religious ceremonies such as the potlatch.²²⁵ The Indian Act defined who was and was not to be regarded as an “Indian.” Its main goal was to assimilate First Nations peoples into the mainstream Euro-Canadian society. It should be noted that this agenda of assimilation that was taken by the Canadian government is the context in which Indigenous peoples entered into treaty agreements.

Of the many tribes who lived on the Great Plains south of the forty-ninth parallel, the last to negotiate a treaty with the United States was the Blackfeet. This nation consisted of the Piegans, Bloods, Northern Blackfeet, and their allies, the Gros Ventres. The first treaties with western tribes generally were made to safeguard the lives and possessions of white settlers or emigrants who passed through tribal hunting grounds. Certainly no white man would have considered settling in or near the country of the warlike Blackfeet.²²⁶ But in the early 1850s, there was an increased push from the east to create an easier means of transportation across the plains and the Rockies. In 1853, Congress appropriated \$150,000 for making field explorations and surveys to ascertain the more practicable and economic route

221 William B. Henderson, “Indian Act”. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. (Historica Canada. Article published February 07, 2006.)

222 William B. Henderson, “Indian Act”.

223 William B. Henderson, “Indian Act”.

224 William B. Henderson, “Indian Act” .

225 William B. Henderson, “Indian Act”.

226 John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains*. Civilization of the American Indian Series ; v. 49. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.), 215..

for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.²²⁷ One of these explorations was to pass through the Blackfoot country.

Isaac Stevens, newly appointed governor of the Washington Territory, spent most of 1853 moving slowly across the prairie, surveying the land. Two years later, governor Stevens returned to Blackfoot country knowing that his northern route had no chance of being selected for a cross continental rail way. During his travels throughout the territory, he had been impressed with the agricultural and stock-raising potential of the native lands near the Missouri river. He instructed James Doty, his assistant, to investigate this matter further and Doty came to the conclusion; “that a treaty with these Indians, and the establishment of an agency and farm in their country, will do much towards changing them from a warlike ad nomadic to a peaceable and agricultural nation.”²²⁸ This was the opportunity the United States had been looking for to pacify the Blackfoot people. On October sixteenth, 1855, Blackfoot members and commissioners met at the north bank of the Missouri River, a little below the mouth of the Judith to discuss a treaty. In their opening speeches, both commissioners stressed the theme of peace among all the tribes of the region and between Indians and whites.²²⁹ What came to be known as the Lame Bull Treaty of 1855 set aside large tracts of territory in which they could continue to pursue their traditional lifestyles.

The next section provides a description of the creation of Treaty 7, highlighting the Blackfoot point of view through a series of oral histories that have now been captured in text to provide knowledge to future generations of both native and non-natives alike. It is important to recognize that in 1855, the Blackfoot people were present at the “peace treaty,” initiated by the United States authorities to facilitate trade and peace among the Blackfoot.²³⁰ Many of the Blackfoot members who entered into treaties with the Crown and Canadian authorities during the time of the numbered treaties had sophisticated knowledge of the treaty process in the United States.²³¹ The Lame Bull Treaty of 1855 was recognized by the Indigenous population in Canada to have been quickly broken by the authorities, and is said to have left a bad impression in Blackfoot leaders.²³² It was common knowledge that the newcomers were not honest people,²³³ but still the leaders of the Blackfoot

227 John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 207-208.

228 John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 214.

229 John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 216

230 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*. (McGill-Queen’s Native and Northern Series ; 14. 1996.), 8.

231 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains : Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina, Saskatchewan: U of R Press, 2013), 91.

232 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 8.

233 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 14.

entered into negotiations with the hope to maintain peace and ensure the protection of their people.

At Blackfoot crossing, a ceremony known as kano'tsississin (where everybody smokes ceremony) was initiated on the advice of Father of Many Children, who had been present at the signing of the Lame Bull Treaty of 1855. On his urging, the ceremony would give protection against the authorities' apparent disregard of the provisions in the American treaty and the subsequent starvation and hardships of the people.²³⁴ Ceremonies such as this, represented to the First Nations people the spirit of the entire treaty making process. Only ceremony could seal an accord "as long as the sun would shine, and as long as the river would flow."²³⁵ This is one of the many ways in which the Indigenous peoples and Euro-Canadians differed in their ideas of treaty. Elder, Louise Crop Eared Wolf, from the Blood reserve explains:

"Our people's concept of the treaties is entirely different from the non-native's point of view. Treaty, or *innainstiini* (the time when we made a sacred alliance), is when two powerful nations come together into a peace agreement, both parties coming forward in a peaceful, reconciliatory approach by exercising a sacred oath through the symbolic way of peace, which is smoking a sacred pipe and the exchange of gifts to sanction the agreement which can never be broken. The smoking of the pipe is similar to the non-natives swearing on the Holy Bible."²³⁶

But unfortunately, the power between the aboriginal government and Canadian government was not equal, and leaders such as Crowfoot and Red Crow were aware that military force was being used to slaughter Indigenous people in the United States. By accommodating the newcomers, the Blackfoot people hoped to work out an arrangement to share the land so that both sides could benefit from living side by side.²³⁷ In the eyes of the Canadian government, when the treaties were being negotiated, the Indigenous peoples were viewed as an obstacle to the colonization schemes envisaged by the west. Thus, the treaties were seen as an expedient means of beginning the process of assimilation through which Euro-Canadians believed that the Indigenous populations would eventually disappear.²³⁸ In the Euro-Canadian culture, history was written down, whereas in First Nations

234 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 13.

235 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 15

236 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 67.

237 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 198.

238 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 197.

culture, history was transmitted orally in stories passed on by the elders. The First Nations peoples faced an incoming and soon-to-be-dominant culture that could formally record its own discourse and that viewed the Indigenous culture as inferior.²³⁹ This cultural difference was easily taken advantage of by the Canadian authorities. In what must have been one of the most hollow government guarantees of the treaty period, the Blackfoot were assured that the Bison would survive for another ten years.²⁴⁰ Statements such as these were not included in the official written treaty document, but still verbally sworn to the Blackfoot. Being the last of the numbered treaties to be signed by Prairie tribes, and the common view that these First Nations were a greater threat to peace than any of the other plains tribes, it can easily be assumed that the commissioner had been willing to say or promise anything to get the tribes of this “last frontier” to sign the treaty.²⁴¹

It seems that the question of language is much more at issue for Treaty 7 than for any of the other numbered treaties. Even today, the most proficient Blackfoot speakers are unable to directly translate the entire text of the Treaty.²⁴² The treaty was quickly negotiated during the summer of 1877 to diffuse the increasingly tense situation in southern Alberta caused by the armed conflicts just south of the border.²⁴³ Confusion persists over the precise meaning of the treaty. The leaders who accepted Treaty 7 believed that it was first and foremost a peace treaty. Through the agreement with the British Crown and Canadian representatives, the First Nations would cease to war amongst themselves and peace would be preserved between the First Nations and Canadian authorities. There was nothing said among the elders about this peace being in any way linked to giving up land; rather they viewed the peace as being of benefit to all groups agreeing to the treaty. But in the view of the government, the most significant part of the written treaty involved the surrender of land — not peace.²⁴⁴

239 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 124.

240 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 105-106.

241 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 125..

242 First Nations languages are verb-centred, whereas English is noun-centred. This alone makes literal translation difficult. In many cases, there is no First Nations translation for English terminology used at the Blackfoot crossing. Terminology such as “Surrender” have no translation. “There was no word for surrendering or relinquishing of title of land. We are one with the land. Is it possible to give or relinquish part of one’s self?” Another example of the word “Reserve,” in the Blackfoot language there is still no word for reserve; “today one would simply say ‘our lands,’ or ‘native lands.’” Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 125.

243 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 105.

244 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 111-112.

However, the treaties did not stem the tide of settlers on either side of the border, and as more newcomers came west, their territories were reduced, usually through presidential decree and with no meaningful consultation with the American Indian groups who were affected.²⁴⁵ The allegation of “broken treaties” is an defining feature of U.S. Indian history, advocated alike by Indigenous and American contemporaries.²⁴⁶ Uncertain communications often prevented the Blackfoot Agency from receiving the annual Indian payments and also isolated agents from government decisions.²⁴⁷ The Blackfeet were poorly served by the agents that they did receive, and at several crucial times, there was no agent at all to protect their interests. After one stretch of eighteen months without an agent, the Indians concluded that the “Great Father” in Washington had forgotten about them.²⁴⁸

Many factors contributed to the unrest that prevailed in the Blackfoot country in the 1860s. A major underlying cause was the Civil War. Following the Civil War, the federal government, having abolished slavery, turned in the post-war period to address its remaining, and largely western, racial and moral problem groups: the Mormons, the Chinese, and Native Americans.²⁴⁹ As early as 1863 the Niitsitapi were engaged in a sporadic guerrilla war against the American population in what was known as Whoop-Up country. The Blackfeet met the expanding Euro-American settlement with increasingly violent resistance.²⁵⁰ On the night of August seventeenth, some twenty-five young Piegan warriors attacked the house of rancher and trader Malcolm Clark on his ranch. He was shot and killed. When he was informed of these conditions in Montana, General Philip H. Sheridan, the Civil War hero and champion of aggressive action against hostile Indians proposed a plan to, “let me find out exactly where these Indians are going to spend the winter, and about the time of a good heavy snow I will send out a party and try and strike them.”²⁵¹ Despite these plans, and the persistent clamours of Montana citizens for military action, generals of area the such as Alfred Sully saw no necessity to strike the Blackfeet. It was decided that the Blackfeet tribes would have a two-week grace period to turn over the murderers of Malcolm Clark.

But as the two-week period drew to a close without a word from the Blackfeet, General Sully advised that “no blood should be shed.”²⁵² When the failure of the

245 Gerald T. Conaty. *We Are Coming Home: Repatriation and the Restoration of Blackfoot Cultural Confidence*. (Athabasca University Press, 2015.), 93-94.

246 Jill St. Germain, *Broken Treaties*, xiv

247 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country : The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*, 142.

248 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country : The Canadian-American Westt, 1865-1885*, 144-145.

249 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country : The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*, 144-145..

250 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 80.

251 John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 247.

252 John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 249.

Indians to bring in the bodies of the murderers was reported to General Sheridan, he was in no mood for merely taking hostages. His terse telegraphic reply of January fifteenth read: "If the lives and the property of the citizens of Montana can best be protected by striking Mountain Chief's band, I want them struck. Tell Baker to strike them hard."²⁵³ On the morning of January twenty-third, friendly Chief Heavy Runner and his tribe of Piegans, many women and children and old men, were still in their lodges; many of them were sick with smallpox, which was spreading through the band. The able-bodied men were away on a buffalo hunt. Colonel Baker ordered his men to attack, killing two-hundred-seventeen Peigan Indians, many of them women and children.

Baker's reports profess that he did not know he was attacking the camp of the friendly chief. But the Indigenous side of the story states that as soon as Heavy Runner learned troops were approaching, he walked out alone to meet them, and that he was holding up his hands and waving his identification papers when a soldier shot him dead.²⁵⁴ The army claimed that they had only killed one hundred seventy three people.²⁵⁵ The massacre on the Marias had an immediate pacifying effect on the Blackfeet people. They were suffering terribly from the smallpox plague and were not in any position to mount a full-scale offence against the army. They saw that the power of the whites to wipe them out had been demonstrated, and they believed "that to attempt to provoke further war would only result in their total extermination."²⁵⁶

The Marias Massacre represents the climax of militaristic tension between the Blackfeet and the United States government. As can be seen throughout the depiction of events, there was little to no organization or structure of things. The man calling the shots was hundreds of miles away. In order to further understand the ideology of the time, one can look further into General Sheridan. Famed for the popular slogan, "the only good Indian is a dead Indian," Sheridan was a Civil War hero and well-known champion of aggressive action against hostile Indians. Unfortunately, the invective slogan fit the stereotypical worldview of three-quarters of the population of the United States in the late nineteenth century.²⁵⁷ On the literal level, it justified the actual mass slaughter of Indians by the military, and, on a more figurative level, it promoted the belief that Indians could only be "good" persons if they became Christians and took on the civilization of their white

253 John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 249

254 John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 250..

255 Paul R. Wylie *Blood on the Marias: The Baker Massacre*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016

256 Annual Report of The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1878. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1878), 82.

257 Wolfgang Mieder, "The Only Good Indian Is a Dead Indian": History and Meaning of a Proverbial Stereotype." *The Journal of American Folklore* 106, no. 419 (1993), 42

oppressors. Be it by spiritual or physical death, Native Americans were thought to be doomed victims of perpetrators who acted in the name of manifest destiny and civilization.²⁵⁸ Imperial powers played a major role not only in physically neutralizing Indigenous populations, but in creating and sustaining negative images of Aboriginal people. The dissemination of these negative images helped those in power justify, to themselves, the treatment of the Aboriginal people.²⁵⁹

To take this one step further, one must look at the extent to which Sheridan was willing to go to fight for “civilization.”²⁶⁰ With the continued struggle with the “Indian Problem,” various military commanders encouraged the slaughter of the bison in order to cut the heart from the Plains Indians’ economy and way of life. The Indigenous reliance on the animal was well known and exploited by efforts of western settlement. Sheridan recognized that eliminating the buffalo might be the best way to force the Indians to change their nomadic habits. It is said that Sheridan “heartily approved of the activities of the buffalo hunters- feeling that they were doing the public a great service by depleting the Indians,”²⁶¹ and Sheridan asserted, “let them kill, skin, and sell until the buffalo are exterminated, as it is the only way to bring lasting peace and allow civilization to advance.”²⁶² “If the plains Indian does not now give up his cruel and destructive habits,” Sheridan concluded, “I see no other way to save the lives and property of our people, than to punish him until peace becomes a desirable object.”²⁶³

This means of clearing the land in order to establish settlement in the west represents the ideology of the time, as well as how far people were willing to go to suppress the Indigenous peoples. Although Sheridan is an American example, evidence of ideas of clearing the plains, and the effects that this would have on the Plains Indigenous people can be seen in the example of Peter Erasmus, who was a Canadian Métis guide and translator who acted as an interpreter for Treaty Six, and assisted the Palliser Expeditions in the 1850’s. Through his time spent with John Palliser and James Hector, Erasmus kept a journal in which he wrote, “both the captain and Dr. Hector believed that a policy of buffalo extermination had been adopted as the quickest way to break down Indian resistance to government authority. The Indians obtained all their needs in food, clothing and shelter from the buffalo.”²⁶⁴ Even as late as 1874, the Deputy Minister of the Interior states,

258 Wolfgang Mieder, “The Only Good Indian Is a Dead Indian,” 42

259 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 193.

260 David D. Smits, “The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883.” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (October 1, 1994): 313.

261 David D. Smits, “The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883.” 313.

262 Gerald T. Conaty. *We Are Coming Home*, 93..

263 David D. Smits, “The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883.” 315

264 Tasha Hubbard and Jeanne Perreault, “The Call of the Buffalo: Exploring Kinship

“to the Indians, extermination of the buffalo means starvation and death.”²⁶⁵ The decimation of the buffalo population was well known to have devastating effects to the Plains First Nations in both the United States and Canada.

In both countries, the story is one of conflict between primitive and civilized peoples. On the American side, this conflict was continuous, with unceasing guerrilla warfare punctuated by occasional formal military campaigns. Attitudes toward the Indian in the two countries were not as different as the contrasting experience in the west might suggest.²⁶⁶ Westerners turned to an extermination policy. This drastic solution, costly in blood and treasure and productive in injustice grew just as much from fear and frustration as from greed. But if a rationalization was needed, Westerners could point to the doctrine of natural selection, the defence of Imperialism so popular in European circles. The Indian would vanish, whatever the official policy; it was his destiny.²⁶⁷

If the United States embraced the broken treaties litany as an instrument in the resolution of the Indian “problem,” Canada seized on the official variant of the tradition to deny the existence of an equivalent problem.²⁶⁸ And this is exactly what the government has done and continues to do. In 1885, Prime Minister, John A. MacDonald, identified aggressive Indigenous behaviour as an aberration and vigorously denied any connections between transgressions and legitimate treaty concerns. “The Indians,” he said, “had no cause of complaint, no cause of warfare, they had no reason, no grievance in the world to make them rise in arms.”²⁶⁹ Official views and historical accounts were for a century uniform in the conviction that Canada, in its explicit contrast to the United States, not only honoured its obligations but also, in the case of the numbered treaties negotiated in the West, even exceeded them.²⁷⁰ The fact of the matter was the Indigenous population of western Canada was starving, diseased, and dying. The following section outlines the aftermath of Treaty 7, and the conditions that the Blackfoot people were left in.

As highlighted above, it was a known fact that the bison population was disappearing. Government officials had recognized the precipitous decline of the bison and its potential impact on the inhabitants of the west even before the

with the Buffalo in Indigenous Creative Expression.” (University of Calgary; 2016.), 58.

265 James W. Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains*, 100.

266 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*, 133.

267 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*, 136.

268 Jill St. Germain, *Broken Treaties*, xv.

269 Jill St. Germain, *Broken Treaties*, xv.

270 Jill St. Germain, *Broken Treaties*, xv.

completion of the western treaties.²⁷¹ The military option that the United States was pursuing to pacify its west was simply not available to Canada. For one thing, the dominion could not afford it. At a time when the entire budget was nineteen million dollars, the Americans were spending twenty million annually on their western Indian Wars.²⁷² Similarly, war was no longer an option to the Indigenous peoples of the Plains. The military power of the Blackfoot was broken by the American army after the Marias River Massacre. Chief Crowfoot is quoted saying that it would be sad for the children of the future if they went to war rather than make treaty. And Chief Crow Eagle concluded that the Piegan leadership had little choice because of what they had seen of the massacres of Indians that took place in the United States.²⁷³

The first report of smallpox among the Niitsitapi was in the spring of 1869 and the outbreak was catastrophic on both sides of the border. The epidemic did more than kill a significant segment of the population; the huge death toll among chiefs and elders from the disease and the family that ensued shook the leadership of the alliance.²⁷⁴ Years of hunger and despair that coincided with the extermination of the bison and the relocation of groups to reserves, exacerbated by inadequate food aid from the dominion government, created ecological conditions in which the disease exploded. Half-hearted relief measures during the famine of 1878-80 and after, which kept the Plains people in a constant state of hunger, not only undermined the government's self-sufficiency initiatives but also illustrated the moral and legal failures of the crown's treaty commitment to provide assistance in the case of widespread famine.²⁷⁵ When the collapse of the bison economy by 1879 created conditions of extreme hardship, Canadian officials showed little concern, in fact that collapse made it easier to ignore the First Nations protests because the dissidents had been weakened militarily.²⁷⁶ In a desperate attempt to find bison herds, Crowfoot and other Blackfoot leaders took their people to Montana. The government provided many of the hungry Niitsitapi with just enough rations to take them south of the border.²⁷⁷

As late as 1881, four years after the signing of Treaty 7, it was estimated by American officials that more than five thousand Canadian Indians still roamed their plains; Canadian officials placed this number at twelve thousand.²⁷⁸ Americans

271 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 101.

272 J. R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant*, 156.

273 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 73.

274 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 82.

275 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 100.

276 J. R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant : Aboriginal Treaty-making in Canada*, 296

277 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 109.

278 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country : The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*, 155.

began to suspect that the Canadian government was deliberately encouraging the Blackfoot to remain south of the boundary. These suspicions were well founded, when Lieutenant Governor Edgar B. Dewdney admitted to encouraging the Blackfoot to cross the border. When Blackfoot chiefs came to him for help during the starvation period in 1879, he “advised them strongly to go and gave them some provisions to take them off.”²⁷⁹ Despite the signing of the Treaty in 1877, the longer that the Blackfoot lived on the yields of the chase, the longer the Canadian government could defer the expense and difficulty of settling them on reserves. In 1882, the United States government acted unilaterally to end the free movement of the Canadian Blackfoot and Metis across the boundary. Army troops forced them to return to their hunting grounds, destroying their lodges and confiscating their goods if they returned.²⁸⁰ By the time autumn had arrived, the First Nations returned from Montana, starving, to the reserve and reservations that had been set aside for them in the treaties. There, they were expected to adjust to a new economic, political, and social order.²⁸¹

When the Blackfoot were settled on government implemented reserves, it became much easier to control the population. The main means of doing this was through food rations. Food was to be provided only to people on their reserves. The government had initially promised the Treaty 7 tribes rations under the terms and benefits listed in the treaty. This straightforward promise was altered by the government when it decided to make rations contingent on the work performed.²⁸² The government agents simply did not care for the people who did not work. This was reinforced by the Work for Rations policy which was instituted in 1879. This was based on the English tenant farming principles and adapted to the agency system and its reserves.²⁸³ Essentially, agency farms were established as the focal point of agricultural instruction. On them, Indigenous peoples were to learn how to develop and operate their own farms on reserves. This was to be the key step in helping individuals and their families settle and become self-reliant and independent of traditional nomadic modes of survival.²⁸⁴ These government efforts aimed at assimilation led to significant loss of culture and language, and a severing of links to community.

Apart from establishing peace, the First Nations saw the treaties as a bridge between their reliance on the disappearing bison and a new life based on

279 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country : The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*, 155.

280 Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country : The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*, 156.

281 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 96.

282 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 161.

283 Hugh Shewell, “Enough to Keep them Alive,”: *Indian Welfare in Canada, 1873-1965*. (Canadian Electronic Library. Canadian Publishers Collection. 2004.), 71

284 Hugh Shewell, “Enough to Keep them Alive,” 71.

agriculture.²⁸⁵ The Canadian government initiated a number of programs in the post-treaty era to begin to implement its promise to assist Indigenous peoples to make the transition to an agricultural economy. Federal policies such as the Home Farm Plan, the Peasant Farm Policy, and Work for Rations were put in place in the 1880s to fulfill the obligations that arose out of the treaties.²⁸⁶ Many of these policies had mixed results, agricultural supplies were to be given according to the policies established in the treaty but these supplies were often inadequate or not forthcoming.²⁸⁷ Piegan elder, Tom Yellowhorn, stated that it was very hard to make a go of it on the reserve, and initiative was frustrated at every turn: “it has always been that whatever possessions an Indian had or money earned was controlled by the Indian agent. The agents always tried to collect from the Indians with money no matter what their personal needs were.”²⁸⁸ Yellowhorn continued, “we worked as slaves for the agents — we worked on projects for agents without wages and sometimes there was no food either.”²⁸⁹ Despite treaty promises, supplies that were received were often inadequate, and there was little instruction or assistance in farming and agricultural methods.

The Work for Rations policy established a contingency which forced the Indigenous peoples to become dependent on the Indian agents. At first they got rations of meat and bread, and after a while rations got fewer and fewer until there were none.²⁹⁰ Tom Yellowhorn stated that “some men did not have the strength to work because they had not been given rations.”²⁹¹ The policy became a grossly cyclical process in which people could not receive rations unless they worked, but often could not work because they were weak from not receiving rations. In some cases, people were even told that they had to sell land to get rations. There was extensive poverty and malnutrition, and sometimes people had no food to eat at night. On the Siksika reserve, people were told they would only receive their flour rations if they allowed the Canadian Pacific Railway to pass through their reserve.²⁹² Rumours circulated that the government was intentionally starving the

285 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, xxi.

286 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 146.

287 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 146.

288 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 149.

289 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 149.

290 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 153.

291 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 163.

292 Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 162.

Niitsitapi people to death.²⁹³ Officials were merciless in their use of food to control the First Nations population. The Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald, described the government's position on relief: "we cannot allow them to die for want of food...we are doing all we can, by refusing food until the Indians are on the verge of starvation, to reduce the expense."²⁹⁴

Communities that entered into treaty agreements assumed that the state would protect them from famine and socioeconomic catastrophe. Yet, in less than a decade the "protections" afforded by the treaties became a means by which the state subjugated the treaty population.²⁹⁵ Because there was no alternative source for food for many living on reserves, their dependence on rations put them in a vulnerable position to the predations of officials who abused their authority. This was only encouraged as stated by John A. MacDonald, "we cannot allow them to starve, and we cannot make them white men. All we can do is endeavour to introduce them to abandon their nomadic habits and cultivate the soil."²⁹⁶ It is easy to assume the attitudes towards Indigenous peoples during this time period when the representative of the country speaks in this way. On the prairies and in the more remote areas of the country, relief for Indigenous peoples was initially seen only as a means to ease distress — usually caused by starvation — and to ensure their pacification and loyalty. As First Nations became settled on reserves and annuity trusts were established based on surrender settlements and land sales, the department allowed limited and carefully controlled expenditures from either these funds or from special parliamentary appropriations for the provision of relief.²⁹⁷ The lives of the Indigenous peoples of Canada was completely in the hands of the government, and this was the way the government wanted it to be.

When comparing the treatment of Indigenous peoples in both Canada and the United States, the similarities are unavoidable. It is made clear that through ideology, policy, and practice, governments on either side of the border have continued to suppress the Indigenous peoples as a means to assert power, promote culture, encourage assimilation, and confine Indigenous peoples to small allotments of land out of the way of the settler population. Because the United States could afford to take a largely militaristic movement, this was the method of choice in regards to restricting and confining the Indigenous peoples. Canada did not have this financial opportunity, and as such they had to find alternative measures to deal with the "Indian Problem." Power fell to Indian agents on reserve systems, who were ultimately in charge of work, finances, and food. This power was abused by agents who used rations against the Indigenous population who depended on these rations for survival. This means of dependence increased the authority that the

293 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 120.

294 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 123.

295 James W. Daschuk *Clearing the Plains*, 125.

296 Jill St. Germain, *Broken Treaties*, 182.

297 Hugh Shewell, "Enough to Keep Them Alive," 41.

Canadian government had over the Indigenous peoples, and was ultimately used as a means of controlling the population. These conditions of starvation, poverty, disease, and death were recognized by the Canadian government, and ultimately ignored despite treaty agreements and promises. In conclusion, the failure of the Canadian government to intervene in the lives of the Blackfoot people despite the agreements of Treaty 7 cannot and should not continue to be held to a higher or more favourable standard than the militaristic approach of the United States. The reality is that Indigenous peoples on either side of the border have been and continue to be subjected to oppression by a dominant, majority culture.

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The History of the Corset as a Restrictive Fashion: From the 1800's to the End of the Twentieth Century in England

The history of restrictive fashions such as the corset, during the late Georgian and Victorian eras to the end of the twentieth century, can be attributed to the aspects of society that influence fashion as an industry, as well as the clothes of the distinct classes of this period. Politics, culture, and social reforms are all significant factors to fashion historians, as fashion (as an industry, as well as the clothes that people wear) is constantly affected by various components of society. As the corset had numerous prominent moments throughout history, such as originating in Ancient Greece and later reviving during the 1800's, the distinction of the period of the Victorian era to the end of the twentieth century is essential for narrowing the focus of my research project. With the constant revivals and disappearances of the corset as a fashionable garment studied by academics, the history of restrictive fashions is defined as non-linear, as the attitudes towards the garment continuously fluctuate across the course of history due to how people understand, utilize, and accept or reject the corset. This cyclical history ensured the longevity and use of the corset as a means to repress women and their opinions, as it promoted women as fragile beings that required 'strong men' to advocate for their health and well-being. Furthermore, the patriarchal distinction of public and private spheres contributes to the history of restrictive fashions, as the influence of the masculine authority over women is intrinsically bound together with the threads of the fashion industry. This ultimately led to the reformation of women's fashion in the late nineteenth century, which is detailed in the texts of prominent fashion historians such as: Lois Banner, David Kunzle, Valerie Steele, Patricia Cunningham, Kate Haulman, and Norah Waugh. The history of restrictive fashion is consequently reliant upon the aspects of society

that enable it to function — politics, economics, culture, and revolution — which therefore allows the academic conversation surrounding the corset to exist, as fashion and the attitudes surrounding it, are constantly changing throughout history.

The academic approaches to the restrictive fashions throughout the 1800's to the end of the twentieth century can be further defined through the cyclical timeline of how society understands, participates in, and rejects elements of fashion due to the shifting social, political, and cultural interpretations surrounding the changing attitudes towards fashion throughout history. As a majority of the historians approach the study of restrictive fashion in a different manner, whether politically like Haulman and Cunningham, socially like Banner, Kunzle, and Waugh, or culturally like Steele and Waugh, the historiographical approach to fashion is constantly in motion, much like the fabrics of history. Despite the various engagements with historical fashion, the conversations and arguments are similar in how scholars depict the corset as a restrictive fashion. These interpretations are demonstrated through the historical depictions of the oppressive and restrictive garment that is constantly shifting in relation to how people utilize, understand, and reject the corset from the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century. Each of the scholars continue to describe the restrictive fashions with a present day interpretation through their recognition of the continuously shifting attitudes towards the corset with its representation in popular culture — ie. Madonna, the Kardashians, modern and contemporary films, etc. — and how it has moved from physical items of clothing to an internal representation as symbolized by the weight loss industry and 'fad diets' of the 21st century. This is necessary to include, as it illustrates the cyclical nature of fashion throughout history, as well as how fashion trends reemerge in our contemporary society, despite the health risks and the knowledge of hindsight we have as a civilization that documented the impact of the corset on social, political, and cultural aspects of society. The academic conversations that will be depicted in this paper, illustrate the history of restrictive fashion as a means to liberate women from the oppression of the masculine authority throughout history. Therefore, understanding the history of restrictive fashions is essential for contemporary society, as it allows for a better comprehension of our own beliefs and norms that are fundamentally rooted in the patriarchal oppression of women throughout our history. This not only changed how people participated in the fashion industry, it altered how society functioned due to the movement of women from the private to the public sphere. The history of restrictive fashion therefore, is not as simple as it being an article of clothing, it is as complex as the lacing that ties politics, culture, and society together.

Section 1: Background Information and History of The Corset During Studied Period

The corset, as defined during the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century, was a garment that was understood to be a “closely-fitting inner bodice stiffened with whalebone or the like, and fastened by lacing; worn chiefly by women to give shape and support to the figure”²⁹⁸. It was utilized by both women and men throughout its history, however, the corset was primarily worn by women in order to “help shape the body into distinctive silhouettes, from the hourglass shape [that was] popular in the 1800s to the “S” figure of the 1900s”²⁹⁹. This constant evolution of the silhouette of women’s fashion not only symbolizes and constructs a means of social control³⁰⁰, it influences the types of garments that were worn by women, as represented by the attitudes and conventions that dictated what they should wear throughout history³⁰¹. The corset therefore, illustrates the attempted regulations of fashion in relation to “character and propriety”³⁰², as the “expression through fashion of class status, gender identity, and cultural affiliation, symbolizes and constructs both individual and group relationships to institutions of power, laws and dress codes that dictate the fashions”³⁰³ of the era through societal constraint. The history of the corset and its constantly evolving shape and purpose, ultimately reveals a desire to reconfigure the traditionally gendered distinctions and struggles of women in a patriarchal society in such a way that the definition of ‘self’ as understood by women, is separated from that of men. The cyclical nature of corsetry can further be defined through the ways in which the aforementioned silhouettes reoccur throughout the garment’s history and how affluent individuals view and utilize the corset in a society that has undergone major alterations to the patriarchally gendered³⁰⁴ private and public spheres. This reorganization of the foundations and traditional ideologies of a patriarchal society ensured the ways in which the corset, as a modernizing element for women, depicted the “relationship between consumerism and feminine modernity”³⁰⁵ during the nineteenth to twenty-first centuries.

298 “Corset, n.,” OED Online, March 2021, Oxford University Press, <https://www.oed.com/view/1Entry/42064?rskey=GiE8XH&result=1&isAdvanced=false>

299 Maude Bass-Krueger, “The Corset’s Recurring Comeback Goes Further Than ‘Bridgerton’,” 2 January 21, 2021. <https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/history-of-the-corset>

300 Jill Fields, *An Intimate Affair: Women, Lingerie, and Sexuality*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007.

301 Patricia A. Cunningham, *Reforming Women’s Fashion, 1850-1920*, Ashland: Kent State University Press, 2015.

302 Fields, *An Intimate Affair*, 2.

303 Fields, *An Intimate Affair*, 2.

304 The term “patriarchally gendered” should be interpreted as divided based on gender in this case.

305 Penny Tinkler, and Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, “Feminine Modernity in Interwar Britain and North 8 America: Corsets, Cars, and Cigarettes,” *Journal of Women’s History* 20, no. 3 (2008): 113.

The silhouette of the feminine figure has changed numerous times throughout history; however, the narrow waist has been a prominent and constant feature in fashion from the late 1700s to the end of the twentieth century (see figures 29-36). Because of the desired shape of women's figures, corsets have played an important role in the maintenance of the 'hourglass figure' due to the restrictive nature — in relation to both the patriarchal control over women and the tight-lacing abilities — of the garment. The desired silhouette that the corset provided for women's garments varied throughout its history. This was ultimately defined by the styles of the period as well as the materials that were available for the changing fashions, as the political, social, and cultural aspects of society asserted how such fashions could be altered. The image provided by the Clermont State Historic Site (see fig. 1) emphasizes the cyclical nature of the corseted silhouette, as the construction of the garment accentuated the most desirable shape for women's fashions and bodies for each era. This is further demonstrated by the articles and images included from the *Harper's Bazaar* magazine archive (see figures 16-27) in which the materials, costs, and functions of the corset were detailed for the average consumer³⁰⁶. The *Harper's Bazaar* archive thus provides an account of the corset's history through the common person's perspective, which is essential for academic research on the effects of restrictive garments on society.

In order to develop an understanding for why the corset was worn and by whom, primary sources such as the *Harper's Bazaar* magazine and William Barry Lord's text, *The Corset and The Crinoline: A Book of Modes and Costumes from Remote Periods to the Present Time* are crucial historical elements that provide context for and the opinions of members of society that would otherwise be excluded from the narrative. The article from *Harper's Bazaar* details who wore corsets, at what age they would start to wear the garment, when they would be worn, what was in style, the materials and costs associated with making the garment at home, and how the corset should be worn³⁰⁷. This provides a frame of reference for how society viewed the corset, as the opinions on tight-lacing from medical professionals, women, men, and fashion designers all varied drastically depending on the year, what the desired silhouette was at the time, and the levels of society participating in the fashion trends³⁰⁸. Lord's text also highlights the aforementioned cultural, social, and political approaches to the corset, whilst

306 "Corset Making." *Harper's Bazaar*, vol. 2, no. 41 (October 9, 1869): 644; "NEW YORK 9 FASHIONS: Corsets." *Harper's Bazaar*, vol. 1, no. 45 (September 5, 1868):707-708; "NEW YORK FASHIONS: Corset Waist Costumes." *Harper's Bazaar*, vol 9, no. 2 (January 8, 1876): 19, 24-25; "NEW YORK FASHIONS: The Corset Waist." *Harper's Bazaar*, vol. 8, no. 6 (February 6, 1875): 90-93, 96, 97, 99.

307 The articles detail how tightly the corset should be laced base on the year, as well as the 10 desired waist size (in inches) for the silhouette that was most prominent during the time. (See footnote 9).

308 (See footnote 9)

gathering in a “strictly neutral way”³⁰⁹, the “questions relating to the history of this apparently indispensable article of ladies’ attire, [and] its construction, application, and influence on the figure...”³¹⁰ which permitted the accumulation of information “relating to Corsets, their wearers, and the various costumes worn by ladies at different periods”³¹¹. As the *Harper’s Bazaar* articles and Lord’s book were written during the late 1800’s — a time in which corsets were an essential element of fashion for women — these sources are invaluable in providing a perspective on the history of restrictive garments from the common person rather than the patriarchal, elitist view usually found in academia. According to the perspectives found in the primary sources from the late Georgian and Victorian eras to the end of the twentieth century, the corset remained to be an “ancient and universal”³¹² part of the fashions of the era and members of society feel as though “there is no reason to anticipate that its aid will ever be dispensed with so long as an elegant and attractive figure is an object worth achieving”³¹³. Taking this opinion into consideration, the matter of an individual’s health being affected by the prolonged restraint of the body by the corset has to be considered when recalling the cyclical condemnations and approvals of the garment throughout its history. Academics, therefore, have to distinguish between what was factually correct and what was constructed based on an individual’s position in relation to the effects of the corset as a restrictive garment on women in society. This is made possible through the collaborative efforts that were published in various fashion magazines, newspapers, and academic texts during the 1800’s to the end of the twentieth century, which detailed the similar opinions and perspectives of the fashion industry, as well as everyday society on the corset.

Section 2: Archival Research

The impact of newspaper articles, magazines, and advertisements on women within society during the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century can be found within the sentiments towards the corset and the ‘hourglass’ or ‘wasp’ figure as illustrated in William Barry Lord’s text, *Corset and the Crinoline*, as well as in various articles in historical magazines such as *The Gentlewoman and Modern Life* and *Harper’s Bazaar* archived materials (see figures 2-28). This not only allows for contemporary historians to determine the various perspectives on the corset, it provides insight on when and why society’s opinion of the garment changed due to the constantly shifting, cyclical nature of the most desirable silhouette. Having access to the documented evolution of the corset is essential for developing an

309 William Barry Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline: A Book of Modes and Costumes from 12 Remote Periods to the Present Time*, London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, (1868): Preface.

310 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, Preface.

311 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, Preface.

312 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, Preface.

313 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, Preface.

answer to the much discussed “corset question,”³¹⁴ which encompasses why the garment has remained in fashion — despite its cyclical acceptance and rejection by society — in its various forms throughout its history. Fashion historians therefore can interact with the historical effects of the corset in a multifaceted and multidisciplinary approach, as they can ultimately develop an understanding of the corset as something that effects not only the fashion of the period, but also the social, cultural, and political aspects that make up the foundations of a society that is built on the oppression of the Other.³¹⁵

Lois Banner, David Kunzle, Valerie Steele, Patricia Cunningham, Kate Haulman, and Norah Waugh as the major voices in the conversations surrounding the history of the corset, utilize the diverse opinions that are incorporated into the historiography of fashion in order to fully develop their various arguments that lace together the significance of the corset for historical and contemporary societies alike. Whether historians approach the restrictive garment politically like Haulman and Cunningham, socially like Banner, Kunzle, and Waugh, or culturally like Steele and Waugh, the corset’s cyclical history illustrates a patriarchal society’s desire to return to a hierarchal and sexualized version of itself in order to control the narrative of liberation that was otherwise offered by women’s acceptance or rejection of the garment. This is significant as the historical struggles for social and sexual liberation by women have been illustrated through the ways in which the traditional feminine characteristics — frivolity, delicacy, inactivity, and submissiveness — are projected by women’s dress and the expectations of society³¹⁶. Academics therefore challenge the reductiveness of the corset as an instrument of women’s oppression in terms of “oppression versus liberation, and fashion versus comfort and health,”³¹⁷ which allows for a narrative by those who wore the corset in history to emerge as the prominent voice over that of the patriarchy.

The images relating to the corset that are relevant to the late Georgian and early Victorian eras within Lord’s text, *The Corset and The Crinoline*, illustrate the cyclical nature of the silhouette of women’s clothing from 1806 to 1886 in which the hourglass figure is desired, then taken to the extreme with tight-lacing, and finally reverted back “without injury to the health, but with positive and admitted advantage to the *physique*”³¹⁸ of the woman (see figures 2-15). Throughout the text, Lord highlights the history of society’s opinions on the corset from its origin in Ancient Greece to that of the late 1860s in which the sentiment for restrictive

314 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, Preface.

315 In this case, the Other should be interpreted as women.

316 Helene E. Roberts, “The Exquisite Slave: The Role of Clothes in the Making of the Victorian 45 Woman,” *Signs* 2, no. 3 (1977): 555

317 Valerie Steele, *The Corset: A Cultural History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, (2001): 1.

318 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, Preface.

fashions is continuously questioned in both a positive and negative light. He continues to emphasize the questions relating to the history of this apparently “indispensable”³¹⁹ article of ladies’ attire, as well as its construction, application, and influence on the figure throughout its documented history. Lord’s documentation of the various opinions on the corset — whether that be in opposition or in support of — provides necessary and valuable insight for how the garment affected the various levels of society through the ways in which the political, cultural, and societal aspects were altered.

The middle of the aforementioned period (1820s–1830s) depicted the most extreme version of corsetry in which tight-lacing was adopted and “the corsets were, if possible, laced tighter than ever,”³²⁰ much to the chagrin of many medical professionals of the era. These negative opinions on the garment are emphasized by the older generation within the medical profession in which the “prejudices against this elegant article of female dress”³²¹ originate from the historical construction and understanding of the corset that was previously made out of “buckram and iron.”³²² The younger generation of medical professionals during the later portion of the 1800s, as well as contemporary scholars like Valerie Steele however, believe that these metal corsets were exaggerated (see fig. 16) and alternatively intended as a form of orthopaedic brace to address spinal deformities such as scoliosis³²³. This shift in perspective, as demonstrated by Lord and contemporary academics, highlights the patriarchal suppression of the voices of those who actually wore the ‘restrictive’ garments and participated in the ‘extreme’ trends of the period in such a way that the negative opinions became the prominent perspective in society, forcing the more natural silhouette to return in the later half of the nineteenth century.

The articles and images within the *Harper’s Bazaar* magazine issues from September 5, 1868, October 9, 1869, February 6, 1875, and January 8, 1876 (see figures 17–28) further detail the changing opinions of society towards the corset. The magazine, as an international weekly fashion publication, catered to women in the middle and upper classes of society in the United States, as it detailed the fashions of Paris and Germany in an easily accessible newspaper-design format. The publication continuously featured illustrations, photography, and articles of various content which pertain to the fashions and society of New York and Europe from 1867 to the present day. As the magazine emphasizes the ever-changing history and opinions towards the restrictive nature of the corset, the images (figures 17–28) provide a point of reference in the passage of time for the popularity of the corseted-waist, which is necessary

319 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, Preface.

320 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, 67.

321 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, 155.

322 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, 155.

323 Steele, *The Corset: A Cultural History*, 5.

for the demonstration of the cyclical nature of the history of fashion. The articles and images detail the different materials, colours, and cuts that encompass the popularized fashion, as well as the costs, the proper fit, patterns for how to make the garment at home, and the various styles of the corsets for different events, age groups, and time periods. The September 5, 1868 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*³²⁴, (figures 17–18) provides further opinions on corsets during the late 1860s in which the quality and craftsmanship of the garment are prioritized over “ready-made” corsets in order to wear the corset properly and in a way that promotes the good health of the women who don the pieces. This article also notes the various materials that corsets can be made of during this time to ensure a long-lasting piece. The October 9, 1869 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*³²⁵, (fig. 19) provides images and descriptions for how to make the various styles of corsets for different age groups of girls ranging from age one to adults. The images accompanied by the descriptions, not only explain the different styles of corsets that were appropriate for each age group, they emphasize the natural silhouette of the female body rather than the exaggerated version associated with the tight-lacing of the earlier years of the nineteenth century. The articles and images in the February 6, 1875 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*³²⁶, (figs. 20–25) highlight the corset waist as the novel feature of imported fashions for figures of medium size during the late 1870s. This issue highlights the sentiment towards the restrictive fashions of the period, as well as the various styles of corsets that were popular in Paris and New York, which provided a point of reference in the passage of time for the less-extreme version of the corseted-waist. The articles and illustrations in the January 8, 1876 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*³²⁷, (figs. 26–28) detail the changing opinions towards the corset and the “new long-waisted figure that is now the fashion”³²⁸ of society. It also draws attention to a feared return of tight-lacing and compression of the waist below a healthy size, which can also be found in earlier issues of *Harper's Bazaar*. The style of dress during this time can also be found in the images (figs. 27–28) of this issue, which highlights the non-exaggerated or natural hourglass figure of the women depicted due to the slight-corseted waist.

The article, “Paris Fancies & Fashions” from the December 14, 1912 edition of *The Gentlewoman and Modern Life*³²⁹, (fig. 29) details society's

324 “NEW YORK FASHIONS: Corsets.” *Harper's Bazaar*, vol. 1, no. 45 (September 5, 1868): 27 707-708.

325 “Corset Making.” *Harper's Bazaar*, vol. 2, no. 41 (October 9, 1869): 644.

326 “NEW YORK FASHIONS: The Corset Waist.” *Harper's Bazaar*, vol. 8, no. 6 (February 6, 29 1875): 90-93, 96, 97, 99.

327 “NEW YORK FASHIONS: Corset Waist Costumes.” *Harper's Bazaar*, vol 9, no. 2 (January 8, 30 1876): 19, 24-25.

328 “NEW YORK FASHIONS: Corset Waist Costumes.” *Harper's Bazaar*, vol 9, no. 2 (January 8, 31 1876): 19.

329 “Paris Fancies & Fashions.” *The Gentlewoman and Modern Life*, vol. 45, no. 1171

opinion towards corsets in 1905 to 1912, in which the economy and the ability to easily pack when travelling, were key factors in the fashions one would wear out in the public sphere. As the magazine catered to women in the middle and upper classes of society, the language and opinions within the publication had to reflect that of the women of status in order to remain as a popular and relevant source of information for the changing fashions of the period. The article highlights the change from a simple wardrobe during the early years of the twentieth century, to that of which a corset-maid had to be employed by women in the 1910s in order to retain the form and matching garments for each corset. Between 1905 to 1915, the sentiment towards wearing corsets drastically changed once again to that of an affirmative note, with the expanding wardrobes of high society. This article therefore not only provides documentation for the shift in opinion towards corsets, it also emphasizes the effects of the restrictive garment on women in high society.

Contemporary scholars like Barbra Freeman, Leigh Summers, Penny Tinkler, and Cheryl Lynn Krasnick Warsh utilize the effects of historical consumer based media such as newspapers, periodicals, magazines, and advertisements on the historiography of fashion in order to illustrate the effects of intentional and indirect media on the decisions made by the consumers within the societies of the past. These scholars, amongst others, make use of primary sources such as those mentioned above from William Barry Lord, the *Harper's Bazaar* publications, and the article from *The Gentlewoman and Modern Life*, in order to study the perspectives of various levels of society and how they interact with the corset as a restrictive garment and as the most controversial aspect of fashion from the era. Despite the media industry being a primarily male-dominated field, women had significant influence over the fashion and periodical sections of various publications during a time in which they were becoming more prominent figures within the public sphere of society that had historically been ruled by men³³⁰. They argue that the relationship between the movement of women into the public sphere, combined with consumption, modernity, and affluence during the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century, encouraged women to challenge the patriarchal norms of society in order to develop a position of relevance within the hierarchy. This would therefore allow women to resist the restrictions of the corset imposed upon them by the 'traditional'³³¹ views of the historical version of the garment, which would ultimately lead to the liberation movements and social reforms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries — as demonstrated by the dress reforms — within the public sphere.

(December 32 14, 1912): 803.

330 Barbara M. Freeman, "Laced In and Let Down," In *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, edited 33 by Alexandra Palmer and The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, (2004).

331 The term "traditional" should be interpreted through a patriarchal lens in this case.

Section 3: Academic Conversations Surrounding The History of The Corset: Politics, Society, Culture, Liberation Movements/ Social Reforms

The academic conversation surrounding the corset can ultimately be distinguished into three distinct avenues: the political, the social, and the cultural. These approaches illustrate the effects of the corset on society in such a way that the movement of women into the public sphere during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries derived from a desire to challenge the patriarchal interpretation of the ‘woman’s place in society’. This shift from the private to the public sphere not only illustrated the changing opinions of society, it clearly demonstrated how these women challenged the patriarchal norms that had been engrained within the mindset of the majority. The various alterations, endorsements, and even rejections of certain “desirable”³³² fashion trends — such as the corseted waist or hourglass figure — from the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century, established a critical conversation that encompassed the foundations of the liberation movements and social reforms of the period. The three-way analysis therefore emphasizes the cyclical nature of the history of the corset during this time period, through the ways in which it is able to define why the restrictive garment had such an effect on society despite the juxtaposed opinions that were embedded into the lacing that ties politics, culture, and society together. The political approach that is utilized by scholars such as Patricia Cunningham, Lois Banner, Gina Marlene Dorré, Jill Fields, Kate Haulman, Colleen Hill, Valerie Steele, and Helene Roberts, defines the history of the corset in relation to the context of these women-led campaigns against the patriarchal norms, masculine authority, and social inequalities that were present within society during this time. The analysis of the implications of fashion and beauty in society, ultimately allows for a narrative surrounding the effects of the changing perspectives of society towards fashion, as an industry as well as the clothes that are included within its definition, to exist in such a way that the perspective of historical women is able to be heard. Banner, in her text, *American Beauty: A Social History through Two Centuries of the American Idea, Ideal, and Image of the Beautiful Woman*, argues that the inclusion of influential figures like Elizabeth Cady Stanton — as a woman affected by the societal implications and restrictions of fashion and beauty — in the analysis of the corset, demonstrates a historical approach to fashion that includes the voices of previously marginalized women in an otherwise patriarchal society³³³. This point is further demonstrated by Patricia Cunningham in her text, *Reforming Women’s Fashion, 1850-1920*, in which the effect of dress reform on both fashion design and on the everyday apparel of women, influenced not only the types of garments worn, but also the attitudes and conventions that dictated what women should wear throughout history³³⁴. This

332 Lord, *The Corset and the Crinoline*, Preface.

333 Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty: A Social History through Two Centuries of the American Idea, Ideal, and Image of the Beautiful Woman*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc. (1983): 3.

334 Patricia A. Cunningham, *Reforming Women’s Fashion, 1850-1920*, Ashland: Kent

is emphasized by the masculine authority's influence on historical societies, which ensured that the controversies in fashion during the Victorian period stemmed from the "anxieties of gender, class,"³³⁵ and political movements that otherwise conflicted with the economic consumerism of a growing society.

These attempted regulations of fashion by the patriarchy — in relation to character and propriety; the expression through fashion of class status, gender identity, and cultural affiliation, in which apparel both symbolizes and constructs individual and group relationships to institutions of power, laws, and dress codes that dictate fashions in dress — also symbolize and construct a means of social control. Jill Fields, in *An Intimate Affair: Women, Lingerie, and Sexuality*, argues that the division between male and female dress has been and remains to be fundamental to clothing design and therefore, such apparel has played a central role in constructing gender difference in society³³⁶. The history of the corset and its constantly evolving shape and purpose, ultimately reveals through the patriarchal regulations, the desire to reconfigure the traditional gender distinctions through the efforts of women to develop a definition of 'self' which is separate from that of men. This sense of 'self' can be outlined through the ways in which the "division between male and female dress has been and remains fundamental to clothing design,"³³⁷ as clothing provides the ability to explore how masculine and feminine identities are shaped and change over time through a "prescribed and enforced dress code"³³⁸. Fields further examines in her article, "'Fighting the Corsetless Evil': Shaping Corsets and Culture, 1900-1930," how the commercialized practice and ideology of corsetry affects how society understands both the persistence and reshaping of problematic gender structures and identities, which can be seen in the fashion industry's perpetual dependence on innovation and shifting power dynamics³³⁹. This idea continues to be analyzed by Kate Haulman in *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America*, in which fashion, as a practice and as a concept, distinguishes the relationship between gender, social status, and politics through its unique authority in society³⁴⁰. This gendered idea of fashion affects how the corset is perceived by a changing society, as the constant alterations to the silhouette, shifting ideals of propriety, and advancements in technology are

State 37 University Press (2015): ix-xi, 1.

- 335 Gina Marlene Dorré, "Horses and Corsets: 'Black Beauty,' Dress Reform, and the Fashioning 38 of the Victorian Woman," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 30, no. 1 (2002): 159.
- 336 Jill Fields, *An Intimate Affair: Women, Lingerie, and Sexuality*, Los Angeles: University of 39 California Press (2007): 2.
- 337 Fields, *An Intimate Affair*, 2.
- 338 Fields, *An Intimate Affair*, 2.
- 339 Fields, "'Fighting the Corsetless Evil': Shaping Corsets and Culture, 1900-1930," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 2 (1999): 355-84.
- 340 Kate Haulman, *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America*, Gender and American Culture, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (2011).

representative of the ideals of society that are also constantly being refashioned from the beginning of the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century. Colleen Hill and Valerie Steele in *Exposed: A History of Lingerie*, corroborate this interpretation of the gendered distinction in their analysis of the revolutionary aspects of fashion and how the corset, among other garments, illustrates the significant developments in the industry³⁴¹. This approach to fashion is problematic, in that it permits garments to signal to the world the role the wearer may be expected to play, whilst also reminding the wearer of the responsibilities of that role, through its constraints and limitations³⁴². Thus, the political approach to the history of the corset is limited to the ways in which society politicizes (the roles of) gender and therefore, fashion, which demonstrates the control and influence of the patriarchy over society during the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century, which can further be analyzed through the social approach.

The social approach addresses the cyclical nature of fashion through the impact of certain restrictive garments on society and how a distinction of dress that is based in gender, ultimately led to the hierarchical control of society that was established by the patriarchy³⁴³. Academics such as Lois Banner, Michael and Ariane Ruskin Batterberry, Gina Marlene Dorré, Jill Fields, Karen Van Godtsenhoven, Miren Arzalluz, Kaat Debo, Nancy Janoviček, Catherine Carstairs, David Kunzle, Mary Anne Taylor, Norah Waugh, Judith Dolan, and Margaret Woodward employ the social approach in their arguments in order to explain why the feminine silhouette continuously returned to the hourglass shape, accentuated by the corset, throughout history. As the social aspect of the history of the corset is reliant upon the opinions of society, politics will inevitably be taken into consideration by those who chose to analyze the corset — which is evident in the overlap of the scholars for these sections. The ever-changing opinions towards the corset during the late Georgian era to the end of the twentieth century, can be attributed to the shifting perspectives and ideals of a society that was undergoing a significant restructuring

341 Colleen Hill and Valerie Steele, *Exposed: A History of Lingerie*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press in Association with the Fashion Institute of Technology, New York (2014). .

342 Helene E. Roberts, “The Exquisite Slave: The Role of Clothes in the Making of the Victorian Woman,” *Signs* 2, no. 3 (1977).

343 For additional information on the social approach to the history of the corset see: Karen Van Godtsenhoven, Miren Arzalluz, and Kaat Debo, *Fashion Game Changers: Reinventing the 20th Century Silhouette*, London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2016; Nancy Janoviček and Catherine Carstairs, eds. *Feminist History In Canada: New Essays On Women, Gender, Work, and Nation*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013; David Kunzle, *Fashion and Fetishism: A Social History of the Corset, Tight-Lacing, and Other Forms of Body-Sculpture In the West*, Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982; Mary Anne Taylor, “Liberation and a Corset: Examining False Feminism in Steampunk,” *Clockwork Rhetoric*, University Press of Mississippi, 2014; Norah Waugh and Margaret Woodward, *The Cut of Women's Clothes, 1600-1930*, New York: Routledge, 1994

and redefinition of ‘gendered’ roles and stereotypes. The cyclical nature of the corset’s history is best described by Norah Waugh and Judith Dolan in *Corsets and Crinolines*, in which they argue that there has been “three cycles of alteration”³⁴⁴ that have repeated continuously throughout history. This cycle is defined by Waugh as a “curious underlying rhythm to women’s clothes [that] became almost an unwritten law of design”³⁴⁵ in which

“A long slender silhouette that gradually begins to widen at the base, the emphasis shifts from length to breadth, and when the greatest circumference possible has been reached, there is a collapse, a folding up, and a return to the long straight line...each time the artificially widened skirt had to be balanced by a small artificially shaped body, each time the silhouette was different, and each time the names changed too; first, the whaleboned-body and the farthingale, second, the stays and the hooped petticoat, third, the corset and the crinoline.”³⁴⁶

This classification is significant as it provides context for the perpetual return to the corseted figure, despite the negative opinions that also resurfaced with each revival of the garment. The consequences from participating in fashion trends like the corset could be detrimental to one’s health if executed incorrectly (ie. extreme tight-lacing for extended periods of time), however, there is negligible direct evidence associated with the effects of proper corsetry practices despite what Victorian physicians believed³⁴⁷. Despite the warnings and brief rejections of the corset by various levels of society, the return to the restrictive garment occurred regardless of the opinions of (male) medical professionals.

The varying standards of beauty between the social classes and groups within society during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, can be attributed to how fashions have changed throughout history and the opinions of society on such alterations. This can further be defined from the evolution of fashion originating from the “protection [of the body], to the envelope of ego, to the arousal of the emotions of sex and fear, to dress as a symbol,”³⁴⁸ which illustrates the social control that is associated with a gendered interpretation of clothing and the “societal restrictions”³⁴⁹ that accompany this belief. As society during the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century was influenced by the fashions and actions of the upper classes, the participation of the middle-class majority in corsetry was dependant

344 Norah Waugh and Judith Dolan, *Corsets and Crinolines*, New York: Routledge (2017): xiii.

345 Waugh, *Corsets and Crinolines*, xiii.

346 Waugh, *Corsets and Crinolines*, xiii

347 Steele, *The Corset: A Cultural History*, 70, 82.

348 Michael Batterberry and Ariane Ruskin Batterberry, *Mirror, Mirror: A Social History of Fashion*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1977): 9-10.

349 Christine Bayles Kortsch, *Dress Culture in Late Victorian Women’s Fiction: Literacy, Textiles, and Activism*, New York: Routledge (2009): 56.

upon what the elites deemed to be in or out of fashion³⁵⁰. Such standards were expressed by Dorré in her article, “Horses and Corsets: “Black Beauty,” Dress Reform, and the Fashioning of the Victorian Woman,” in which she argues that the “scientific, pragmatic, and moralizing rhetoric of dress reform, which denounced certain elements of female costume as frivolous, irrational, physically injurious, or positively indecent.”³⁵¹ This established the “posture, movement, and silhouette... of the body as an “unnatural” and overdetermined artifact — a paradoxical figure whose ideological multivalence subsequently fired and fuelled the dress reform debates.”³⁵² The influence of the upper classes can be identified in the use of print media to distribute changing fashion trends, such as the corset, in the most efficient and rapid way possible. This ultimately contributes to how society is shaped by fashion, and therefore the corset, as the opinions and actions of the elites shaped the remainder of the social levels. Thus, the political movements that otherwise conflict with the economic consumerism of a developing society, are affected by the commercialized practices and ideologies of corsetry as depicted in the media of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Finally, the cultural approach highlights the opinions of society towards corsetry as depicted in printed media and the historiographical records of the garment, which is applied by fashion historians such as Barbra Freeman, Norah Waugh, Valerie Steele, Gina Marlene Dorré, and Christine Bayles Kortsch in their analyses of the corset. The historical perspective that is demonstrated by academics — in relation to the cultural approach of contextualizing the corset — has to consider both the political and the social aspects of interpretation in order to develop the context for an analysis of the garment. Because of the collaborative efforts that are necessary to consider for the cultural approach, understanding why the corset had such an impact on numerous aspects of society during the late Georgian era and into the twentieth century, is essential for an interpretation of the historiography of fashion. This not only ensures a more accurate analysis of the historical context of the corset, it allows for the restrictive garment to be representative of both the persistence and reshaping of problematic gender structures within historical societies and identities. This can further be represented by the fashion industry’s perpetual dependance on societal innovation and the shifting authoritative voice, as defined by the movement of women from the private to the public sphere.

The media contributed to this power shift through the publication of the opinions and trends of the upper classes, which ultimately influenced the remainder of the hierarchical organization of society during this time. Christine Bayles Kortsch in her text, *Dress Culture in Late Victorian Women’s Fiction: Literacy, Textiles, and Activism*, examines the changing shape of women during the Victorian period through the items of clothing that manufacture the desired silhouette — i.e. the

350 Banner, *American Beauty*, 25

351 Dorré, “Horses and Corsets,” 158

352 Dorré, “Horses and Corsets,” 158

corset — as well as the fashions that accentuate and cover the aforementioned form of women’s bodies³⁵³. She analyzes the (non-verbal) discourse between women that were 56 engaged with the fashion industry, as she argues that the language of dressmaking was feminized in such a way that it offered previously overlooked modes of expression that were exclusively for women. This is further analyzed by the contributions of the newspapers in this shift in societal norms, as they detailed the changes in fashions and how to properly style and dress for the different occasions that were more readily available to women because of the movement towards equality with their introduction into the public sphere. Freeman, in “Laced In and Let Down,” emphasizes the contemporary cultural attitudes about consumerism, gender, and women’s work in the the male-dominated media industry, through the contributions of women journalists who wrote about fashions for other women and were consumers themselves³⁵⁴. The analysis of the economics of the newspaper business established a pattern of fashion reporting — where the industry was boosted and practical advice was dispensed — that is still utilized today, in such a way that the line between advertising and journalism becomes blurred. Journalists and writers of the periodicals — who were mostly women — from the Victorian era such as Kathleen ‘Kit’ Coleman,³⁵⁵ adhered to their role as influencers of the fashion industry during a time in which 58 women were becoming more prominent within the public sphere of society that had previously been dominated by men. Despite the fluctuating opinions of the corset, the media continuously published articles on the garment according to the current position — in the acceptance or rejection of corsetry — of society. Steele, in *The Corset: A Cultural History*, continues to emphasize the corset as a culturally historical element, as it provides context for the women’s liberation movements, dress reforms, and shift from the private to the public sphere by women throughout history. The publication of journals and newspapers during the Victorian era and into the twentieth century, not only allowed for the reader to understand the opinions of the author towards controversial topics like the corset, it provided a first hand account of why these people had, upheld, or changed their positions throughout their lifetimes. Regardless of the various opinions towards the corset,

353 Kortsch, *Dress Culture in Late Victorian Women’s Fiction*.

354 Freeman, “Laced In and Let Down.”

355 Kit Coleman (1856–1915) was an Irish-Canadian newspaper columnist and journalist who 58 wrote about the experiences of women around the world. She was the author of “Kit’s Gossip” and editor of the “Woman’s Kingdom” page in the Saturday edition of the *Toronto Daily Mail* and *The Mail and Empire* from October 26, 1889 to February 4, 1911 and she was also the first accredited female war correspondent during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries in Canada. Kit was able to open doors for women in journalism and establish a conversation on what women were actually interested in, rather than household tips, gossip, or fashion. “Kathleen Coleman”, In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, Article published January 23, 2008; Last Edited March 24, 2015. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/kathleen-coleman>

the fact that it was continuously discussed — in both a positive and negative light — is representative of the impact that the ‘restrictive’ garment had on society, whether the people participated in the debates or not.

Section 4: Conclusion

The history of the corset as a restrictive fashion during the late Georgian and Victorian eras to the end of the twentieth century, is defined through the ways in which various aspects of society — politics, culture, economics, and social reforms — influence fashion as an industry, as well as the clothes worn by the distinct hierarchical classes of this period. The corset therefore, can not be studied in one singular avenue without acknowledging its influence on the others. This synthesis of the three approaches to studying the corset that fashions historians usually can be categorized into — as defined by the social, cultural, and political divisions — is necessary in the development of a cohesive argument that acknowledges the significant impact of the garment on society. Due to the corset’s cyclical history, its influence on all aspects of society, regardless of whether the people were participating in the trend or blatantly rejecting it, ensured the longevity and use of the garment. This is further demonstrated by the patriarchal connotations involved with the production and extreme versions of the practice, as the corset — as a symbol of the patriarchy — not only manipulated women physically, it also repressed their voices. Through this distinction, the gendered separation of the public and private spheres contributes to the history of restrictive fashions, as the influence of the masculine authority over women is innately followed by a society that had been formed by the patriarchy.

A historiographical approach to the corset that would include the aforementioned distinctions in a carefully composed and balanced way would be beneficial for understanding why the corset had the impact that it did on a society that was already being transformed by other external factors. The historical depictions of the restrictive garment that are constantly shifting in relation to how people utilize, understand, and accept or reject the corset from the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century, are essential in order to fully develop an argument about the corset. As the garments history is constantly repeating itself, developing a better comprehension of the history of restrictive fashions is essential for contemporary society, as it allows for an understanding of our own positions that are fundamentally rooted in the patriarchal oppression of women throughout our history. This recognition challenges the oppression of the marginalized ‘Other’ by the masculine authorities of society, as fashion can be and has been utilized as a means to liberate the voices of women. Thus, the historical approach on the influence of the corset and how it affects society, illustrates an argument that encompasses alternative aspects of society that would otherwise be ignored by a singular avenue of study.

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LEIGH LINSEY

Canada and Vimy Ridge: Legacy and Nationhood

The First World War permanently changed the face of warfare, the dynamics of the Western World, and the 20th century as a whole. For all the nations and peoples who participated in the conflict, they would forever carry its weight, both for the better or worse. It is a challenge having to find the benefits and quality in such a brutal and unnecessary conflict, but the glory that follows victory offers a respite from the agony of loss and destruction. One such example of this can be found in the Canadian campaigns during the War. The monumental achievements of the rather inadequately trained and outnumbered Canadian forces has a profound legacy in Canada, particularly in the case of unifying a complicated society under a single banner. The present discussion examines the legacy generated by the First World War in the Canadian realm. In particular, the events and victory seen at Vimy Ridge. This will be used as a specific case study in showcasing the capabilities of the young nation, and the profound importance it had during, and after the war. Evidence will be provided in developing this concept of nationhood and nationalism via the early interpretations of the conflict, the leadership and capabilities of the Canadian Corps, and the monument Vimy Ridge would later inspire.

Special attention will be given to the preparations and uniqueness of the Canadian tactics in taking the Ridge, the domestic and international attention awarded to the victory in print, and the legacy that formed around the monument that stands atop the Ridge to this day. Scholars are quick to state that Vimy was the singular moment of national maturity and self-determination for Canada.³⁵⁶ This is not merely an enthusiastic approach by nationalistic Canadian historians however. The results of the victory at Vimy undoubtedly played an immense role in the political sphere of Canada. Canada had found itself a seat among the global elite following the conclusion of the First World War, and this seat, both figurative and

356 Jonathan F Vance, *Death so Noble* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 10

literal in reference to the Paris Peace Conference, was rather undoubtedly achieved via the efforts and victory at Vimy.³⁵⁷

Confederation in and of itself certainly offers the first instance of a unified and independent Canada that was separate but aligned with the English crown. And even prior to this, the notion of an independent spirit among colonial settlers was known, both by the English and French forerunners of the colonization era.³⁵⁸ Time continued to march forward and the completion of the railroad in 1885 once again helped with this sense of unity. After all, the railroad permanently linked the provinces together and officially placed claim over the lands west of the Red River.³⁵⁹ Additionally, the railway made western expansion a true possibility for more people than ever before. The dominions land act some of 1872 essential gave new immigrants the opportunity to free farmland, yet this was not enough to populate the prairie provinces.³⁶⁰ It was with the completion of the Railroad that saw a massive influx of immigrants, of rather diverse backgrounds, to the Canadian West.

It is important to acknowledge that this paper is analyzing and identifying a key source of European-Canadian identity and unification, or more specifically, Anglo-Canadian identity. For at the time of the Great War, the dominant culture of Canada in the Atlantic Provinces, Ontario, the Western Provinces, and British Columbia was composed most significantly by Anglo culture and custom, some would go as far to say that early Canadians were British first, and Canadian second.³⁶¹

While the dominant culture of the time may dictate the need for such analysis and continues to have tremendous importance in Canadian history, it is necessary to acknowledge that this was not a singular voice at the time. While the War, and Canada's involvement was a fairly clear decision for most Canadians of English heritage, the French dominated region of Quebec for example did not possess the same kind of zeal for their mother country as did the English.³⁶² Even the Canadian military was viewed as fundamentally an English force and entity, as exemplified by the sheer lack of francophones both volunteering and already in the Canadian ranks.³⁶³ The case for the deeply entrenched rivalries of Anglo-French relations remained a constant hurdle through the war years and did not alleviate themselves

357 *ibid.*

358 Granges, C.D. (2014). Finding Legitimacy: Examining Quebec Sovereignty from Pre-Confederation to Present. *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 50, 25-44. <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/566295>.

359 Narrating, 56

360 Narrating, 58

361 Pierre Berton, *Vimy* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1986), 31

362 Raymond Blake, Jeffrey Keshen, Norman Knowles and Barbara Messamore, *Narrating a Nation: Canadian History Post-Confederation* (Canada: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 2011), 140

363 *Ibid.*, 140-145

thereafter, rather both sides found themselves more deeply entrenched in their separate identities and beliefs as a result.³⁶⁴ Descent became a growing concern for Canadians at home. As such, the divisive nature of Anglo-French relations in Canada served to further justify English-Canadian concepts of identity and unity in many ways.

Though it is important to acknowledge that the entirety of French-Canada did not align themselves with one movement nor the other, prominent voices among the Quebec nationalists provided a powerful platform in upsetting the status quo.³⁶⁵ One such voice was that of Henri Bourassa, the Quebec politician and publisher, who regularly made his opinions heard in French-English affairs, largely via the role of Great Britain in Canada and the economic state of Canada.³⁶⁶ Bourassa echoed the sentiments of many French-Canadians in the early 20th century that found the Canadian preoccupation with Britain rather troubling, largely spurred on by the ambiguous nature of the Boer War at the turn of the century, but later saw a resurgence around, during, and after World War One.³⁶⁷ As Jonathan F. Vance states, there existed these “fair-weather friends” who, while in the context of the pro and anti-war age seized the opportunity to both unite and push away different groups and aspects of the nation.³⁶⁸

Furthermore, such examples of the anti-war movement can be found in a variety of places in Canada beyond just the French realm as well including Ontario. Such examples as the newspaper the *Sault*, of Sault St. Marie, Ontario called for a departure of Canadians from Europe and the end of unnecessary warring.³⁶⁹ The predominantly non-English demographic of the small town left the war on truly contentious ground in the region. Only made all the more complicated given its publication date of 1916, when the campaigns in Europe were already expected to have been concluded.³⁷⁰ Given the enthusiastic fervor for the War that was felt in much of Ontario for the vast majority of the conflict, particularly leading up the fateful day in 1917 when Vimy was ultimately seized, Sault St. Marie was rather unique in the region but not entirely alone in its convictions.

364 Death so Noble, 10

365 Ibid.,

366 Joseph Levitt, “Henri Bourassa” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada. Article published January 16, 2008; Last Edited March 01, 2018. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/henri-bourassa>

367 Henri Bourassa,

368 Death so Noble, 228

369 “No more Canadians for overseas service: This Young Dominion Has Sacrificed Enough” In *A Country Nourished on Self-Doubt: Documents in Post-Confederation Canadian History*, ed. Thomas Thorner and Thor Frohn-Nielsen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 153-154

370 No more Canadians for overseas service, 153-154

Included in the growing complexities of the War were the numerous new arrivals from Europe. To return back to the matter of western expansion and the railway, the new policies of the Minister of the Interior, Sir Clifford Sifton saw a massive influx of new, uniquely non-English immigrants.³⁷¹ The vast expanses of arable land in these regions presented an ideal opportunity for an agricultural boom.³⁷² Americans and the British were first targeted, but increasing success was had with a far more controversial sect, this being Eastern Europeans.³⁷³ By the late 19th century Sifton looked to the far East of Europe, particularly Russia and the Ukraine, many of whom belonged to religious sects that had been persecuted by the governments of their homelands.³⁷⁴ Members the Anabaptists sects of the Mennonites, Doukhobors and Hutterites exemplified this. These newcomers were rather controversial due to their inherent non-Englishness, for in the scheme of Canadian immigration at this time there was a sense of social Darwinism in full effect. Beyond the confines of an apparent superiority complex of the late 19th and early 20th century, these new immigrants shared similar sentiments to the existing minorities of Canada. They joined the ranks of other organizations belonging to the anti-war movement such as, neutralists, non-interventionists and isolationists.³⁷⁵ With that said, these groups never formed anything close to a majority in the grand scheme of Canadian impressions of the War even long after armistice.³⁷⁶ As such, the need to patriate such individuals was of the utmost importance for many during and after World War One. The War stood as an opportune moment to make this happen.

This extended beyond the confines of those who were adamantly against war as well. Given the voluntary nature of the Canadas war effort, young men not interested in going to war were quickly chastised and shamed for their lack of patriotism. Conscription and the subsequent crisis it caused was not instituted until the final year of conflict, and in comparison the number of volunteers still significantly outnumbered the conscripted. As a result many groups that were just as enthusiastic as other Canadians for the growing war effort found themselves open to criticism and hardship on the Homefront. In particular, the challenge of being a farmer in this age came from both sides. A civic duty to remain and assist on the farm and the subsequent guilt and challenges this posed to the individual, as well as the public discontent over young men remaining while others fought. This is particularly evident in Peter McArthur's 1915 article *Country Recruits* which outlines the extremely challenging reality of Canada's newfound patriotic

371 Hall, David J., "Sir Clifford Sifton". In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published January 22, 2008; Last Edited February 13, 2017. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sir-clifford-sifton>

372 Ibid.,

373 Ibid.,

374 Narrating, 110

375 Death, 30

376 Ibid.,

excitement and the fundamental needs of both the Homefront and Western Front.³⁷⁷ The call to arms from nearly every aspect of Canadian life, particularly in Ontario at this time, saw the mistreatment and misrepresentation of rural volunteers in the opening years of the War. McArthur details the fundamental need of able-bodied men in agriculture, where for every man sent to the front "...a hundred acres [are left] untilled."³⁷⁸ Not only was the War worth pursuing, but that the enthusiastic call for volunteers was so powerful that the fundamental needs of the nation and the war effort was being undercut by the very fact too many capable laborer's were abandoning fields to fight. The objective of McArthur was clearly in response to the perceived lackluster number of recruits from rural areas enlisting. This rather unusual set of circumstances in which the defense of farmer had to be made to prove the importance of themselves, and their young men, is indicative of the larger patriotic wave that overcame much of Canada in this era.

All in all, to make the assertion that Canada was all together harmonious in its decision to go to war would be thoroughly misinformed. However, it still remains the case that the overwhelming majority of Canadians did belong to the pro-War effort.

To this day it is fair to assert that much of what Canadians are wrestling with in the 21st century is not all together unique in the grand scheme of Canadian history. Regionalism has been a hallmark of Canadian society from the earliest days of what it meant to be a Canadian, even before the national and provincial borders were drawn. Thus, the modern quandaries of provincial and regional division have long been questions of great debate among scholars, and as a result, so too is the Canadian understanding of nationalism. Frank H. Underhill acknowledged this in 1938, in an essay that echoes eerily similar to opinions still shared in the 21st century. The questionability of Canadian nationalism can find its source, as Underhill argues, in the fact there lacks a preoccupation in Canadians understanding their own history.³⁷⁹ The intrinsic value that many other nations, or peoples find in understanding their own significance through history is lost and underutilized in forming a Canadian consciousness of themselves. Underhill asserts that the foundational principles that Canada organized itself during confederation directly inhibited a national story from being created.³⁸⁰ The provincial obsession and division of the nation undoubtedly prevented any concrete amalgamation of peoples.³⁸¹

377 "Peter McArthur's Column 'Country Recruits' [Globe, 30 January 1915, p. 13]" in Ontario and the First World War: 1914-1918 A collection of Documents, ed Barbara Wilson (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977) 6-8

378 Ibid., 7

379 Frank Underhill, "Some observations upon nationalism and provincialism in Canada," in *Problems in Canadian Unity: Lectures Given at the Canadian Institute on Economics and Politics, August 9 to 19, 1938*, ed. Violet Anderson (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Limited, 1938), 67

380 Ibid., 67

381 Ibid., 67-74

This preamble has been a means of presenting and establishing the complexities of the Canadian structure of society within the context of the Great War Era. Culturally it was a bizarre combination of disparate groups, aligning themselves with a commonality that is not particularly obvious or evident. But to present Canada as entirely divided and lacking a historical basis in which to garner unity and nationality would be a misnomer. It is at this point that the First World War is to be cited as key to garnering a deeper understanding and recognition of the unification of Canada. Furthermore, the role that Vimy Ridge played in forging Canada into its own self determined nation is of profound significance. Indeed, there were objections to Canadian involvement overseas, but for the majority of the nation this was a singular moment in history that offered a moment of rally, pride and nationalism, nor was this missed by the international community. As for the matter at hand, a discussion and analyzes of Vimy Ridge is a necessity in understanding the deeper nationalistic significance of the victory.

Beginning first with the First World War. The conflict was not only a new era of warfare for Canada, but also Europe as a whole. The altogether ambiguous circumstance that caused the war was not of much concern at the time of engagement. The system of alliances and friendships among the European nations had begun to show its inadequacies, sparking the most spectacular loss of life the world had ever seen. The intricacies of why the war began is beyond the realm of this paper, but a source of key importance is this notion of alliance building and the ripple effect of such a political system.³⁸² And as such, when England entered the conflict, so did its astonishing wealth and power. This was not missed on the Canadians either, as widespread conscription like that of England was not instituted until the final year of the war, yet the miniscule populations of Canada mustered over half a million recruits through the duration of the war.³⁸³ Furthermore, even in 1910, Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier stated that “when Britain is at war, Canada is at war,” thus some fifty years following confederation, the duty to serve the British crown remained a source of deep significance in Canada.³⁸⁴ This was more than mere political jockeying, as cities across Canada erupted in praise and enthusiasm following the declaration of war against Germany, with 30,000 men volunteering in 1914 alone.³⁸⁵ This can be seen in the earliest notions of the war being declared, particularly in the highly populated and English centre of Canada, Ontario.

The opening stages of the war saw widespread excitement and enthusiasm across Ontario in spades. This can be found in such articles as that of the *London*

382 *Death so Noble*, 130

383 Lawrence James, *The rise and fall of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 367

384 Donald Eberle, “Conscription policy, citizenship and religious conscientious objectors in the United States and Canada during World War One.” Bowling Green State University, 2013. <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/> 28

385 *Ibid.*, 29

Free Press, which captured this excitement of Canadians in early August of 1914. All the major population centres of Ontario were overtaken with enthusiastic applause and nationalistic fervor for not just Canada involving itself with the war, but largely because they would be join Britain in the fight.³⁸⁶ The National Anthem, along with God Save the King, Three Cheers for the Red White and Blue, Rule Britannia and three cheers for Kitchener were sounding through London, to Brantford, Preston and Woodstock.³⁸⁷ The Press even acknowledged the reception in the Ontario town of Berlin, which is now named Kitchener, saw unbridled excitement for Canada's declaration of war, regardless of the German dominated demographic of the town.³⁸⁸ The Irony was not lost on the town of Berlin either, for in 1916 a public meeting was held to address the complicated relationship that the towns name had with the national identity of Canada.³⁸⁹ It is simple enough to deduce that the importance of assimilating to the national narrative of Britain and Canada was of key significance. Furthermore, this prospect of war was not one to be scared of, rather, for Anglo-Canadians, the war was a truly exciting thing to be a part of.

This sentiment was not missed on other commonwealth nations either. And while the war began at what was the tail end of the British Empire's height and importance, hundreds of thousands of troops from around the globe found themselves departing for the European continent. India, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa devoted amazing numbers to the cause.³⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the challenges of a new war quickly developed. Where Canada differentiated itself from its fellow commonwealth states was in large part thanks to its impressive military victories on the Western Front. Though this is partly thanks to the overwhelming concentration on the Western Front.³⁹¹ Canada's sister-nations found themselves dispersed among a variety of theatres through the Mediterranean and the Middle East.³⁹²

One of the most profound lasting memories of the First World War is the devastating conditions of trench warfare. The suddenly antiquated sabre and cavalry remained a staple for far too long into the war, as the dated tactics of

386 "Ontario's Immediate Reaction to the News that War Had Been Declared [London Free Press, 5 August 1914, p.1]," in Ontario and the First World War: 1914-1918 A collection of Documents, ed Barbara Wilson (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977) 3

387 *ibid.*,

388 *ibid.*,

389 "Resolution Adopted at a Public Meeting in Berlin on 11 February 1916 [Berlin News Record, 11 February 1917, p.1]," in Ontario and the First World War: 1914-1918 A collection of Documents, ed Barbara Wilson (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), 77

390 The Rise and Fall of the British Empire, 367

391 The Rise and Fall of the British Empire, 367

392 *Ibid.*,

campaigns from a bygone era remained the primary means of attack. Barbed wire, gas attacks and invasive rats and mites and the diseases they carried ushered in new horrors. Because of this, the means of combat altered and the basic idea of what a victory over the enemy looked like became increasingly smaller steps toward the enemy line. The debacle that was trench warfare was the direct result of failed military tactics instituted by the German led offensive in Europe. The so called Schlieffen plan, an attack designed to push the German offensive deep into northern France with the express objective of seizing Paris.³⁹³ This ultimately failed via the fierce resistance of the Parisian forces and culminated in a virtual stalemate along the French-German borders.³⁹⁴ As such, fighting forces became entrenched on either side of this combat line, and increasingly smaller victories became primary objectives. Leading up to Vimy, the Canadian Regiment had to endure the challenges of the Somme. A bleak affair that resulted in impressive amounts of casualties for both the sides of the conflict. The largely untested Canadian Corps took severe losses while battling in the Somme, and yet found a new sense of confidence and capability.³⁹⁵ Professionalism quickly became something to strive for and to be achieved in both soldiers and commanding officers, as exemplified by the now infamous General Sir Arthur Currie, made famous by his clever tactics and capable demeanor.³⁹⁶ Currie had a rather unusual rise to fame as he was as inexperienced as any other civilian soldier of the Great War. His résumé read rather poorly when compared to the office he would later hold. A schoolteacher with little wealth to his name, and even less military experience.³⁹⁷ Nevertheless, Currie was a natural tactician and while under the guidance of his military contemporaries Sam Hughes and General Julian Byng, Currie accumulated impressive victories and international recognition.³⁹⁸ By the end of the War, Currie had become the first Canadian to rise to the rank of General.³⁹⁹ As a result, the capabilities of both the Canadian soldiers and leader brought about an equally fortunate and unfortunate fate for the Canadian Corps. Their capabilities were noticed and were to be put to the test as the target was set on Vimy itself.

393 Annika Mombauer, “Schlieffen Plan.” in *Europe 1789-1914: Encyclopedia of the Age of Industry and Empire*, edited by John Merriman and Jay Winter, 2098-2100. Vol. 4. Detroit, MI: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 2006. *Gale In Context: World History* (accessed March 9, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3446900746/WHIC?u=calg97288&sid=WHIC&xid=9b007eed>.

394 Trevor Yorke, *The Trench: Life and Death on the Western Front 1914-1918*, Countryside Books, 2014. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/stmuabca-ebooks/detail.action?docID=4871008>. 15 -16

395 Narrating a Nation, 143

396 Ibid., 144

397 Marching unto war, 174

398 Marching, 174

399 Marching, 227

Vimy was a rather monumental task to overcome. While not in war time it stands as merely any other pasture, but in the midst of conflict it had become laden with wire, shelling, mud and mines and suddenly this small hill was more akin to a mountain with a watchful German eye at its peak.⁴⁰⁰ The strategic benefits that the Germans had while occupying this hill cannot be understated as their expansive view of the Douai Plain left all forms of attack at a severe disadvantage and as such, Vimy was regarded as the most formidable obstacle on the Western Front.⁴⁰¹ The ridge stood as the linchpin in the German defenses of the Front, as it connected the northern route through Ypres and to the sea, while protected the southern approaches of the front.⁴⁰² As for the task of seizing, the challenges were blatantly evident.

As is the case with all alliance-based warfare, the needs of other armies and nations are sometimes the priority of your own. This can be seen clearly in the first attempts to take the stronghold on the Douai. Prior to the Canadians making their attempt both the French and English staged offensives for the hill. The initial French strategies performed by the English had little success to speak of.⁴⁰³ And yet the challenge of securing the ridge remained severely underestimated by military commanders on several other occasions to come.⁴⁰⁴ They lacked the troops and more importantly the artillery to make a sizable impact. As such, disastrous casualties resulted in minimal advancements, and attention was placed on other, more achievable targets in the meantime.⁴⁰⁵ This is not to suggest Vimy was seen as unwinnable, in fact it was a necessity to capture. Endless shelling ensued on the fortifications, and attempts were made to tunnel deep beyond enemy lines, along with the new technology of aerial reconnaissance, all as a means of dislodging the German defenses and preparing for the eventual capture of the Ridge.⁴⁰⁶

Thanks in large part to the era of the conflict, fighting was dictated by the seasons. As a result, the winter months brought about an opportunity to recover equipment and reinforcements, but more importantly develop and train new battle strategies via trench raids and reconnaissance⁴⁰⁷. It was during the winter of 1917

400 Bernd Horn, "The History of the Royal Canadian Regiment 1883-195: Service and Suffering: The RCR at Vimy Ridge." *Esprit de Corps*, November 2018, 34+. *Gale OneFile*: CPI.Q (accessed March 9, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A563570867/CPI?u=calg97288&sid=CPI&xid=0f510552>.

401 Ibid.,

402 Michael Boire, "Vimy Ridge: The Battlefield Before the Canadians, 1914-1916," in *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, ed Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, Mike Bechthold (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 51

403 Vimy Ridge: The Battlefield Before the Canadians, 1914-1916, 51

404 Jonathan Vance, *Maple Leaf empire: Canada, Britain and the Two World Wars* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2012), 70

405 Vimy Ridge: The Battlefield Before the Canadians, 51

406 ibid.,

407 *Maple Leaf Empire*, 101

that battle plans had begun to finalize, and the objective of Vimy came ever closer. By the time the Canadians arrived, it had been over 3 years of failed attempts, and the landscape of the ridge along with all the surrounding area had been utterly destroyed by shelling.⁴⁰⁸ The once accurate maps at the beginning of the war were rendered useless as features that existed in 1914 were all but gone by 1917. The battle strategy had been broken down into three separate attacks on the Western Front. The French maintained the southern portion, the English were in the north, and the sole duty of capturing Vimy was up to, for the first time in a single battle, all four of the Canadian corps.⁴⁰⁹ Originally, the duty of taking the ridge was to be split among the British and some Canadians, but due to constantly changing circumstances it became the task of the Canadians. Furthermore, the capture of the ridge would be equally unique in the manner it was planned and staged. This is in reference to the speed in which it was decided that the offensive would occur. It was to take only a matter of hours rather than the days or even weeks that had originally been planned for by the French and English.⁴¹⁰ The rapid offensive would occur in 30 minute movements as troops were required to cover heavy amounts of ground, dig themselves in and wait for the barrage to continue forward as reinforcements took their turn at the head of the pack.⁴¹¹ The highly orchestrated operation of taking the Ridge saw new battle tactics adopted, such as using physical monuments instead of outdated maps, and the creation of massive scale replicas of the Ridge to train and inform troops as best as possible⁴¹². The formality and pomp of combat had dissolved away into a modern and tactical war machine. Generals Julian Byng and Currie, the two men tasked with commanding the Canadian Corps, had focused on discipline in their fighting force, and through it all a sense of pride was garnered within the ranks.⁴¹³ This was particularly evident in the admiration seen toward General Byng, whose soldiers had affectionately called themselves Byng's Boys and who ultimately was at the helm during the assault on Vimy.⁴¹⁴

Byng had arrived on the Western Front in the winter of 1916 originally to command the British XVII Corps, now fixated on Vimy.⁴¹⁵ Soon however, Byng had received a challenging promotion. Byng found himself disappointingly in charge of the Canadian Corps, whom he had little confidence in upon arriving.⁴¹⁶ While the Canadians had progressed tremendously from the outset of war, politics

408 Vimy Ridge: The Battlefield Before the Canadians, 51

409 Maple Leaf Empire, 102-103

410 Pierre Berton, *Vimy* (Toronto: The Canadian Publishers, 1986), 178

411 *ibid.*,

412 *Narrating a Nation*, 148

413 *ibid.*,

414 Patrick Brennan, "Julian Byng and Leadership in the Canadian Corps," in *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, ed Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, Mike Bechthold (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 92

415 *Reassessment*, 88

416 *Ibid*

and infighting within ranks had left them far from a homogenous group upon Byng's arrival.⁴¹⁷ The only exception to this was Currie's 1st Division, whom under his leadership found a strong comradeship. What made Byng unique in the Canadian divisions was that he was a career soldier, and a man of great reputation, earned not simply given. As such, Byng demanded total authority over the Canadian Corps, leaving promotions and the removal of officers under his direct jurisdiction, seizing this authority from the Canadian Government.⁴¹⁸ This was of great need given the highly egotistical nature of the Corps up until this point, replacing it with a merit based hierarchy.⁴¹⁹ As a result, Byng was able to keep egos at bay, allowing for high ranking Canadian and British officers to work cohesively.⁴²⁰ Due to all these radical changes within the Corps, along with fierce discipline and training regimes, Byng transformed the Canadian Corps into the capable fighting force that was required to secure the Ridge. As such, Byng created the opportunity for the Canadians to achieve what they were inherently able to achieve and created a following and respect not seen among the entirety of the Canadian Corps before.⁴²¹

When the time came to advance there had already been hundreds of thousands of shells raining down upon the fortified hill for two weeks prior to the day of the attack. Easter Monday 1917 was the fateful day, and rather audaciously, the attack was planned to take a mere eight hours.⁴²² Audacious indeed, but after just a single day the Ridge was taken, and the following 3 days saw an advancement of over 4000 metres.⁴²³ The meticulously trained Canadian Corps moved efficiently and effectively through the foreign territory. The advance was rather astonishing in that the Canadians had seized more ground in a mere few days than any other allied force had on the Western Front until this point.⁴²⁴ The offensive cost the lives of over 3500 Canadians and wounded another 7000, while the German held defense saw an astonishing 20,000 dead and thousands more captured as prisoners.⁴²⁵

While acknowledged previously, the beginnings of a new found national identity began to take shape in the opening months of the War but the nationalistic value of Vimy contributed a considerable amount to a civic consciousness of the Canadian people that in large part was not known before. An understanding of what a Canadian was began to take shape as a direct result of such a victory. And yet, Canada stands as unique in this instance yet again and much the same as in

417 Ibid.,

418 Reassessment, 88-89.,

419 Ibid.,

420 Ibid., 95

421 Ibid., 99-101

422 Vimy, 179

423 Narrating a Nation, 148

424 Ibid.,

425 Richard Foot, "Battle of Vimy Ridge". In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published July 20, 2006; Last Edited November 04, 2019. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/vimy-ridge>

other points in its history. For the direct results of Vimy in the grander picture of the British war effort was a monumental victory of course, but the Ridge, and subsequently the Canadians were just singular pieces in the continued fight on the continent.⁴²⁶ As such, Vimy was treated with similar reverence as other battles from the English perspective but this was not the final stages of the war, but rather another impressive step forward against the enemy. This is rather indicative of the lasting colonial legacy of Britain as the Canadian Corp and Canadian Expeditionary Force were under the umbrella of Britain's Army Act, and subsequently Canadians fell under the term of "imperials," as such an identity of their own was not yet seen specifically in the military realm.⁴²⁷ As such, an early understanding of an independent Canada was far from an understood concept or one that the nation was necessarily in search of. Canadian officers were given titles within the British Army and stationed in London, and the unifying power of being part of the worldwide empire that was the British Crown offered more than enough sources of pride at the outbreak of the war.⁴²⁸ It is far to assert that not only did Vimy help foster a sense of independence and nationality among Canadians, but it also introduced the very concept of being separate but standing with England.

A self-determined spirit can be found as reports of what had occurred worked their way to Canada. *The Globe* shared on April 11, 1917 in Toronto a headline that ran: "CANADIAN SUCCESS A CRUSHING VICTORY."⁴²⁹ The article speaks to the massive number of prisoners seized in just a single day of fighting when compared to the already celebrated achievements of the Somme that required more time and saw less captives.⁴³⁰ In addition, the author makes it abundantly clear that this victory is all the more profound due to the fact that the Ridge was taken from the most fierce of German soldiers, the Bavarians, whom a Canadian officer is quoted for celebrating over through the collapse of their moral.⁴³¹ The multitude of derogatory terms that were featured on the news cycle when referencing the Germans was extremely common and quite frankly expected of wartime news reporting and the extremely common term of "Huns" seemingly appeared more

426 Desmond Morton, *A military history of Canada* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), 145

427 *A military history of Canada*, 145

428 *ibid.*,

429 Philip Gibbs, *Over 11,000 Germans and More Than 100 Guns Taken: Arras Victory A Staggering Blow to Invaders of Northern France Teutons Sustain Tremendous Losses in Men, Guns and Position — Retreat South of Vimy Ridge to Defensive Lines Farther Back — Canadian Triumph is Complete—Plains to Douai Dominated by Haig*, in *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Apr 11, 1917. <http://ezproxy.acsmc.talonline.ca/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1351329942?accountid=14098>.

430 *Ibid.*,

431 *Ibid.*,

often than the term German.⁴³² The degrading of the enemy was highly common, from the outbreak of war to the conclusion, and for the celebration of Canadians in battle over said enemy, it was an extremely common trope. On the same page stands a short column lacking any additional information outside of stating it was from New York. It does however celebrate the capability and prowess of the Canadian soldiers and their victory, speaking to the international recognition of the triumphant victory:

Canada has a new reason for pride. It was great good fortune for her that the taking of Vimy Ridge, for which the allies had poured out so much of their blood, fell in the long run to her. April 9, 1917 will be in Canada's history one of the great days, a day of glory, to furnish inspirations to her sons for generations. Her new ally salutes her and rejoices with her.⁴³³

The rather enthusiastic and proud recognition of the Canadians soldiers was echoed in a number of other international settings. As Pierre Berton shares in his detailed telling of the capture of Vimy Ridge in *Vimy*. Berton cites the downright envious nature of the New York *Tribune*, and the *New York Times* foreshadowing the deep cultural heritage that the battle would later signify for Canadians, in particular the subsequent generations that will look to the battle for a sense of pride and nationalism.⁴³⁴

This sentiment was carried further on April 13, where the victory was on clear display with a large frontpage exclamation of "NO FOES DEFENCES CAN STAY BRITISH ONSLAUGHT, Canadians Figure in Smashing Advancers on Broad Front."⁴³⁵ Just below in bold print sits a victorious word directed at the capability of the Canadian soldiers specifically at Vimy. Where this exemplifies the British spirit is in that it celebrates the collaborative ability of the two nations fighting alongside one another, rather than the sole duty and victory resting on the shoulders of the Canadians. Likewise, this collaborative spirit can be seen even

432 This was gathered via the following examples: "Brutal Huns." *Western Gazette*, February 9, 1917, 6. *British Library Newspapers* (accessed March 15, 2020). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/JF3233606375/GDCS?u=alberta_portal&sid=GDCS&xid=dc2d8615, "Safe from the Huns at Last." *Western Times*, December 4, 1914, 11. *British Library Newspapers* (accessed March 15, 2020). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GR3220911399/GDCS?u=alberta_portal&sid=GDCS&xid=5bd22fdf, "One who Has Returned. "What I Know of the Huns." *Daily Mail*, December 9, 1915, 4. *Daily Mail Historical Archive*, 1896-2004 (accessed March 15, 2020). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1862829978/GDCS?u=alberta_portal&sid=GDCS&xid=123f1a89

433 Ibid.,

434 *Vimy*, 291

435 "ALL CANADIANS IN VIMY FIGHT." *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Apr 13, 1917. <http://ezproxy.acsmc.talonline.ca/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1354090647?accountid=14098>.

from the Canadian press in the *Globe and Mail*.⁴³⁶ Nevertheless, it goes on to state that the reward of Vimy goes in large part to the “incomparable” Canadian troop and the skillfulness of leadership in the battle that helped pivot the standings on the Western Front.⁴³⁷ Lastly, a retelling of the battle from the *Globe and Mail* on the anniversary of the battle in 1934 continues to reiterate the Canadian role in the battle. The article highlights the fine detail and tactics of the siege while most importantly acknowledging the “...great triumph for Canada’s sons.”⁴³⁸

A fair example of the British reception can be found in a piece from the *London Times* on April 20, 1917 that exemplified the nature of the victory and to assists in the formation of a pridefulness around the Canadian endeavor. The article speaks of the ability and merit of the Canadians in both victory and the opening days of the conflict, with descriptions of the battle taken directly from the *Canadian War Records Office*.⁴³⁹ The narrative continues to express a rather romantic notion of combat, a perspective largely expected and accepted of the victorious side, far from the drudges of war. The article shares deep and explicit detail of the systematic capturing of the ridge, from the ferocity of the combat and the soldiers, to the skillful artillery flying overhead and the brutal quagmire that had to be overcome.⁴⁴⁰ Until eventually the enemy found itself “feebler, their hands eager to relinquish their weapons and ascend high above their heads.”⁴⁴¹ There exists this language and belief that not that will of the enemy had been broken. Not only had they lost their footing and defensive stronghold, but that they were fundamentally being undermined by the Allied forces.

436 “BRITISH AND CANADIANS ARE VICTORS INTREMENDOUS FIGHT AROUND ARRAS: CAPTURE VIMY RIDGE, SWEEP FOE BACK ON A WIDE FRONT AND TAKE 6,000 PRISONERS--OPERATION STILL PROCEEDING-- “TANKS” PLAY BIG PART IN SPLENDID TRIUMPH FOR ALLIED ARMS--1,000 PRISONERS ALONE TAKEN BY BRITISH IN LABYRINTH CALLED “THE HARP.” 1917. *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Apr 10, 1. <http://ezproxy.acsmc.talonline.ca/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1351618490?accountid=14098>.

437 “ALL CANADIANS IN VIMY FIGHT.” *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Apr 13, 1917. <http://ezproxy.acsmc.talonline.ca/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1354090647?accountid=14098>

438 “THE BATTLE OF VIMY.” *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Apr 09, 1934. <http://ezproxy.acsmc.talonline.ca/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1350812913?accountid=14098>.

439 “The Fight for Vimy Ridge.” *Times*, 20 Apr. 1917, p. 5. The Times Digital Archive, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS85264532/GDCS?u=alberta_portal&sid=GDCS&xid=28aba0da. Accessed 15 Mar. 2020.,

440 “The Fight for Vimy Ridge.” *Times*, 20 Apr. 1917, p. 5. The Times Digital Archive, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS85264532/GDCS?u=alberta_portal&sid=GDCS&xid=28aba0da. Accessed 15 Mar. 2020.

441 *Ibid*

While the immediacy of the battle offered celebration among Canadians at home and abroad, it can be argued that the deepest source of importance can be seen directly in the Vimy monument. The memorial that stands atop Hill 145 encapsulates the spirit of warfare moving forward, for verse and romanization that dominated the beginnings of the War had all but withered away to a brutal reality for those who participated in it. The pervasiveness of poetry in Canadian culture at this time however offers a wealth of information and insight into many hidden aspects of the war, but even within these verses, the veiled and romantic legacy of war had rapidly begun to wither away.⁴⁴² Hill 145 offers more to this notion than merely the monument in and of itself by virtues of it being the largest and most dominant feature of the Ridge as a whole, and one of the objectives of the utmost importance during the campaign.⁴⁴³ Moreover, it is quite simple to distill the victory down to the achievement and tenacity of one military over another. Thus far, an examination of the celebratory nature of the victory has been offered, and most importantly the role and achievements of the Canadian Corps has been seen. But the physical lasting legacy of the battle resides within a nation that is neither Canadian, nor English or German. The territory that was the site of over one-million deaths was of course French, and as such the intermingling of French and Canadian will and purpose is signified within the structure.⁴⁴⁴ As Jacqueline Hucker states it "...two countries joined together by the spirit of sacrifice."⁴⁴⁵

The Vimy monument by its very inception was an oddity within the British Military tradition. Monuments were not unheard of or unknown, but the manner in which they were constructed and for whom was far more specific than that of the wide reaching than that of many in the First World War. The British regularly would dedicate monuments to specific individuals, regiments, victories and bravery.⁴⁴⁶ This no longer offered an adequate telling for many in the midst of the fighting, for both the living and the dead. The fundamental needs of the soldiers had changed as no longer were soldiers rooted within a deep heritage of lore found in regiments of the past. The volunteer and civilian warrior replaced any notion of regimental significance for Canadians.⁴⁴⁷ Certainly, Canada had professional soldiers at the outbreak of war and into the many years that followed, but the vast majority of those enlisted, conscripted, killed or survived were of similar cloth, non-soldiers. This celebration of the soldier

442 Reassessment, poetry and verse nationalism, Vance

443 Jacqueline Hucker, "'After the Agony in Stony Places' The Meaning and Significance of the Vimy Monument," in *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, ed Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, Mike Bechthold (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 283

444 'After the Agony in Stony Places,' in *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, ed Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, Mike Bechthold (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 279

445 *Ibid.*,

446 *Ibid.*, 280

447 *After the Agony in Stony Places*, 280

and country as a whole was exemplified by the selection and decisions made by the Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission, where in total eight battle sites were awarded to Canada following armistice, yet just a single national monument was to be constructed to celebrate the achievements of war, and mourn the havoc it caused.⁴⁴⁸ This was further changing through the very perception of combat. While there was a time and need for celebration, the overwhelming perception of war had changed permanently.⁴⁴⁹ Tragedy, loss and melancholy were the new standards in which the war was to be viewed, particularly by those involved.

The monument stands not as an object of celebration or domination, rather a sober melancholy of war. This is indicative of the larger interpretation of what war had become at this point. The sculptor and architect Walter S. Allward took the opportunity to imbue the monument with the new themes of war. Allward had already created two other notable works, one commemorating the South African War, and the Bell monument in Brantford.⁴⁵⁰ The design of the Vimy Monument began as a contest open to the public, and of the hundreds submitted, Allward had won.⁴⁵¹ Of the many symbols present in the monument, there stands a single central figure that embodies this new motif of war, and more importantly the lasting legacy this had on Canada. Centered at the front of the monument overlooking the ridge stands a female figure, wrapped in a robe with a hood, and a mournful face resting against her fist.⁴⁵² This character is the representation of Electra, who's tales from Greek mythology share a tragic and sorrowful story.⁴⁵³ She is the physical embodiment of lose, and in this instance stands to represent the nation of Canada whom had lost her sons.⁴⁵⁴

The park land where the monument sits was used to further emphasize the themes of lose. A mass reforestation occurred, where some one-million trees were planted, replacing the shell holes and destruction.⁴⁵⁵ This quite literally brought life back into the desolate plain. While most were pines, the roadways and cemeteries had maple trees throughout.⁴⁵⁶

448 Ibid., 280-281

449 ibid.,

450 Reassessment 280

451 Scott, Jill. "Vimy Ridge Memorial: stone with a story." *Queen's Quarterly* 114, no. 4 (2007): 506+. *Gale Literature Resource Center* (accessed March 31, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A176205232/LitRC?u=calg97288&sid=LitRC&xid=09f264f2>.

452 Scott, Jill. "Vimy Ridge Memorial: stone with a story." *Queen's Quarterly* 114, no. 4 (2007): 506+. *Gale Literature Resource Center* (accessed March 31, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A176205232/LitRC?u=calg97288&sid=LitRC&xid=09f264f2>.

453 Ibid.,

454 Ibid.,

455 Reassement, 287

456 Ibid./,

The Great War transcended the confines of what war was. While war has always been comprised of death and lose, it had not carried such anguish, and this was not missed on Canadians. The objective of the monument was to create a universality of brotherhood, above all else.⁴⁵⁷ The monument in and of itself was designed as a call to pacifism, which rather ironically is the achievement and cry of the soldiers willing to defend the right to peace and freedom. As Vance states, "... the soldier became the foremost advocate of peace; as someone who was willing to fight and die to secure peace, he was the ultimate pacifist."⁴⁵⁸ Through this kind of rhetoric, there grew a desire and need for Canadians to visit the site of this great Canadian triumph. It quite easily creates a narrative in which the Canadian was doing all it took to preserve the virtues of freedom and stability, a sentiment echoed by the treatment of the German as a whole. As such, it was not long before the site of Vimy, long before the unveiling of its grand monument, became the site for pilgrimage.⁴⁵⁹ As if disciples seeking the holy land, a kind of religious excitement was plainly evident among Canadians, even souvenirs from the Western Front were treated with "...the same reverence and tenderness accorded to the bone of a saint or a piece of the True Cross."⁴⁶⁰

As much as Vimy was the literal linchpin in the German defense on the Western Front, so to was it for the Canadians. But this transcends far beyond the confines of war time, for it and the monument it inspired became a linchpin in Canadian culture.⁴⁶¹ The battle saw enormous losses of life, but it also saw heroism deserving of four Victoria Crosses and the very notion of nationhood being born atop the hills.⁴⁶² The soldiers of the Canadian Corps had aligned their victory with confederation and completion of the railway in the grand scheme of the nation.⁴⁶³ By its very existence the Monument stands as an epitaph to the memory of all who served, died and whom they died for.⁴⁶⁴

World War One and its importance in the grand scheme of western culture cannot be understated. Nearly the whole of Europe saw involvement or the effects of the conflict in one way or another. But the unique case of Canada in this grand narrative is particularly unique and valuable. Entering the conflict, Canada was in large part yet another cog in the British empire, and subsequently a secondary fighting force that could be called upon in times of need. Much like the fellow

457 Death, 33

458 Ibid.,

459 Ibid., 57

460 Death, 70,

461 Jeremy Diamond, "VIMY RIDGE MONUMENT: PART OF CANADIAN IDENTITY AND CULTURE." *Canadian Issues* (Fall, 2015): 7-10A.
<http://ezproxy.acsmc.talonline.ca/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1819082103?accountid=14098>.

462 Ibid.,

463 Ibid.,

464 Ibid.

commonwealth nations around the globe, this is precisely what occurred when war broke out. The enthusiasm seen for the British cause and the opportunity for a young nation, and its young men to fight for the crown was more than enough reassurance that what was to be done and expected was the right thing.

Upon the outbreak of war, it is unlikely any of Canada's young recruits could have imagined what they in fact they were marching towards in Northern France. Yet out of the brutal conditions and astonishing losses came a new sense of nationalism and nationhood. Out of the brutality of war, an ill prepared and most likely overzealous Canadian force achieved amazing feats, and in the case of Vimy, something that no other allied force was capable of. The capture of Vimy Ridge spawned widespread admiration in print, both from domestic observers and foreign. Not all agreed with the decision to be involved in any European campaign in the first place, but for the majority of Canadian society, the duty for King and country was to get dug in and do their part. Not only was this the case, but they exceeded expectations. Through the military capability of the Canadians in World War One, and more importantly atop Vimy Ridge, Canada forged itself a path to a keen sense of self identity and began to venture towards a truly independent state. The monument atop Hill 145 remains as a permanent reminder of the loss and sacrifice made by the many allied soldiers, but most importantly the tenacity and capability of Canadian forces in wresting control away from years of occupation by the German defenses. The monument stands as a physical symbol of Canadian capability.

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PADRAIC COHEN

Insurgent to Icon: Michael Collins and the Birth of the Irish Free-State

Michael Collins is widely regarded with the annals of Irish History as the father of modern Ireland. Collins was an instrumental revolutionary leader against the British administration in Ireland, taking part in the historic Easter Rising of 1916. Following the Easter Rising, his gilded career as an insurgent commander continued throughout the subsequent Irish Revolutionary War, carrying out numerous I.R.A. strikes against British officials and assets throughout the nation. Collins' monumental stature is coloured by a theme of melancholy, Ireland's leader had been lost in the midst of his prime, as he was assassinated in his home county Cork; interestingly, his assassins were his former allies.

They had been made his enemies following the ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which saw Michael Collins assigned as the Commander and Chief and Chairman for the provisional government of the Irish Free State; a semi-autonomous body within the British Empire.

The purpose of this paper is to address the radical transformation in Collins' character, from a revolutionary commander, to a statesman. This paper will pinpoint Michael Collins' transformation to the failed Easter Rising of 1916, as Michael Collins experienced the might of the British military first hand, drafting a perspective of futility in regards to armed confrontation with Britain. After the failure of this insurrection, Collins formed a unique interpretation of Irish Republicanism, which set himself opposed to his former allies such as Eamon De Valera, whose 1916 experience was that of relative success. Collins abandoned his campaign of violent resistance espoused by the I.R.A. in favor of a 'stepping-stone' strategy of cooperation with the British. It would be this transformation that set the stage for the deadly Irish Civil War.

Michael Collins' Upbringing, the Situation in Ireland

Ireland had been a part of Great Britain since the sixteenth century, formally recognized as core of England underneath the Act of Union in 1801, binding Wales, Scotland, Ireland and England together to form Great Britain. However, the British administration within Ireland would conduct itself in a manner similar to Britain's overseas territories, such as India; Ireland was understood to be a colonial holding. Ireland was subjected to numerous attempts on behalf of the British administration to assimilate and convert the native Gaelic and Catholic population into an extension of the English Protestants of the mainland — most notably through English plantations. Due to these efforts, the Irish experience evolved to incorporate two unique populations, separated by religion — the Irish Catholics of the south and the Irish Protestants of the North, centered on Ulster. Furthermore, a combination of crop dependency and pro-English trading policies underneath the Whig government lead to the Great Irish potato famine of 1845. The catastrophic famine had been only strengthened by a strong wind of anti-Irish sentiments on behalf of English landlords,⁴⁶⁵ whose ruthless conduct in tandem with the crisis devastated the Irish population, killing more than one million Irish.

As a result of these British colonial policies, Ireland has a long history of resistance and revolution. All of them have ended in failure. Yet, the Fenian revolt of 1867⁴⁶⁶ forced parliament to reevaluate the troubles in Ireland, as Irish revolutionaries organized underneath the I.R.B (Irish Republican Brotherhood), a radical Irish nationalist movement whose aims were to establish an independent Irish Republic by any means necessary, which included offensive actions across the Empire. The I.R.B. organized risings throughout Ireland, government offices were bombed in London and an outright invasion of Canada by Fenian regiments brought the Empire into crisis. Spearheaded by William Gladstone's new government, the Act of Union underwent revision, firstly through addressing the unequal and discriminatory system of land ownership. Gladstone's policies were "intended to equalize the relationship between landlord and tenant by positive discrimination in favour for the latter. . . a departing tenant's right to be compensated for improvements made by him and the right to sell his interest to the highest bidder subject to the landlord's approval of the purchaser."⁴⁶⁷ These policies were customary in Ulster, which was predominantly English and Protestant, yet Gladstone's act of 1870 sought to grant these privileges throughout the rest of Ireland.

Furthermore, Gladstone had to meet the rising tide of vehement republican sentiment in Ireland, which called for separation from the British Empire. To remedy this then, the topic of Home Rule was introduced; an act of political

465 Richard Killeen, *A Short History of Modern Ireland*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003). (pg. 40-41)

466 Ibid., 57.

467 Ibid. 57

devolution within the Union became hotly contested within parliament. Home Rule sought to grant more political autonomy throughout all parties within the Union through the implementation of domestic parliaments in Ireland, Scotland and England, with Westminster as the sovereign parliament in control of external affairs. This sentiment was favored throughout Ireland initially. Furthermore, Killeen notes that Home Rule was largely popular amongst the Catholic clergy in Ireland, who saw the implementation of an Irish parliament as a necessary measure to secure the faith of Roman Catholics from the traditional political dominance of Protestants.⁴⁶⁸ Home Rule would grant Ireland Dominion Status within the Empire, to be modeled after other Commonwealth nations such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. To have control over domestic policy, with limited autonomy in regards to economic policy.⁴⁶⁹

Yet, this sentiment devolved through the inclusion of radical nationalism, as former Fenians began to populate the ranks of Home Rule reformists, essentially the desire of Home Rule became intertwined with the Fenian's revolutionary pursuit of an Irish Republic as a means to sever all ties to Britain. Through this introduction of nationalism, on behalf of Fenian infiltration and the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy, eventually the notion of an Irish parliament would become a nightmare to Irish Protestants. Many Irish Protestants believed that an Irish parliament would enable Irish Catholics to dominate parliament, as they represented the largest religious demographic of the population; this fear would ferment throughout the northern county of Ulster which was predominantly Protestant, resulting the formation of the Ulster Unionists who opposed Home Rule.⁴⁷⁰ Home Rule would find itself a frequent topic throughout Westminster, but more importantly in the Collins' household. Hayden Talbot, an American journalist notes the nationalistic environment which Michael Collins had been brought up. Collins' described his upbringing as follows: "As I grew up to young manhood the Parnell speech was the one great topic of discussion...every person in Ireland was thinking in terms of Home Rule, Home Rule at the early morning breakfast-table, Home Rule all the day, Home Rule by every hearth side in the evening... It was this sort of thing that made one part of the atmosphere of nationalism."⁴⁷¹ Collins is referring to Charles Stewart Parnell, the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, one of the strongest Irish proponents of Home Rule in this specific instance. Furthermore, it can be ascertained that Michael Collins was a product of localism;⁴⁷²

468 bid. 59

469 Denis Donoghue, "EASTER 1916." *Yeats Annual*, no. 21 (2018) pg. 59 .

470 Later these unionists would form armed militias, specifically the Ulster volunteers — which in turn inspire a counter nationalist group, the Irish Volunteers, organized by the I.R.B.

471 Hayden Talbot. *Michael Collins' Own Story*. (Hutchinson & Company, 1923). <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/>. Chapter 2: 'Introducing Michael Collins. 'Accessed March 8th, 2020

472 Ibid

essentially, Michael Collins' nationalistic fervor had been fermented within the small regional environment of County Cork.

County Cork, the most southern and rural county in Ireland and Collins' family tradition proved to be instrumental in dictating the direction of his future. Specifically, his hometown of Woodfield was a bastion of nationalistic fervor, which was only exacerbated by a strong Gaelic cultural revival movement.⁴⁷³ Michael Collins' father was an epitome of nationalistic rhetoric, who represented one of the greatest influences into the formation of Collins' loyalties. Margery Forester writes, "At such times the kitchen of Woodfield became the scene of patriotic discussion. The elder Michael Collins would speak of O'Connell and Thomas Davis and make the children repeat the poetry of nationalism...The bad times of the past, never far from the Irish consciousness."⁴⁷⁴ Both Daniel O'Connell and Thomas Davis, were both associated with laying the foundation of an Irish Parliament, as O'Connell supported for such a movement in the 1840s, while Thomas Davis' poetry drew inspiration from previous Irish attempts to achieve a republic, most notably the Irish Rebellion of 1798; his works instilled nationalistic sentiment throughout his audience, as evident in Collins' household. To elaborate further, the aforementioned potato famine in particular represents the intrusion of anti-Anglo sentiment as a quintessential part of Irish nationalism; such a notion became essential in the fermentation of rebellion throughout the nation.

These experiences which had galvanized previous generations before Collins' had left their mark on the Irish consciousness, the memory of the famine was not far from the lives of Collins' elders, "More than a million people had died of starvation and disease in the famine years, well within the elder Michael Collins's lifetime... 'Britain never gave a thing without violence being shown first' was the conclusion drawn by Michael Collins's elders."⁴⁷⁵ This would be the environment in which Michael Collins would be raised, which was characterized by staunch anti-Anglo sentiment, which was borne from generations of British oppression and Irish resistance. Michael Collins and his family were primarily influenced by their environment, as West Cork appeared to impose a specific nationalistic mindset onto its inhabitants. This is primarily due to the geographic isolation of the area, which would have undoubtedly assisted in the fermentation of nationalism as a product of localism — that such a small community would have essentially become an echo chamber of nationalist ideals. The geography of the area is noted as, "enclosed by mountain ranges and the Atlantic Ocean. It takes in the valleys of the River Lee and Bandon and much of the land is mountainous and boggy."⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, the region

473 Margery Forester. *Michael Collins: The Lost Leader: A biography of Irish politician Michael Collins*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2006. Kindle edition (pg. 231)

474 Ibid. 189

475 Ibid. 211

476 Edward O'Mahony, *Michael Collins: His Life and Times*. '4. Young Michael Collins'. Collins 22 society, 1996. Ebook.

had traditionally a hotbed of anti-Anglo resistance, being one of the final regions to be subdued by the English invaders during the Tudor conquest of Ireland in 1615.⁴⁷⁷

Michael Collins was born on October 16th, 1890, into a family of 8 being the youngest of five sisters and two brothers. Following Irish tradition, he had been named after his seventy-five-year-old father. While previously established, Collins' home had been filled with conversations of nationalistic fervor, yet this sentiment extended itself into Collins' education as lessons which encapsulated Irish history, patriotism and nationalism were popularized by his head principal teacher, Denis Lyons. Lyons was an active member of the I.R.B., who actively sought to cultivate the next generation of recruits as he, "sought to instil into his pupils a sense of patriotism, independence and love for Ireland."⁴⁷⁸ Due to such a nationalistic education system, Michael Collins would quickly internalize these ideals of freedom and republicanism as his singular purpose in life, as stated later in life, "I stand for an Irish civilization, based on the people and embroidering the things — their habits, way of thought, customs that make them different — that sort of life I was brought up in..."⁴⁷⁹

The town which the Collins' family resided in particular proved itself to be an epicenter of nationalist romanticism, as his home town of Clonakilty was centered on two statues, the *Pikeman* and the *Maid of Erin*. The *Pikeman* statue in particular serves as a monument to the 1798 rebellion, as pikes had been used as the primary weapon for the majority of the rebels — the pike therefore, became a symbol of resistance for the Irish people. The *Maid of Erin* statue commissioned in 1898, again was dedicated to the same rebellion, which had been commissioned by Fenians and unveiled in 1901 to serve as a "symbol of hope to the people of the area."⁴⁸⁰ Interestingly however, the nationalistic revival which Collins had been born into held a unique perspective; it had been borne alongside the flagrant anti-Anglo sentiment which arguably enabled such an attitude. This being the belief that the British Empire was weakening, ultimately that the British could be defeated in open battle, "Resurgent nationalism made a major impact on West Cork people in the commemoration year of 1898. There was a feeling of excitement in the air, a reawakening of an old faith and pride in being Irish. The legend of the invincibility of retain was being questioned...A new spirit of idealism was born and many a young people...to fight and die for those ideals."⁴⁸¹ It may be plausible to state that such a new resurgent nationalism was largely influenced by infamous Second Boer War, which had coincided with the rise of this new nationalism in the late 19th century, from 1899 to 1902. This conflict saw Britain's larger and professional armies routinely defeated by smaller, well organized Boer insurgent

477 Ibid.

478 Ibid.

479 Ibid.

480 Ibid.

481 Ibid.

units. Interestingly, the Boers received assistance from Irish nationalists, who saw the success of the Boers in South Africa as essential and inspiring to the cause at home.⁴⁸² The Boer War helped enable Irish nationalism to essentially reform its inherent ‘anti-Anglo sentiment’ into a weapon of hope, that the success of the Boers may be mimicked at home in the event of an Anglo-Irish confrontation, creating a ‘new age’ nationalism.

Michael Collins soon found himself engulfed by the rising tides of this new-age nationalism, interestingly, Collins like many other future figures of revolution found themselves stoking the fires of revolution. Michael Collins in particular managed to secure a position abroad in London as a clerk at the Blythe House post office in 1906, at the behest of his mother’s wishes — this movement from Clonakilty was not the result of nationalism, but for Collins to find independence in the world as an individual.⁴⁸³ Collins would be living abroad with his sister, Hannie Collins, who had already established herself in London; she too was employed as a clerk in a post office. Although Collins would have been disassociated from the nationalistic environment of his home, he would be gradually subjected to stronger rhetoric abroad in London through his association with the Gaelic League. The Gaelic League was traditionally⁴⁸⁴ a cultural organization founded in 1893; it was geared towards the advancement and survival of Irish culture through the revival of language, literature, song and sport — the latter being most popular with a young Michael Collins.⁴⁸⁵ While in London however, Collins’ interest in Gaelic culture peaked, as he reinvigorated his own ‘Irishness’ abroad in London, discovering ‘new’ Irish icons such as William Butler Yeats and Padraic Colum; specifically these two figures have been attributed with breathing new life into Irish literature within the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Yeats’ work in particular became popularized during the Civil War period, following the aftermath of the Great War.

Furthermore, Collins joined the Gaelic Association which had been based in London, through this association Collins was further invested into Irish culture, both on and off the field; imbedding Collins into London’s Irish population. Essentially, small ‘colonies’⁴⁸⁶ of Irishmen would establish themselves within British society, separating themselves from the local population primarily around traditional familial ties. However, Collins was particularly bound to these organizations through his participation in cultural revival movements, “Some activists —

482 Donal P. McCracken, *Forgotten Protest: Ireland and the Anglo-Boer War*. Ulster Historical Foundation, 2003. (pg. 50)

483 Margery Forester. *Michael Collins: The Lost Leader: A biography of Irish politician Michael Collins*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2006. Kindle edition (pg. 297)

484 The Gaelic league would eventually come under the control of the I.R.B., who put a greater emphasis on militarism through sport.

485 Ibid. (pg. 390)

486 Ibid. (pg. 337)

Michael Collins for one — graduated from apprenticeships in the Gaelic League... The usual networks of family, work and friendships helped bind them together as in Ireland, but what they had in common was a politicized sense of Irishness and their activism was aimed at helping the movement in Ireland in any way possible.”⁴⁸⁷ Already, Collins had established himself as a blatant nationalist, through his exposure to localized nationalism at home. It would be his time in London which would organize his ideals into concrete ideas, as the Irish colonies instilled the value of ‘solidarity’ as an essential factor towards liberating Ireland. It would be through his association to the Gaelic athletic association and the subsequent exposure to the Irish colonies which would instill into him that, “Ireland’s bids for freedom in the past had lain in the lack of a unity of purpose in her people. Now, wherever he found a group formed whose aim was to build up that strength of purpose among the ordinary people of Ireland, he joined it.”⁴⁸⁸ The Gaelic league essentially symbolized a unique ‘Irish’ pride to Collins, interestingly; the survival of the athletic association in London appeared to be proxy-war to Michael Collins. During his time in London, the Gaelic Athletic association was undergoing hard-times, for a multitude of reasons, one of them being the question of admitting ‘English’ sports into the organization to find new members, as the organization was apparently struggling from a lacking in membership. Collins notes the grand theme of ‘unity’ as a means of Irish survival when he later noted, “if members are not prepared in the future to act more harmoniously together and more self-sacrificingly generally — the club will soon have faded into an inglorious and well deserved oblivion.”⁴⁸⁹ It would appear that the struggle to maintain the Gaelic Athletic Association ultimately mirrored the plight to maintain the cause of Home Rule to Collins, or rather the survival of Irish culture itself.

Collins however, did not engage in ultra-nationalist rhetoric, rather he was exposed to many facets of English culture as a means to reinforce the humanity which both peoples shared. Hannie Collins, as an attempt to fan the flames of his nationalism, sought to introduce Michael to her many English friends, often bringing Collins to their homes and dinner tables. Hannie was attempting to dislodge bigotry from Michael, which had infiltrated the rhetoric of Irish nationalism, that there was a distinct motif to “eliminate all that was English if Ireland was to regain her independence and native way of life.” Hannie had hoped that when the time came, Collins would understand his enemy in the literal sense, but also from a shared sense of humanity, that “he would fight without hatred of the English people who he knew possessed other qualities than these.”⁴⁹⁰ He

487 Peter Hart. *The I. R. A. at War, 1916-1923*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2004. Accessed November 25, 2019. ProQuest Ebook Central. (pg. 24)

488 Margery Forester. *Michael Collins: The Lost Leader: A biography of Irish politician Michael Collins*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2006. Kindle edition (pg. 390)

489 Ibid. (pg. 402)

490 Ibid. 387

was similarly given opportunities to experience British prejudice. As he cited that he and many other Irishmen were exposed to prejudice on behalf of English citizens, “He spoke of the prejudice that Irishmen routinely encountered from the plain people of England...His fellow London Irishman and close follower, Joe Good, believed that the knowledge Collins acquired of the English during this period was the key to his ability to take them on with such confidence in the war of independence.”⁴⁹¹ Essentially, Collins was exposed to both the good and ugly within English society, developing an understanding for both English cultural norms and insecurities — furthermore this enabled Collins to develop confidence in regards to English confrontation.

Michael Collins’ localized form of Irish nationalism both brought him into the Irish scene within London, as well as popularized him throughout the community. More importantly, these connections taught Collins to rely on interpersonal alliances, Collins specifically espoused a child-like approach to loyalty; that friendships represented an irrevocable bond between individuals, united in one cause. As noted, when it is written, “He drew to him many friends, most of them the Irish denizens of the Savings bank, and these learnt early that his was a friendship to rely upon. No length of separation ever altered it.”⁴⁹² To elaborate, through his exposure to the Irish community within London and the Gaelic Athletic Association, Collins was able to develop a unique understanding and respect for Irish communality with regards to nationalism, Collins saw the unity espoused by such associations were founded upon their shared Irishness. That by cultivating and relying upon heritage and community, strong alliances could be constructed for the advancement of Irish freedom. For the time, Home Rule represented the most attainable remedy to this national struggle. A reinvigorated presence of a unified voice in the cause of Home rule would prove as the greatest tool to achieve Ireland’s freedom; specifically, this could only be achieved by using the British system.

The Home Rule bill would experience a tumultuous existence; it would constantly be brought to the forefront of Anglo-Irish politics, securing victories in the Commons while simultaneously being killed in the House of Lords throughout the late 19th century. The ratification of such a bill would have enshrined Ireland as a Dominion of the British Empire, granting the nation sovereignty over domestic affairs alike other Dominions such as Canada or Australia. The controversial nature of the bill ranged from a plethora of socio-political critiques on the side of Unionists, in both England and in Ireland. Previously mentioned, the Ulster Unionists were significant opponents to the bill, in religious terms they saw the creation of an Irish Parliament through a unique anti-Catholic lens, stating that ‘Home Rule’

491 Edward O’Mahony, *Michael Collins: His Life and Times*. ‘4. Young Michael Collins’. Collins 22 society, 1996. Ebook.

492 Margery Forester. *Michael Collins: The Lost Leader: A biography of Irish politician Michael Collins*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2006. Kindle edition (pg. 341)

would essentially be “Rome Rule,”⁴⁹³ that such a parliament would be dominated by Catholics, at the expense of Irish Protestants. While the religious aspect was influential, the more important question would be that of Empire, as opponents for Home Rule believed that the bill represented the ultimate dismantlement of the Empire, that by the ramification of such a bill, similar ones will undoubtedly follow for other holdings such as Canada, New Zealand and Australia, “an axiom which is every day illustrated by English statesmen of either party when they say, on the one hand, that the refusal and on the other hand the concession, of certain fiscal proposals will lead to the dismemberment of the Empire. What can be stated in cold blood as a possible contingency in the case of, say, Canada or New Zealand has only to be adumbrated in that of Ireland to be denounced...a treasonable aspiration to be put down with a strong hand”⁴⁹⁴ It wouldn’t be until 1914 that the Bill would pass, which was enabled primarily through the proposed partitioning of Ireland, with Ulster remaining apart of the United Kingdom. Following the outbreak of the Great War, the bill finally received royal assent on September 18th, 1914 — yet it had been suspended for the duration of the conflict.

1916, the Easter Rising and Aftermath

Drawing from this, a radical nationalist organization such as the I.R.B would appear to be an attractive group to individuals such as Michael Collins. Specifically, the Irish Republican Brotherhood reflected the ideals of burgeoning nationalist generation, who saw the organization as the ultimate manifestation for a free Ireland; which was only facilitated through the narrative of British weakness. In 1910, Michael Collins joined the I.R.B. through his connections within the Irish community in London. He would work within its ranks while working at a post office within London. Collins rose within the ranks of the I.R.B,⁴⁹⁵ becoming embedded within the strategic apparatus of the organization. In 1915 departed for Ireland, to take part in what would become the Easter Rising. While the origins of the Easter Rising are largely confined to a small clique within the I.R.B. military council,⁴⁹⁶ who perceived the escalation of the Great War as a means to carry out a successful insurrection; that England would be too pre-occupied with the Western Front to dedicate vital war materials to Ireland.

493 Eugenio Biagini and Daniel Mulhall, eds. *The Shaping of Modern Ireland : A Centenary Assessment*. Co.Kildare: Irish Academic Press, 2016. Accessed April 23, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central. (pg. 101)

494 Michael F. J. McDonnell, *Ireland and the Home Rule Movement. 1908*. The Gutenberg eBook, “Ireland and the Home Rule Movement, by Michael F.J. McDonnell, et al.” 2006. (pg. 199)

495 T. Ryle Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. Kindle edition (pg. 439)

496 Fearghal McGarry. *The Rising: Easter 1916*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2010. Accessed April 29, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central. (pg. 79)

Similarly, the British military presence in Ireland greatly became more apparent to the public eye, as the mobilization of reserves brought more recruits to Ireland for training, flooding the streets with English soldiers. Yet this increased British presence had a positive effect on the civilian population, recruitment soared amongst Irishmen while the I.R.B. experienced a drastic decline in support. This was largely due to British propaganda concerning “German atrocities in ‘Catholic Belgium,’”⁴⁹⁷ which resounded with Irish Catholics. Regardless, the small I.R.B. clique began to draft plans and organize a rising, vowing to ignite an uprising before the end of the war.⁴⁹⁸

On April 24th, 1916 rebels belonging to the Irish Volunteers, the I.R.B. and the Irish Citizen Army conducted a typical parade maneuver within the city of Dublin. However, this mock parade was meant to allow militia groups to quickly seize strategic structures. Michael Collins, took part in seizing one of the most important buildings, the General Post Office (G.P.O.). The office was seized with little to no resistance, employees and British agents were taken prisoner, while the initial British response was summarily routed with a quick engagement.⁴⁹⁹ The first and second days passed without much excitement, as looting filled the streets of Dublin, the British response seemed lackluster. However, this was not to last as fighting erupted near St. Stephen’s Green. It is in these opening hours of conflict that the two monumental figures of the Irish Civil War — Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera distinguished themselves as confident leaders. Importantly, the Easter Rising provided each individual with the perspectives which ultimately resulted in the later splitting of the revolutionary Assembly of Ireland, the Dáil Éireann, marking the beginning of the Irish Civil War. Both Collins and De Valera participated in the rising under completely different circumstances, which would ultimately provide each man with their own unique experience of the rising.

Eamon De Valera found himself caught within a war of mobility, constantly moving back and forth between fighting positions and his headquarters. Due to his own impressive military record⁵⁰⁰, as well as his seniority within the I.R.B, De Valera exercised greater autonomy during the rising. His experience is viewed as the most successful military endeavor of the Easter Rising,⁵⁰¹ inflicting terrible losses upon the British forces while sustaining minimal casualties. During the battle of Mount Street Bridge, De Valera and his seventeen men successfully defended

497 Ibid. 82

498 Ibid. 84

499 T. Ryle Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. Kindle edition (pg. 527)

500 Eugenio Biagini and Daniel Mulhall, eds. *The Shaping of Modern Ireland : A Centenary Assessment*. Co.Kildare: Irish Academic Press, 2016. Accessed April 23, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central. (pg. 83)

501 Ibid. 82

their position against an entire British battalion, inflicting heavy casualties onto the British.⁵⁰² In total, the British assault suffered approximately 234 casualties, resulting in the most successful defense of the day. Furthermore, De Valera was spared the might of the British Royal Artillery, as he was able to masquerade a disused distillery as his headquarters — resulting in the British forces constantly shelling the empty structure. Yet, De Valera’s actions were not universally accepted as the most successful resistance during the Rising. His command was viewed as one of indecisiveness. Essentially, De Valera constantly organized assaults, only to cancel them in the final minutes; and would summarily fail to commit to several key defensive actions such as the crucial operation at Mount Street Bridge. While the position proved to be nearly impenetrable to the British, the rebels quickly ran out of ammunition which De Valera failed to replenish, forcing the defenders to abandon their positions. Rather it would be the bravery and ingenuity of his men, who were truly responsible for the general success of De Valera’s defensive sectors. As it’s written, “He carefully prepared what appeared to be important operations but then would suddenly cancel them. A striking feature of all the accounts of his part in the rebellion is the paucity of detail about what he actually did other than run around and change his mind...he never made any serious attempt to help or relieve the men.”⁵⁰³ Largely, this indecisiveness can be attributed to his lack of trust within his own men, largely a result of his sleep deprivation as he refused to sleep for the duration of the Rising. As he responded to pleas by his men to sleep, he stated, “I can’t trust the men,” he said. “They’ll leave their posts or fall asleep if I don’t watch.”⁵⁰⁴ Therefore, it may be assumed that de Valera’s experience of the Rising was that of uncertainty and mania, mostly as a result of his sleep deprivation.⁵⁰⁵ However, the success of De Valera’s defensive sector appears to be a validating factor in regards to the Nationalist belief that the British were not invincible. From these accounts, it is apparent that De Valera maintained a relative distance from the actual combat; maintaining purely a leadership role, rather than that of a combat role.

Michael Collins on the other hand, appears to have filled a more active role in the rising. personally taking part in the establishment of barricades surrounding and within the G.P.O. As a result, Collins’ experience diverges from De Valera’s. Firstly, the British gunboat *Helga* began to shell the G.P.O. with accurate cannon fire; blanketing the nerve center of the rebellion in accurate artillery fire for the majority of the day, inflicting serious losses upon its garrison. British ground forces were also successful in setting up siege positions around the static G.P.O, suppressing its defendants with accurate machine gun and sniper fire, later to be assisted with support

502 T. Ryle Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. Kindle edition (pg. 582)

503 Ibid. 583

504 Ibid. 576

505 Ibid. 587

artillery. The scene at the G.P.O was a far cry from the inspiring scene at Mount Street Bridge. As Tim Pat Coogan stated, “The gunboat Helga came up the Liffey and its shelling, combined with sustained machine-gun and rifle fire, had Sackville Street in flames by Friday, the G.P.O. being the epicenter of the holocaust.”⁵⁰⁶ Collins did not have the luxury of a mobile command, nor was he able to distract British artillery fire with a façade HQ as De Valera had, this resulted in Collins’ and his men being subjected to the full might of the British army. A more important point to be made however, would be the relationship shared between Collins and his comrades. As recently stated, Collins had a unique relationship between himself and his friends within the Irish population of London. Many of these friends followed Collins into the G.P.O.,⁵⁰⁷ fighting and dying alongside him — becoming a key factor behind Collins’ surrender. Again, due to the central position of the G.P.O and the presence of static emplacements, Collins did not possess the room for maneuverability as De Valera had; Collins and his men were cornered.

As the situation within the G.P.O. deteriorated further when flames engulfed the building, it became apparent that the makeshift parliament could not be held. Collins initiated a hasty retreat. Collins and his men did not make it far; they quickly found themselves cornered once again, with no possible escape route. Many fanatically wanted to fight on, but Collins did not embrace the rhetoric of becoming martyrs for the revolution. Rather, he believed that he and a small contingent would be able to sacrifice themselves to save most of his men. He solemnly stated to his men, “We’ll die. You’ll escape. No one will try to conscript you.”⁵⁰⁸ His men however, chose to lay down their arms in unison. The Easter Rising for Collins was a darker experience, where he witnessed the full might of the British military which eviscerated the rebellion, gutting Dublin and its inhabitants in the process. The aftermath of the Rising destabilized Collins. The pre-1916 Collins was enthralled by the ideals of the Republican movement. Post 1916, he was broken, as his friends and countrymen were strewn about the streets of Dublin in a horrifying scene. “Michael Collins sat in a corner, a look of horror in his eyes, a pallor spreading over his face. Disjointed words told Harding that O’Rahilly’s eviscerated corpse and the riddle civilians on the blood-clogged cobbles had come to life in one man’s imagination, straining his control to a breaking point.”⁵⁰⁹ Many of these casualties were Collins’ close friends from London and from his childhood in Cork. Collins and his men surrendered to save themselves, to preserve the desire to fight another day — to keep the dream of a free Ireland alive. Eamon De Valera on the other hand, only surrendered once being ordered to by his superiors, after the signing of a ceasefire. It is important to note that De Valera’s resistance mostly stemmed from frontline propaganda, fearing for his soldier’s lives due to reports that British soldiers were killing prisoners of war

506 Tim Pat Coogan. *Michael Collins: The Man Who Made Ireland*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. (pg. 43)

507 Ibid. 43

508 Ibid. 43

509 Ibid. 43

in France.⁵¹⁰ From this, De Valera feared that if he and his men surrendered to the British, they would be met with a similar fate.

It is from 1916 that these two figures split from one another; their shared experiences of the rising ultimately created two different perspectives of the establishment of an Irish Republic. Following the rising, de Valera resented his surrender, believing that the blood of martyrs would eventually bring about the creation of an Irish Republic, which had been read aloud on the steps of the G.P.O. when the rising began, as the proclamation had stressed the necessity of sacrifice, that only through the commitment of human life would the Republic be protected, “we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.”⁵¹¹ Essentially, de Valera believed that if more had been sacrificed, if more committed to the rebellion, the Republic would have survived. As noted by Dwyer, “they believed their ultimate goals would be realized by others in the long run if they made a blood sacrifice at this time. They were right, but de Valera would only realize this later. He was one of those who had believed the rebellion might actually succeed in establishing an independent Irish republic, right then and there.”⁵¹²

Collins on the other hand, handled defeat more bitterly. The Rising had appeared to Collins as not only a disastrous affair not only from a military standpoint, but more importantly for the creation of an Irish Republic. Following capture, Collins adopted a defeatist attitude, “Well it was a good fight, Mick,’ a colleague said as they were going down the quays. ‘What do you mean a good fight?’ he snapped in reply. ‘We lost, didn’t we?’”⁵¹³ Not only had the rising failed, it had primarily damaged the relationship between the Irish people and the Republicans, essentially the inheritors of an Irish Republic appeared to be hostile towards the revolutionaries following their surrender. It may be alleged, that following the rising, that Collins saw the rising as ultimately detrimental to the cause. The leaders of this Irish Republic had been rounded up and executed and the civilian population of Dublin suffered heavy casualties. The British responded with brutal military repression, they began organizing and separating rebels in accordance of their rank, sending much of the leadership to Kilmainham Gaol prison in Dublin. The rising had

510 T. Ryle Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. Kindle edition (pg. 697)

511 Problacht Na H Eireann, *The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic to the People of Ireland*. Thomas J. Clarke, Sean Mac Diarmada, P.H. Pearse, James Connolly, Thomas MacDonagh, Eamonn Cleannt, Joseph Plunkett. 1916 https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/issues/politics/docs/1916-Irish-Proclamation_original_m.jpg accessed, 4/24/2020

512 T. Ryle Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. Kindle edition (pg. 715)

513 Ibid. 688

resulted in the rebels becoming the antagonists of Ireland, as its written, “The rebels were pelted with rotten fruit and vegetables by Dublin people, who blamed them for the week’s destruction in which more innocent civilians perished than combatants on either side; 262 civilians were reported killed.”⁵¹⁴

Yet, this sentiment suffocated underneath British occupational rule, which ultimately swayed public opinion due to the extrajudicial killings against leaders of the rebellion, as the British victors hoped to quell any future prospects of rebellion by removing veteran leaders. This would lead to outrage amongst the general population, sympathetic Catholic clergy members and surviving nationalists, as the news of these authoritarian executions would quickly lead to rumors⁵¹⁵ of British atrocities spreading throughout the nation. The extrajudicial executions slowly shifted public support from antagonizing the rebels, to ultimately recognizing the fallen as heroes for Ireland. In some scenarios this exchanged the desire for Home Rule for outright independence.⁵¹⁶ Furthermore, the publication of the Rising as the “Sinn Fein Rebellion”⁵¹⁷ enabled Eamon De Valera to rise to prominence within the Sinn Fein, eventually becoming its president. This was mostly due to the creation of a power-vacuum following the disintegration of the command apparatus of several resistance cells; only a handful of senior officers were left, such as de Valera. This also enabled Collins to rise to prominence within the movement, eventually becoming the minister of finance and more importantly, as a director for subversive I.R.A. attack groups, most infamously being *The Squad*, Michael Collin’s personal squad of professional killers.

The Revolutionary War

While it appears that Collins was broken from the Rising, his commitment to a free Ireland did not falter. Importantly, it was the methodology by which freedom would be achieved that suffered an identity crisis. As later recanted during the Civil War, Collins attributed the Easter Rising to the radical figures of the I.R.A. such as Eamon De Valera, as ultimately detrimental to the cause of Irish freedom. As Collins stated, “the senseless campaign of destruction now being waged by the madmen who have chosen to follow De Valera and the other ‘uncompromising Republicans’ is a direct consequence of the rising of Easter Week. It is an old story in Irish history the story of misguided men mistaking the means for the end.”⁵¹⁸ Collins developed this outlook following the outbreak of hostilities after the

514 Ibid. 262

515 Fearghal McGarry, *The Rising: Easter 1916*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2010. Accessed April 24, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central. (pg. 280)

516 Richard Killeen. *A Short History of Modern Ireland*. Montreal: MQUP, 2003. Accessed December 7th, 2019. ProQuest Ebook Central. (pg. 89)

517 Ibid. 89

518 Hayden Talbot *Michael Collins’ Own Story*. (Hutchinson & Company, 1923), <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/>. Collins, Michael. Chapter 6. ‘THE AFTERMATH OF “EASTER WEEK”’ accessed March 14th 2020

split within the Dáil. Regardless, the revolutionary war set the stage for Collins' eventual transition. The Anglo-Irish war itself best exemplifies his adaptability, portraying Collins' ability to part with ideological ideals in pursuit of the ultimate goal of liberation — for the sake of his countrymen.

Imprisonment, but more importantly deportation only served to ferment the desire for freedom; allowing for surviving members of the Rising to organize in greater detail the political and military direction for post-war Ireland.⁵¹⁹ Collins' and many other rebels were sent to Frongoch internment camp in Wales, Collins was spared execution mainly due to his low rank within the I.R.B. His time spent at Frongoch internment camp was generally relaxed, prisoners were granted a large range of autonomy in their confinement, often playing football and organizing "concerts and singsongs."⁵²⁰ De Valera on the other hand was held at Kilmainham Gaol, along with other senior members of the rising; yet he narrowly avoided execution thanks to luck and his U.S. citizenship. After his imprisonment, De Valera's wife pleaded to the U.S. consul in Dublin to intervene. Essentially, executing a U.S. citizen would damage U.S. and U.K. relationships, especially at a time when the Entente desperately needed the United States' intervention. This however, did not save De Valera from the verdict of execution; rather, it would be at this time that the British government understood the public backlash for such extrajudicial executions. To avoid any further public discontent, De Valera was instead assigned to Penal service for life in an English prison.⁵²¹ It wouldn't be until the intervention of U.S. president Woodrow Wilson that De Valera and the majority of other interned rebels would be released. Collins' interment proved to be an excellent period of reflection; not only was Collins able to recover from his traumatic experience of the Easter Rising with vigor, but he was also able to reassess the military strategy required for freeing Ireland. It would be within this environment that the continuation war for Ireland would be organized. "We set up our own university there, both educational and revolutionary... that camp came the hard core of the subsequent guerrilla war in Ireland... They were thrown entirely in the company of men to whom national freedom and the old Irish traditions were the highest things in life."⁵²²

Collins eventually defined the revolutionary struggle. Following the rising, the I.R.A. lacked vital war-material such as weapons, ammunition and uniforms, in order to circumvent such large equipment deficits which impeded the creation of combat units which were used during the rising, Collins created a new way of combatting the British. This new method of combat would be guerrilla warfare,

519 Ibid.

520 T. Ryle Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. Kindle edition (pg. 795)

521 Ibid. 727

522 Ibid. 820

a product of his reflection time in England, “There was plenty of time to think about what had gone wrong during Easter Week. Collins realized the strategy was faulty; it had been foolish to confront the might of Britain head on.”⁵²³ Following his release, Collins’ had radically changed both his military strategy as well as his political standing. Elected as the president for the Supreme Council of the IRB,⁵²⁴ Collins essentially becoming as powerful as De Valera, who was absent from the country as he was fundraising in America to fund the I.R.A. Collins developed instrumental spy-networks that excelled in counterintelligence, assassinations and hit-and-run attacks which paralyzed the British government at home and abroad. Collins attributed this strategy directly to his experience of 1916. Collins wrote, “Our only way to carry on the fight was by organised and bold guerilla warfare. But this in itself was not enough. England could always reinforce her army...it was necessary to strike at individuals outside the ranks of the military...Without her Secret Service...It would be impossible to find ‘wanted’ men.”⁵²⁵

Collins developed terrorist cells, both within Ireland and in England. Carrying out brutal hit and run executions against known British agents in service to the R.I.C. (Royal Irish Constabulary) and deadly terrorist bombings of British government offices in both nations. It is within this period that Collins becomes the icon of revolution. Yet, it must be noted that this strategy of terrorism could not deliver the ‘knock-out’ blow that the I.R.A. had hoped for, during and after the rising. Many proponents of protracted warfare with Britain cited a need for an “all-out assault”⁵²⁶ on the northern portion of Ireland. An attack of this scale was simply impossible with the vast equipment deficit within the armories of the I.R.A. The Ulster Volunteers, however, were mostly armed and supplied through the British government and would undoubtedly have British support in the event of a Southern offensive. This motif of whether the I.R.A. could attack would become a central argument in regard to the later Anglo-Irish Treaty debate leading up to the Civil War — as many I.R.A. believed that possible or not, it should happen.⁵²⁷ As many ‘uncompromising’⁵²⁸ Republicans shared the previously discussed belief of Eamon De Valera, that Ireland’s freedom relied entirely on the commitment to cause, that the Republic would be created through the blood of the martyrs.

523 Ibid. 2014

524 Tim Pat Coogan. *Michael Collins: The Man Who Made Ireland*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. (pg. 115)

525 “Intelligence War.” Collins, Michael. The National Collins22 Society. Accessed March 14, 2020. <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/life-times/rebellion/intelligence-war/>.

526 Gabriel Doherty and Dermot Keogh, eds. *Michael Collins and the making of the Irish state*. Mercier Press Ltd, 2006. (pg. 28)

527 Ibid. 28

528 Hayden Talbot. *Michael Collins’ Own Story*. (Hutchinson & Company, 1923) <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/>. Collins, Michael. Chapter 6. ‘THE AFTERMATH OF “EASTER WEEK”’ accessed March 14th 2020

Collins activities were deadly effective and represented a continuation of the violence from 1916. Collins stood out amongst the majority of the Dáil, who desired to halt all offensive activity against the British, Collins instead preferred to continue the conflict by his new means. The greatest tool to continue such a radical form of warfare brought about the formation of *The Squad*. Essentially conceiving the greatest tool of resistance available for combatting Britain; an independent group of gunmen organized underneath the command of Michael Collins. In particular, Collins' *Squad* was primarily tasked with counter-intelligence operations, specializing in coercion, assassination, infiltration and espionage. The Squad proved a deadly force against the British government's own counter-intelligence syndicate, known as the *Cairo Gang*. These senior British intelligence operators would attempt in vain to subdue Collins' own network, only to be completely exposed by the Squad's accessibility to British documents which contained the identities and locations for the majority of the Cairo gang in Dublin. Each document underwent intense scrutiny by Collins to divulge whether or not the suspected members of the Cairo gang should be marked for execution, eventually twenty out of thirty-five were listed as targets. On November 21st, 1920 — Collins' agents arrived at their respective destinations and began the bloodiest day of the conflict, "The men they sought were practiced marksmen... On the hour they knocked. Landladies, maids, a small boy, opened doors to their revolvers... There followed a rapid succession of shots, screams, the sound of running feet, and shouting; more shots... Ten British officers, some of the Cairo Gang, others regular intelligence officers had been killed and four wounded."⁵²⁹ The killings went horribly wrong; chaos broke loose as innocent lives were taken due to mistaken identity.⁵³⁰

The killings were not ignored, rather, the R.I.C. (Royal Irish Constabulary) would respond to the actions of Collins and the I.R.A. with swift and brutal reprisals. The most infamous event being 'Bloody Sunday,' on November 21st, 1920, which was a reprisal shooting for Collins' own killings earlier that morning. "Collins was prepared to play very dirty indeed, as he showed on the morning of Bloody Sunday... his men executed eleven British agents in their beds in cold blood. In retaliation, a party of Auxiliaries killed twelve people in Cork Park... they fired into the crowd during a football game that afternoon."⁵³¹ This auxiliary wing was made up of Great War veterans and organized by Winston Churchill; they had been armed with the latest in British military equipment to aid in the endeavors of the native R.I.C. These auxiliaries quickly developed an infamous reputation amongst the Irish, earning the nickname 'The Black and Tans' due to the colour scheme of their iconic uniforms. The Black and Tans regularly harassed

529 Margery Forester. *Michael Collins: The Lost Leader: A biography of Irish politician Michael Collins*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2006. Kindle edition (pg. 2811)

530 Ibid. 2812

531 Richard Killeen. *A Short History of Modern Ireland*. Montreal: MQUP, 2003. Accessed March 8th, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central. (pg. 91)

the general population, burnt whole villages and engaged in numerous massacres against the Irish population.

Collins emphasized violence as a final resort — to be used when coercion could no longer be achieved through words. Furthermore, Collins believed that many British agents were more valuable alive than dead, as a means of both neutering and infiltrating the British intelligence services. As it's written, "No member of the Squad was ever, under any circumstances, permitted to shoot even a known spy without authority... Collins stressed the importance of remembering that an indiscriminate bullet might eliminate, not an enemy, but a vital link with enemy intentions."⁵³² The British Secret Service suffered immensely, not only were their operatives being killed in the line of duty by an efficient and illusive group of professional killers, but the killings themselves stunned local and governmental officials. Through intimidation alone, much of Britain's intelligence apparatus simply ceased to be effective, for example, "Constable O'Brien, was gagged and tied to the railings at Brunswick St Police Station. The 'G' man emerged unhurt from his ordeal, and, according to Broy, afterwards remarked that merely being warned was 'damned decent' of Sinn Fein. He took no further active role against the Volunteers."⁵³³

Due to the lethal effectiveness of Collins' intelligence war, the British secret services in Ireland had been effectively destroyed. This, compounding on a more radical and bold assaults in the heart of Dublin⁵³⁴ as well as the countryside from Eamon de Valera. As De Valera had hoped to disguise the true state of affairs of the I.R.A., in that they were lacking in material and recruits, by launching attacks which mirrored the 1916 rising the British were tricked into believing that the organization was stronger than anticipated. Ultimately, the combination of these factors pressured the British into reassessing the Irish Question. This period illustrates Michael Collins' leadership abilities both in creating effective military strategies and having them carried out. This arguably, as the negotiations for the Anglo-Irish treaty progressed, marked Michael Collins as the perfect candidate to protect the Irish-Free State in the eyes of the British. As noted when British civil servant Tom Jones wrote, "The tenacity of the IRA is extraordinary. Where was Michael Collins during the Great War? He would have been worth a dozen brass hats."⁵³⁵ While Britain

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- 532 Margery Forester. *Michael Collins: The Lost Leader: A biography of Irish politician Michael Collins*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2006. Kindle edition (pg. 2128)
- 533 Tim Pat Coogan. *Michael Collins: The Man Who Made Ireland*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. (pg. 117)
- 534 Ryle T. Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. Kindle edition. (pg. 6644)
- 535 "Intelligence War." Jones, Tom. The National Collins22 Society. Accessed March 16, 2020. <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/life-times/rebellion/intelligence->

suffered numerous internal political defeats, at both the hands of Collins and De Valera, it also was under growing pressure to end the bloodshed from external forces, most notably being the United States.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty

The war had essentially drawn to a stalemate, yet Collins understood the nature of the conflict as ultimately unwinnable; the resources available to the British were too vast to sustain a prolonged conflict, regardless of Ireland's subversive superiority. This is evident when he wrote, "We had prevented the enemy so far from defeating us. We had not, however, succeeded in getting the government entirely into our hands, and we had not succeeded in beating the British out of Ireland, militarily... We had recognized our inability to beat the British out of Ireland."⁵³⁶ According to Collins, the previous idealistic notions of a 'beatable' British Empire were simply fiction; England could not be defeated externally. This feeling was shared by the British government, who also believed that the I.R.A. would continue fighting. The British believed that military operations within the region were essentially ineffective, as the British secret service had been effectively neutered in Ireland; similarly, the British auxiliaries were creating a diplomatic scene due to their horrible conduct. As Collins stated, "SEVEN months before England granted the truce of July, 1921, she wanted very much to withdraw the Black and Tans from Ireland and end the murderous war which she had begun to realize could never be won."⁵³⁷ The stage had been set for negotiations to begin.

Jan Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa appealed to de Valera on behalf of Prime Minister Lloyd George, opening the doors to a potential resolution to the conflict. "What do you propose as a solution of the Irish question?" Smuts asked. 'A republic,' de Valera replied. 'Do you really think that the British people are ever likely to agree to such a republic?'"⁵³⁸ Eamon de Valera appeared would be unwilling to compromise to the realization of the goals outlined by the 1916 rising, namely; the complete separation from England through the establishment of a united, free Irish republic. As previously mentioned however, this would be nearly impossible due to the disproportionate military power of the I.R.A. against both the Ulster Volunteers and the British armed forces. Nevertheless, de Valera went to London to conduct the first round of talks on July 12th. The treaty proposed

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536 Michael Hopkinson. *Green Against Green — The Irish Civil War: A History of the Irish Civil War, 1922–1923*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2010. Kindle edition. (pg. 358)

537 Collins, Michael. "Chapter 13. — THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TRUCE."

The National Collins 22 Society. Accessed March 16, 2020. <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/on-line-books/michael-collins-own-story-index/chapter-13-the-truth-about-the-truce/>.

538 Ryle T. Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. Kindle edition. (pg. 3650)

giving Ireland dominion status within the Commonwealth, which would grant Ireland sovereignty over its own internal affairs, with foreign relations dictated by Westminster, more importantly the treaty called for a complete withdrawal of all British forces from the outlined Free State territories which ultimately was an incredible leap in autonomy for the previous colonial holding of England. This deal however, was incompatible with De Valera's aspirations of a completely independent Ireland.⁵³⁹ De Valera demanded complete separation from the British monarchy. De Valera had an ulterior motive of forcing the British government to acknowledge a semblance of Irish independence within the negotiating table. These subversive sentiments ultimately threw the process into jeopardy, as Lloyd George demanded that claims of Irish sovereignty from de Valera be withdrawn, threatening with cessation of talks. An example of De Valera's legalistic strategy is as follows, "De Valera accepted this wording in his letter... However, in that same later he again tried to assert Irish sovereignty claiming, "Our nation has formally declared its independence and recognizes itself as a sovereign State. It is only as representatives of that State and as its chosen guardians that we have any authority or powers to act on behalf of our people.""⁵⁴⁰

While Eamon De Valera demanded complete separation and was not willing to compromise in the wording of Ireland's future, he did continue the negotiations in hopes of understanding Lloyd George's own limits within the treaty.⁵⁴¹ To preserve a semblance of unity within the Dáil and to pursue his own ambitions with negotiations with Northern Ireland, De Valera chose to stay in Dublin for the next round of talks. In his stead, he sent a delegation of two representatives on Ireland's behalf. The two figures chosen were Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins. De Valera chose Collins as he believed that Collins would represent an inflexible arm in defense of the Republic at the negotiating tables. Instead Collins was quite adaptable in the negotiations. Collins understood the reality of the situation, that England would not be willing to compromise on key factors such as the oath to the Crown and the status of Ulster.⁵⁴² He understood nothing would change this, as the military option had been exhausted.

During these negotiations, Collins' pragmatic diplomacy was motivated by the heavy loss of life which he experienced on numerous occasions. For Collins, the aims of the negotiations were not to secure an independent republic, but ultimately the goal of freedom. It cannot be stressed enough, that Collins believed that an independent Irish republic could not feasibly be established at this time; instead Collins acknowledged the treaty as a means to achieve such a government in time.

539 Jason K. Knirck. *Imagining Ireland's independence: the debates over the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. (pg. 81)

540 Ibid. 81-82

541 Ibid. 83

542 Gabriel Doherty, and Dermot Keogh, eds. *Michael Collins and the making of the Irish state*. Mercier Press Ltd, 2006. (pg. 161)

As Collins wrote, “When I supported the approval of the Treaty at the meeting of Dáil Éireann I said it gave us freedom — not the ultimate freedom which all nations hope for and struggle for, but freedom to achieve that end...Under the Treaty Ireland is about to become a fully constituted nation.”⁵⁴³ As suggested by this paper, Collins’ ‘stepping-stone’ diplomacy appears to have its origins in the aftermath of the 1916 rising — whereupon Collins acknowledged the failure of the militaristic approach. In its place, he composed a new path of cultural and political assertiveness. This is apparent when he states, “We had armed risings and political agitation. We were not strong enough to put out the foreign power until the national consciousness was fully re-awakened. This was why the Gaelic Movement and Sinn Fein were necessary for our last successful effort.”⁵⁴⁴ Collins is not disregarding the military wing of the independence movement, but rather calling upon the resurgence of internal Irish autonomy as the key factor which advanced the cause of freedom.

For Collins, the Treaty offered a means to sidestep the impossible task of defeating the British behemoth in combat. By cooperating with England, Collins argued that Ireland would be given an unprecedented chance to achieve the freedom which it had sought for centuries. This pragmatism correlated with a humanitarian approach. To Collins, the constant refusal of such an opportunity represented a betrayal of the desires of those lost in 1916 and before; the progress attained from the martyrs of revolution — and more importantly the sacrifices of the common people of Ireland would be squandered for political idealism. Collins stated, “They were asked to help in keeping an orderly united nation with the greatest possible strength ever against England, exercising the greatest possible peaceful pressure towards the union of all Ireland... Would they not co-operate in keeping the army united, free from political bias, so as to preserve the strength for the proper purpose of defending the country in the exercise of its rights? This was also refused.”⁵⁴⁵ Ultimately, to Collins, this treaty not only represented the desires of the Irish people for peace; that this ‘stepping-stone’ approach to independence was a more welcoming compromise, as opposed to the bloodying of Dublin’s streets, as had been done in 1916. “Implicit also in the pro-Treaty position was an acknowledgement that, while the Republican movement was vehement in its pursuit of complete independence, purist republicans did not command the loyalty of the entire Irish people...the majority wished for a peaceful settlement that advanced the nationalist desire for self-determination.”⁵⁴⁶ This sentiment was validated following the 1922 general election, which saw Michael Collins’ pro-

543 Collins, Michael, and Tim Pat Coogan. *The path to freedom*. Dublin: Talbot Press, 1922. <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/>. Accessed March 16th 2020.

544 Ibid

545 Ibid.

546 John Dorny. *The Civil War in Dublin : The Fight for the Irish Capital, 1922-1924*. 2017. Co. Kildare, Ireland : Merrion Press. 2017 Accessed November 25, 2019. EBSCOhost (pg. 23)

Treaty Sinn Féin party win after achieving 38.5% of the vote, as opposed to the anti-Treaty Sinn Féin of Eamon De Valera's 21.8%.⁵⁴⁷

Collins and Griffith managed to achieve several diplomatic victories over the English in the peace deal, most notably the withdrawal of British soldiers from southern Ireland and notable territorial gains from the original draft for Northern Ireland due to a boundary commission. However, Collins' acceptance of dominion status came at the concession of the oath of allegiance; the republican ideal of a complete Irish republic could not be achieved. While the Treaty passed in the Dáil on January 7th 1922, it had resulted in the splitting of the republican movement within the Dáil, as hardline Republicans refused to accept any deal which would compromise the pursuit of an independent Irish Republic. These Republicans left in protest, leaving Collins and Griffith in control of the newly ratified Irish Free-State. However, the splitting of the Dáil meant that inter-nationalist conflict was inevitable; the Irish Civil War was soon to come.

The Civil War and the Death of Michael Collins

While the Treaty brought Ireland short of its republican aspirations, it had nevertheless granted Ireland a considerable level of autonomy within the Empire. As noted by an American journal of the time, "Thus, the oldest and most serious of Britain's quarrels seems to be composed." In the language of the *Manchester Guardian* "The Impossible has happened." It is to have a rank in the British Commonwealth of the Dominion of Canada, with a parliament and executive, and with a governor-general appointed by Britain to represent the crown."⁵⁴⁸ Michael Collins, through trial and tragedy, had developed an outlook which allowed for such a reality to be possible. He stood in opposition to the aimless idealism of Eamon De Valera, which he felt would have assuredly brought the nation back into war with England. Sadly, the troubles in Ireland would continue as the Dáil's split proved fatal for dreams of peace in Ireland. War would erupt between hardline Republicans and supporters of the Treaty, beginning with the shelling of the Four Courts in Dublin on the 28th of June, 1922, beginning the civil war.

The Shelling of the Four Courts represents the beginning of the Civil War and more pointedly the legitimizing factor of Collins' new government. The structure, being occupied by members of the hardline Republicans of the I.R.A. stood in opposition to the newly formed National Army. The structure had been garrisoned by roughly four hundred men.⁵⁴⁹ In response, Collins brought up several artillery

547 Nicholas Whyte, *Dail Elections since 1918*." Dail Elections since 1918. Accessed April 25, 2020. <https://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/gdala.htm>.

548 "THE IRISH FREE STATE." *Advocate of Peace through Justice* 84, no. 1 (1922): 7-8. Accessed March 16, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/20659906.

549 Ryle T. Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. Kindle edition. (pg. 6107)

pieces and began to shell the Four Courts in an attempt to dislodge its defendants. This was the beginning of the war in Dublin, which would last until the fifth of July, 1922. Symbolically, this represents Collins' final departure from his insurgent past. He had abandoned his ideals of his localized republicanism, yet he had not given up on Ireland's potential to achieve such a dream. He believed that the Anglo-Irish Treaty was Ireland's only chance to achieve freedom, which was now being threatened by such dangerous and misguided relics of the past.

The Civil War was defined by mobility, with the National Army making effective use of Rolls Royce armored cars.⁵⁵⁰ Quickly, the I.R.A. found themselves being ousted from several key locations both within Dublin and throughout the countryside as the National Army swept Southward. Collins' leadership resulted in astounding success, as casualty figures amongst the National Army remained relatively low, reporting only 59 K.I.A. and 160 W.I.A.⁵⁵¹ at the end of July. As for the Anti-Treaty I.R.A., many of the insurgents chose to surrender as opposed to combat the National Army, as morale appeared to suffer in the face of the National Army's armoured cars and Thompson submachine guns, imported from the United States, "IRA fighters had shown little stomach for a fight and more than willingness to surrender...They were armed at best only with handguns and homemade grenades...anti-treaty units were dismally weak."⁵⁵² Collins himself, led his men into his home, County Cork, where his localization brought him to believe that he would not be assaulted by its inhabitants, stating, "Surely, they won't shoot me in my own county?"⁵⁵³ Furthermore, pro-Treaty voters compromised the majority within the Cork constituency,⁵⁵⁴ indicating that the region was friendly to Collins and his National Army. Nevertheless, several anti-treaty I.R.A. cells still held tight control of the region, creating strongholds out of the two major cities, Cork and Kerry; prompting the National Army to consider a seaborne landing to prevent fighting from erupting in the city, to capitalize on surprise in order to coerce surrender.⁵⁵⁵ Yet the National Army retained control of much of the motorways, mainly due to their armored cars. The primary goal of Collins' visit, was to meet with several

550 John Dorny. *The Civil War in Dublin : The Fight for the Irish Capital, 1922-1924*. 2017. Co. Kildare, Ireland : Merrion Press. 2017 Accessed November 25, 2019. EBSCOhost (pg. 121-122)

551 Ibid. 122

552 Ibid. 118

553 Colm Connolly. *Notes from the Shadow of BealnaBlath* "Béal-Na-MBláth." The National Collins22 Society. Accessed March 16, 2020. <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/life-times/beal-na-mblath/beal-na-mblath/>.

554 Jason Kelleher. Irish General Election, 1922. Irish Political Maps. Accessed April 26, 2020. <http://irishpoliticalmaps.blogspot.com/2012/08/irish-general-election-1922.html>.

555 John Dorny. *The Civil War in Dublin : The Fight for the Irish Capital, 1922-1924*. 2017. Co. Kildare, Ireland : Merrion Press. 2017 Accessed November 25, 2019. EBSCOhost (pg. 122)

influential Anti-Treaty I.R.A. leaders to negotiate a potential ceasefire to end the Civil War.⁵⁵⁶ While he certainly did receive a warm welcome, he nevertheless was identified by the local I.R.A. cell, who organized an ambush to kill Collins at Béal na Bláth, on August 22nd, 1922.

Collins and his armored convoy found themselves amidst a hail of bullets. Rather than fleeing the ambush site, Collins ordered his men to dismount and engage the entrenched I.R.A. marksmen. During this skirmish, Collins was struck in the head by a single bullet, he died instantaneously.⁵⁵⁷ Michael Collins, the man who had managed to secure Ireland's freedom from 700 years of British occupation, was dead. As Emmet Dalton wrote, "We had suffered the loss of a generation — we lost what the contrition and remorse of a nation cannot restore. The country had lost its leader — the people had lost their idol...the sun has reached its zenith. Michael Collins was dead."⁵⁵⁸

Collins' legacy was best summarized following his death, as the Civil War virtually halted in mourning of his passing. Collins' death had immortalized him as Ireland's savior, it's 'lost leader.' This loss was shared amongst the leaders of both the I.R.A. and the Free-State, as General Mulachy of the National Army stated, "Let no cruel act of reprisal damage your bright honour."⁵⁵⁹ The political enemy of Michael Collins, Eamon De Valera similarly was devastated by Michael Collins' death, as an I.R.A. runner told De Valera about the successful assassination, "the Long Fellow displayed no satisfaction. 'It's come to a very bad pass when Irish men congratulate themselves on the shooting of a man like Michael Collins,' was his reputed reaction."⁵⁶⁰ Other members of the I.R.A. in conflict with Collins displayed a similar sense of grievance, as I.R.A. commander, Frank Aiken would state, "'Accept my deepest sympathy for the loss of our old friend Mick,' Aiken wrote on 27 August 1922. 'God rest him! I know you'll acknowledge that I am truly sorry for him even though I have been in arms against him lately.'"⁵⁶¹ The

556 "Béal-Na-MBláth." The National Collins22 Society. Accessed March 16, 2020. <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/life-times/beal-na-mblath/beal-na-mblath/>.

557 Contrary reports indicate that Collins was able to proclaim that he had been hit, before succumbing to his wounds — yet this may not be possible given the severity of his injury.

558 Emmet J. Dalton. *Death Of Michael Collins*. The National Collins22 Society. Accessed March 16, 2020. <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/life-times/beal-na-mblath/death-of-michael-collins/>

559 The Guardian, *From the Guardian archive*, "24 August 1922: The death of Michael Collins, A portrait of the Irish republican leader" The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2012/aug/24/archive-1922-death-michael-collins> (accessed 13/02/2020)

560 Ryle T. Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. (pg. 7140)

561 Ibid. 7152

war would end short after; the I.R.A. would be relatively defeated throughout the nation, as they simply could not defeat the National Army by conventional means, their willingness to fight quickly dissipated as did their command hierarchy. The Civil War would eventually end on the 24th of May 1923, following the capture of the leader of the militant I.R.A. leader, Liam Deasy⁵⁶² who was summarily executed, as were several other I.R.A. prisoners throughout the nation.

Strangely, Michael Collins spoke of his acceptance of the Treaty as the path to save Ireland, which would only come to fruition following his death. As he was remarked stating following its acceptance, he wrote to a friend, “What have I got for Ireland? Something which she has wanted these past seven hundred years. Will anyone be satisfied at the bargain? Will anyone? I signed my death warrant. I thought at the time how odd, how ridiculous — a bullet may just as well have done the job five years ago.”⁵⁶³ He would — express this prophetic theme to Winston Churchill, “it is not at all unlikely that the best thing that can happen to Ireland is that I should be killed in an attempt to redeem its cause.”⁵⁶⁴ The cause for such a dreadful sense is hard to pinpoint, simply, it may be deduced to Collins’ awareness to such unwavering republican sentiments which were rife throughout the I.R.A. Furthermore, he may have felt dread in regards to the deadly efficacy of the I.R.A.’s covert capabilities, which Collins’ had helped lay the groundwork for with his Squad. It may be also possible to postulate that Collins’ shared these sentiments purely for posterity; hypothetically, Collins understood the magnitude of his decision, in his eyes, ending a conflict which had been perpetuated throughout 700 years of Anglo-Irish history. Such a monumental decision may have led Collins to understand that his former allies would respond to such a departure with hostility; from combatting the British, to cooperating with them, as an affront to all those who had died in those 700 years. Possibly, Michael Collins understood himself as a sacrificial lamb, essentially creating a ‘cult following’ based around his acceptance, he bore the guilt of betraying the new nationalism which his generation was born into.

In summary, the magnitude of the figure which was Michael Collins cannot simply be relegated to one singular event; rather, his life served as a testament to the Irish experience. This experience was born out of the shackles of British colonialism, which had ravaged the country through famine, plantation movements, as well as the suppression of Irish Catholics, culture and language in an attempt to make Ireland ‘English.’ Collins departed from the traditional mantra of staunch

562 De Valera had gradually lost influence throughout the conflict, eventually breaking with the militant I.R.A. due to his support of a ceasefire

563 Ibid. 4940

564 The Guardian, *From the Guardian archive*, “24 August 1922: The death of Michael Collins, A portrait of the Irish republican leader” The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2012/aug/24/archive-1922-death-michael-collins> (accessed 13/02/2020)

resistance, as he had experienced first-hand the impossibility of such a task. The failed Easter Rising of 1916 taught him that, England could not be defeated through force of arms. The rising proved, to Collins that the ideals of republicanism ultimately blurred the true potential for Ireland. Only through the British system could Ireland hope to achieve a semblance of autonomy as a ‘stepping-stone’ to the fulfilment of a future republic. Yet Collins was no pacifist. His actions in the Anglo-Irish war proved this, however his actions brought about the opportunity for negotiations, which had been previously unattainable to take place. It was hope in the future that one day Ireland may be free. Collins believed that the signing of the Treaty was Ireland’s first steps into nationhood, a future which Collins believed he had set into motion, “Those signatures are the first real step for Ireland. If people will only remember that — the first real step.”⁵⁶⁵

565 Ryle T. Dwyer. *Big Fellow, Long Fellow. A Joint Biography of Collins and De Valera: A Joint Biography of Irish Politicians Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1998. (pg. 4940)

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RICK COUMONT

Diderot's Enlightenment: Indigenous Actors, European Arguments

Introduction

During the eighteenth century, Europe underwent an intellectual revolution we call the Enlightenment. Or, at least, that was what the partisans and propagandists of that revolution claimed. These revolutionaries, the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment, heralded the dawn of a new period in social and cultural history. Promoting the values of equality and freedom against the old order of feudal hierarchy, the *philosophes* sought to realize great improvements in the human condition. These improvements included the greater cooperation of governments, increase in material wealth, and greater freedoms for individuals. By emphasizing individual liberty and reason, the thinkers of the Enlightenment hoped to teach people how to be better humans. The assumption being made here, though, was that all peoples could have the same uniform improvements imposed on them, ignoring real cultural or contextual differences. This universalist perspective typical of the Enlightenment was the likely cause for why this call to equality and liberty was scarcely heeded at the time in Europe's vast colonial empires. This tension between the Enlightenment's values of progress and development and the exploitative and violent nature of European imperialism raises an interesting question: Why was there seemingly so much disconnect between the Enlightenment's ethos of progress and liberty and the realities of European overseas imperialism?

Many important thinkers of the Enlightenment wrote quite extensively about colonialism, and rarely believed it to be a good thing.⁵⁶⁶ Upon close readings of several key texts from the Enlightenment, it becomes apparent that their authors used colonialism as a backdrop against which they presented their own views

566 Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 1-6

on society in Europe. This use of imperialist settings as rhetorical devices in the pursuit of advocating change in Europe is very clearly expressed in the works of Denis Diderot (1713-1784). Diderot was a prominent *philosophes*, the editor of the *Encyclopedie*, and critical observer of French culture, society, and empire.⁵⁶⁷ Diderot's writing on empire demonstrates the ways in which Enlightenment examinations of the indigenous colonial subjects of the empire were often really meant to criticize their home societies. The focus on internal reform of European society present in the works of *philosophes* like Diderot indicates that even when they used indigenous settings and actors, they ultimately were more concerned with European affairs.

In order to situate Diderot's imperial writing, this paper will begin by examining the question of What is Enlightenment? This means examining not only how its contemporaries explained the Enlightenment, but how it developed in European history, and how modern scholars understand it.

Then, with an understanding of the Enlightenment established, the relationship between it and contemporary imperialism will be explored. This especially includes the writings of people other than Diderot, to provide a background against which to frame him. Finally, there will be a close reading of Diderot's *Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage*, his piece best exemplifying how colonial settings were used to present arguments about society in Europe itself.

What was the Enlightenment?

Modern definitions of the Enlightenment usually focus on its moral, political, and epistemic dimensions. According to John Robertson, the Enlightenment originated from a motion towards greater understanding of human nature. By understanding how people function, the *philosophes* believed they could then understand how to improve the human condition. This improvement, which they called progress, meant to improve the moral, intellectual, and material circumstances of mankind. The conscious integration of morality, epistemology, and political philosophy into one theory, called 'sociability' is what allows the scholar to identify the Enlightenment as a discrete intellectual movement.⁵⁶⁸ Thinkers of the Enlightenment were not solely concerned with ideas, although those were the main focus of the *philosophes*. The conditions and feelings of the common population were also of great concern for them. This emphasis on what Robertson calls "public opinion" set the *philosophes* apart as ideologically beholden to the masses, not the ruling elite, and identified them as distinct from previous strains of philosophers.⁵⁶⁹

567 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 2, 4, 8, 47.

568 John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 168-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 28-30.

569 Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, 34-7.

Jonathan Israel, on the other hand, centres his understanding of the Enlightenment around its tendency towards revolutionary beliefs. This ‘revolution’ against religious and political domination was always understood by its contemporaries as being something that would radically alter civilization. Even the ‘moderates’ among the *philosophes* agreed that great changes would/should be made to the social order in Europe.⁵⁷⁰ The ultimate goal of this revolution was freedom, according to Israel. This freedom was envisioned as both kinds, positive and negative, by the thinkers of the Enlightenment. Not only should people have freedom *to* think, act, and work as they please, but also to be free *from* arbitrary domination of higher authorities.⁵⁷¹ In terms of practical impact, Israel viewed the liberalizing efforts of the Enlightenment as achieving “partial successes.” Benchmarks in achieving individual freedom, such as equality before the law, were rarely implemented, and even then, it was only for short periods, mostly. Israel does not equate “partial successes” with failure, though. The Enlightenment did have real-world impacts, but according to Israel, these were not simply because of the strength of Enlightenment ideas. Instead, social change came about because popular social dissatisfaction gave people the motivation to embrace radical ideals.⁵⁷²

Given that today’s historians understand the Enlightenment with the benefit of hindsight, what did contemporary people think about the movement? Not knowing what future impacts their works might have, the *philosophes* still tried to explain the phenomenon of the Enlightenment from within. Near the end of the Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant submitted an essay attempting to define the Enlightenment called “*Was ist Aufklärung?*” (1784). In English, “What is Enlightenment?” Kant covered his general thoughts on the intellectual movement as a part of intellectual history.⁵⁷³ In *Was ist Aufklärung?* Immanuel Kant characterized the Enlightenment as a new epoch for mankind, one defined by a newfound willingness to use our natural intellect, and a deeper understanding of humanity and nature. This idea that mankind had only begun to think freely during the Enlightenment was central to the belief of Enlightenment philosophers themselves, and was in many ways influenced by the scientific revolution of the sixteenth century.⁵⁷⁴ The historiographic belief that humanity had previously been ignorant and was now reaching a new level of development fundamentally informed the Enlightenment worldview. Enlightenment self-conceptualization as superior to the past contributed to the broader Enlightenment project’s goal of bettering human civilization. Specifically, this meant the end of prejudice, useless tradition, and ignorance.⁵⁷⁵

570 John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 168-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 28-30.

571 Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, 34-7.

572 Jonathan I. Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights, 1750-1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 818-9.

573 Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment*, 3-4.

574 Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment*, 14-5.

575 Michel Foucault, “What is Enlightenment?” in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Rabinow

Michel Foucault offers an intriguing and critical response to Kant, characterizing his Enlightenment as fundamentally a process of loss. “Loss” not meaning a negative turn of events, but rather a shedding of an older state of being, instead of obtaining something entirely new. Foucault identifies this premise in Kant’s work through his discussion of maturity. In Kant’s response to *Was ist Aufklärung*, he identified the period of human development he lived in as one of humanity’s collective growing up. But, as Foucault pointed out, this was not a process of growing some new intellectual or cultural trait for Kant. Rather, it was our specific *loss* of immaturity, not the *gain* of maturity. The implication being made here by Kant was that people always had the capacity to reason, but were only just beginning to lose our inhibitions against it. Instead of being a new mode of thought or period of history, the process of enlightenment was one of modifying the relationship between reason, will, and power structures. As Foucault identified, the question that follows this altered relationship is: to what end? According to Foucault, Kant saw the use of common reason to challenge authority as being a process towards the betterment of society. That might not be a very clear assessment of the situation, but Foucault duly notes Kant’s occasional lack of precision.⁵⁷⁶

Foucault also draws our attention to the problem of Enlightenment universalism in Kant, specifically his use of the word ‘mankind.’ The problem with the way Kant wrote about ‘mankind’ was precisely in the fact that the word means all of us, and the Enlightenment was a phenomenon located in a specific time and place. If, like Foucault, one chooses to take Kant’s use of the word seriously, the difference between universal language and particular reality must be negotiated. Kant was aware of the unique historic and cultural position in which he wrote, so it is unlikely that this situation was accidental. The solution to this problem, Foucault posited, is that Kant identified all people as historically subject to intellectual domination by figures of authority. A situation of blind, forced obedience, essentially. Kant believed humanity’s loss of this confinement would come once people redesigned society into a state where people’s individual rationality is aligned with public reason; the common good. So, what bridges the gap between Kant’s specific position in eighteenth century Europe and all mankind? According to Foucault, it is the proposed development from individual rationality to societal rationality, replicated in all societies. Although Kant seemingly viewed the Enlightenment as a universal development, it has yet to bring about humanity’s vaunted maturity, as Foucault stated.⁵⁷⁷

Kant’s tension with universalism in his own work is likely indicative of a broader trend in the Enlightenment. One such product of the Enlightenment with universalist undertones was the *Encyclopedie*, which, as the name implies, was essentially an early encyclopedia. The *Encyclopedie* was, according to its

(New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 32-50..

576 Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment* (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1990), 1-4.

577 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 3.

editors, an effort to collect all the information on Earth into one large collection. This lofty goal of assembling the world's entirety into a written work is actually quite emblematic of the Enlightenment's universalism, taking all the diversity of the world and placing it into uniform categories. In the entry about the *Encyclopedie* within itself, Denis Diderot wrote about what he and his colleagues hoped to achieve through its creation. Here, he claimed that the *Encyclopedie* (and the Enlightenment more broadly) existed mainly to bring about the greater good for mankind. Diderot claimed this goal would be achieved through educating the masses, which the *Encyclopedie* contributed towards. According to Diderot, the simple act of spreading information meant "that our children, by becoming more educated, may at the same time become more virtuous and happier." Beyond the individual, Diderot claimed that the spread of empiricist thinking and critical examination of the world would likewise lead to the moral uplift of society in general.⁵⁷⁸

Though understanding how contemporary and modern people like Kant understood the ideas presented in the Enlightenment is useful, describing the Enlightenment's typifying characteristics does not capture the historiographic whole. A strong argument can be made that the philosophic underpinnings of the Enlightenment originated from Renaissance Humanism. But what is humanism? Put simply, it is a kind of intellectual framework that understands the world in terms of its relationship to people. This is not to say that the Enlightenment was humanism, or that the Renaissance variety was the only kind of humanism, though. Humanist themes have arisen in many different times and places throughout history,⁵⁷⁹ with the Enlightenment's version being an outcropping of the earlier Renaissance version. In any case, Enlightenment thinkers owed many elements of their philosophy to how Renaissance Humanism inspired people to begin challenging normative assumptions about religious authorities. By the time of the Enlightenment itself, European intelligentsia had been driven to find an understanding of the world that could address the problems purely humanist, religious, or natural epistemology seemingly could not.⁵⁸⁰

Although itself an intellectual development, the Enlightenment did not arise purely out of changing patterns of thought. The real political and historic events surrounding the development of the Enlightenment were extremely impactful as well. During the religious and political upheaval of the Protestant Reformation and subsequent Thirty Years War, two beliefs began to grow in the European intellectual tradition. One: that strict religious authority leads to destruction. Two: that the optimism of Renaissance Humanism would have to be reassessed. These

578 Foucault, "What is Enlightenment," 32-6. Immanuel Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 1-7.

579 Foucault, "What is Enlightenment" 32-50. Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" 1-7.

580 Denis Diderot, "Encyclopedie" in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 17-21.

twin developments would eventually grow into the Enlightenment belief in rational criticism of traditional society.⁵⁸¹

The first faint stirrings of the coming industrial revolution in Britain also provided part of the historic background that allowed the Enlightenment to occur. Although the Enlightenment was not a phenomenon particular to Britain, it nevertheless partially owed its existence to the economic and political situation of Britain at the time. Increase in liberalized internal trade due to income from its colonies meant that barriers between the classes were less strict than ever before. This economic reality of relative freedom, combined with the government's commitment to personal liberty presented the opportunity for further intellectual liberalism; the Enlightenment.⁵⁸²

The Enlightenment may have been recognizable as a discrete whole, but it was not monolithic, as the situations in various European states influenced its local manifestations. On the previous topic of Britain, the English tradition of opposing tyrannical autocracy played an important role in what the British Enlightenment turned out to be. The Magna Carta, which historically provided checks on the power of the English monarch, provided legal precedent for the Enlightenment in Britain, even if the document itself would later be denounced as insufficient during the Enlightenment.⁵⁸³ The 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 would further entrench the proto-liberal ideals of the Magna Carta. This led to the British Enlightenment focusing on reform and systemic improve, rather than revolution.⁵⁸⁴ Because their government largely rejected progressive reform, the French Enlightenment thinkers instead pushed for revolution. Because of the strong historic authority of both church and state in France, Enlightenment philosophers there felt restrained, as though their ideas had no chance at becoming real. They eventually did, though, in the French Revolution, but this was not caused by the Enlightenment. Rather, the Enlightenment work of reducing public faith in the *ancien regime* created a situation where the Revolution could occur.⁵⁸⁵ Various other European regions experienced their own types of Enlightenment, such as Scotland's economic version, or Germany's campaign of feudal reform.⁵⁸⁶ Given that the main focus of this essay, Diderot, was French, it should be sufficient to focus on the Enlightenment's impact in that country. In any case, the Enlightenment brought with it a promise of liberty, reason, and progress. Whether it did any of that remains to be seen.

581 Foucault, "What is Enlightenment?" 42.

582 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 12-17

583 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 14-16.

584 Leonard Krieger, *Kings & Philosophers, 1689-1789* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1970), 123-8.

585 Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment*, 818-9.

586 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 54

Enlightenment and Imperialism

Because the Enlightenment occurred during the eighteenth century, when colonization was a major force in global affairs, philosophers from this period wrote extensively about the subject. From the late fifteenth up to the eighteenth centuries, the normative European philosophy was pro-imperialist. Before the Enlightenment, those few who challenged the morality of colonization, like Bartolome de Las Casas (1510-1554) approved of imperialism in general, and only criticized its immoral particulars. What separated the Enlightenment thinkers from their predecessors and contemporaries was their rejection of the whole imperial project. Their criticism usually targeted the near universal mistreatment of Indigenous peoples, who anti-imperialists usually saw as in need of protection. The paternalistic undertones of this sentiment are important, but somewhat outside the scope of this essay. For all their efforts, though, Enlightenment anti-imperialists failed to change the dominant colonialist policy of Europe. This left the thread of anti-imperialism in the Enlightenment as a historic abnormality, a pocket of dissent during a larger period of pro-imperialism.⁵⁸⁷

Enlightenment anti-imperialism confronted ingrained attitudes that viewed Indigenous peoples as inferior, a position which could be found in all levels of society. Most European peoples' view on indigenous cultures during the Enlightenment can be described as "dehumanizing exoticism," according to Sankar Muthu.⁵⁸⁸ To elaborate, the common view among non-*philosophes* was that non-European peoples were so different in their appearance and behaviour that they must be fundamentally other than human. As negatively judgmental as this perspective may seem, it did not always define Indigenous peoples as morally deficient. Rather, it was believed by some that certain Indigenous peoples in fact possessed great virtue, but were simply uneducated or wild. Historically, this view originated from Christian missionaries, who argued that Native Americans were prime candidates for conversion. This position, usually referred to as 'noble savagery' was a topic of major contention among Enlightenment thinkers, as they tried to defend native peoples from dehumanization and mistreatment.⁵⁸⁹

In *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth Century British Liberal Thought*, Uday Metha presents a compelling argument on the tension between universalist, liberal ideals and the exclusionary practice of imperialism. According to Metha, imperialism and liberalism were not simply concurrent events. Rather, the ideological justification used by liberal European societies for their imperialism was derived from the theoretical core of their own liberalism.⁵⁹⁰ The theoretical principles of liberalism fundamentally disregard difference, be that of race, gender,

587 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 59-60.

588 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 1-6.

589 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 1-6

590 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 12.

or culture. This universalism is mainly derived from the belief that all people are inherently the same, according to Metha. However, when tracing the history of liberalism back to one of its key figures, John Locke (1632-1704), a disruption in the seemingly egalitarian universalism arises. According to Locke, it is natural and acceptable for social stratification to occur between the rational rich and the irrational poor. Although this conceptual framework was supposed to encourage the free economics of capitalism, it ended up permitting imperialism. If the theory of liberalism permits privileges to individuals of wealth and stature, then surely states can justify imperialism based on their supposedly superior wealth and capacity for reason.⁵⁹¹ To summarize, the suppositions of universalism permit colonization, because the underlying sameness of all peoples means that those who conquer do so by right of having superior social systems.

The dehumanizing exoticism displayed towards Indigenous peoples extended not only to the 'New World,' but also to fringe regions of Europe. The situation of race relations between English colonists, Scottish Highlanders, and the First Nations peoples of what is now Atlantic Canada in the eighteenth century is useful for exhibiting how non-intellectuals of the period thought. Because of their purportedly savage and uncivilized lifestyle, Highlanders were seen by the English as being very similar to Native Americans, only from Europe instead. This same reputation for savagery that degraded them simultaneously made them very useful in Britain's colonial enterprises. By employing Highlanders as elite troops in colonial armies, British commanders hoped to match the brutality of the locals with their own savage warriors. Though not exactly an example of noble savagery, it demonstrates how even during the Enlightenment, the positions of its top intellectual figures were not quickly accepted by others. In fact, while men like Kant and Diderot wrote about how Native Americans should be respected,⁵⁹² people living in the colonies feared and hated local natives. Soldiers fighting for Britain in what is now Canada were excited about having the opportunity to kill First Nations peoples, in complete ignorance of the pleas being made by the philosophers back in Europe. As time went on in Britain's colonies, Highlanders were increasingly seen as 'white' like Englishmen, while colonists still saw natives as distinctly inferior.⁵⁹³

Although their ideas on Indigenous peoples may have had little impact on the opinions of most Europeans, Enlightenment philosophers still wrote at great length about their thoughts on imperialism. In *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776), Edward Gibbon (1737-94) claimed that history is defined by conflict between civilization and barbarism, and came to this conclusion through the data of

591 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 11-22.

592 Uday Metha, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 47-8.

593 Metha, *Liberalism and Empire*, 56-60.

modern imperialism.⁵⁹⁴ While *The Decline and Fall* was not a direct commentary on contemporary imperialism, Gibbon drew many intentional parallels between ancient Rome and empires that existed during his own life. According to Gibbon, the civic virtue and moral strength of an empire's leaders and citizenry determined its ultimate success. This being the case, Rome was at its best as a republic, when constitutionally guaranteed liberty reigned.

However, when Rome became a Christian empire, Gibbon claimed, its people became decadent, obedient, and ignorant. This weakness, caused by having a complacent empire, made Rome susceptible to destruction at the hands of barbarians, according to Gibbon. This history lesson is framed in terms of Gibbon's own contemporary society. While Europe liked to think of itself as civilized Rome, on guard against savage outsiders, Gibbon warned that in their pursuit of empire, Europeans may end up decadent like Rome, or savage like the barbarians they detested.⁵⁹⁵ The skepticism towards empire expressed in Gibbon's work speaks to the Enlightenment anti-imperialist ethos.

As anti-imperialist as many Enlightenment thinkers may have been, that did not mean they viewed all ethnicities as equal. In 1764, Kant wrote about his version of the hierarchy of races, which ranked peoples based on their supposedly innate attributes. The lowest race, according to Kant, is that of Africa. He claimed that people of African descent are completely lacking in mental abilities, and largely unable to produce anything of intellectual or aesthetic merit. Furthermore, their idolatrous religion and vain behaviour lead Kant to believe violence was necessary to keep them in line.⁵⁹⁶ People from the Indian subcontinent were not viewed much better by Kant, being labelled as despotic and of grotesque tastes. In contrast to these positions, Kant held a largely positive opinion of Native Americans. Their positive qualities include valour, bravery, and honesty, according to Kant.⁵⁹⁷ Interestingly, these traits all describe the capacities of Native Americans in war, similarly to how Highlanders were seen as useful because of their skill in warfare.⁵⁹⁸ The racial hierarchy of Kant, with Europeans at the top, is indicative of the type of backhanded derision Enlightenment philosophers often gave to Indigenous peoples, even while simultaneously praising them.

In contrast with the geographically and intellectually distant perspectives of the previously discussed authors, Thomas Jefferson wrote firsthand about his

594 Immanuel Kant, "The Differences Between The Races," in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 637-8.

595 Wayne E. Lee, *Empires and Indigenes: Intercultural Alliances, Imperial Expansion, and Warfare in the Early Modern Period* (New York: New York University, 2011), 240-3.

596 Kramnick, *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, 649..

597 Kant, "The Differences Between The Races," 637-9

598 Kant, "The Differences Between The Races," 638.

interactions with the races of America. In his 1787 book, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson pondered the intellectual and moral capacities of Native and African Americans. According to him, the geographic and political circumstances of North America had far more influence on the lives of Native Americans than any innate biological traits. Rather than behaving as they did because of having a savage nature, Native Americans lived non-sedentary lives because their circumstances demanded it. This position is a significant divergence from those of Gibbon and Kant, who labelled people by innate qualities, not as product of their environments. One very important point that Jefferson makes is that the apparent lack of excellent thinkers among Native Americans is simply due to their lack of technological progress. He likens their situation to that of Northern Europe before being introduced to advanced sciences in the sixteenth century. Here, Jefferson is implying that all human societies progress linearly, and that apparent savagery is caused by being ‘further behind.’ Jefferson goes on to praise specific elements of Native American society, such as their commitment to the collective good, rather than personal whims. He also makes specific note of his disdain for African Americans, claiming that they are more like animals than people, because of their short attention-span and inclination towards reaction, rather than contemplation.⁵⁹⁹

Denis Diderot and Imperialism

In the year 1770, the *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* was edited and published by Guillaume-Thomas Raynal. It was a collection of largely unpopular opinions on Europe’s history of interactions with other regions of the world. The contributions within were largely anti-imperialist, contrary to the dominant policy of the time. Because of the heterodox nature of the writings contained within, its contributors were kept anonymous, although historians have now found their identities, with Denis Diderot prominent among them. *Deux Indes* was predictably banned in France, because of the harsh criticism of European imperialism contained within. Diderot, safe from retribution because of his anonymity, used his space in *Deux Indes* to express his opinions on ethnology, colonization, and morality.⁶⁰⁰

Diderot began his contribution in *Deux Indes* on imperialism by detailing his thoughts on how social bonds affect peoples’ behaviour. His understanding of how society impacts human behaviour was predicated on the widely debated (at the time) idea of a natural man. Many Enlightenment philosophers sought to render human nature down into its most elemental components, and find what a person with no artificial influence would be like. For most of these thinkers, the closest example to a ‘natural human’ was the Native American, or perhaps a person native to the Pacific islands. Because of their supposedly untamed and wild nature,

599 Thomas Jefferson, “On Indians and Negroes” in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 657-64.

600 Lee, *Empires and Indigenes*, 240-3.

these cultures were often seen as separate from the distortions of civilization and organized society. Diderot refuted this notion, and instead posited that the closest thing to a ‘natural human’ was in fact a European imperialist. Ethically and behaviourally, colonizers and conquerors were simultaneously amorphous and monolithic; more similar to each other than to any of their home countries.⁶⁰¹

Diderot built his argument that the colonizer is a ‘natural human’ on the idea that socializing among one’s own culture makes people tame. Bound by the conventions and laws of his own land, a Frenchman, for example, follows the rules and expectations of his culture while he is in France. The normative behaviours imposed on people in their own homelands prevent us from behaving as we naturally would, according to Diderot. That being the case, once a person leaves their homeland, they become like “domestic tiger[s] returning to the forest.”⁶⁰² Diderot’s analogy captures his beliefs succinctly: colonizing Europeans, once separated from the restraints of their own culture, begin to act as cruel, callous, violent animals. A kind of hedonistic fury takes over people who colonize, a desire to maim and destroy for one’s own profit and pleasure, according to Diderot. He applied this label to all imperialist populations without reservation, giving this return to natural violence as a universal descriptor to those who conquer and settle in foreign lands.⁶⁰³

The extreme difference of opinion over who is a ‘natural human’ between Diderot and most other Enlightenment thinkers was no mere accident, as Diderot clearly meant to denounce the evils of imperialism by doing this. The scope of Diderot’s anti-imperialism is indicated by the support he offered to violent resistance by Indigenous peoples. He argued that it would be fully acceptable, morally and rationally, for Indigenous peoples to violently resist attempts to “infringe [their] civil liberty...restrict religious opinions...make [them] my slave.”⁶⁰⁴ If colonizers are going to act like wild animals, they should be treated as such, according to Diderot. The obvious consequence of Indigenous people retaliating against hostile colonizers is that the newcomers will resort to even more violent means of settlement, creating a feedback loop of violence.

Beyond actual physical violence, Diderot saw other forms of exploitation as expressions of imperialism’s innate immorality. For example, militarization and the construction of military structures on foreign soil is effectively a provocation to war, making it tantamount to actual violence in Diderot’s mind.⁶⁰⁵ Economic

601 Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 649-57.

602 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 72-3.

603 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 73-4.

604 Denis Diderot, *Historie des Deux Indes* in Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2003), 74.

605 Diderot, *Historie des Deux Indes*, 74-5.

exploitation was another practice of imperialism that Diderot saw as morally unacceptable. By taking advantage of a foreign people's resources for one's own material gain, an imperialist degrades the quality of life of other cultures, similar in effect to physical attack. Diderot had good reason to denounce these practices, as Europeans had already established a pattern of doing these things wherever they colonized.⁶⁰⁶ Perfidious trade deals may seem less directly harmful than outright attacking native peoples, and that is true. However, the fact that Diderot attacks both things at once speaks to his outright rejection of imperialism. Instead of picking out specific circumstances or outcomes of colonization to speak out against, Diderot rejected all forms of it.

In addition to his commentary on contemporary colonization, Diderot also reflected on the historical precedent of imperial conquest. Specifically, how it reflects recurring trends in human behaviour across time. Looking at Diderot's previously discussed remarks on imperialism, one might assume that he saw conquest as a purely European thing. While he did certainly believe people from his home continent committed terrible deeds, Diderot recognized that systemic violence towards outsiders is a thing all peoples are capable of. He wrote:

It has not been my intention to be the celebrant of conquerors of the other hemisphere. I have not allowed my judgment to be so far misled by the brilliance of their successes as to be blind to their crimes and acts of injustice...The sword will never be blunted, and we will not stop until it meets with no more victims to strike.⁶⁰⁷

What Diderot is stating here is that this contemporary wave of violence, European imperialism, was an expression of the human drive for violence. His understanding of how the European colonizer is actually a natural human speaks to this belief that people innately become violent when in contact with foreign cultures. Diderot's claim that "the sword will never be blunted" is representative of two beliefs. One, that conquest and disregard for humanity is an eternal part of the human condition. Two, that his contemporary conquerors would not cease their violence until all the world was subjugated to them.⁶⁰⁸ Diderot supported his pessimism by citing earlier European history. Although the Spanish were the prime instigators of violence during his own time, Diderot claimed, they were descended from subjugated peoples themselves. In the same way that their ancestors were enslaved and destroyed by the Visigoths, the Spaniards ruined the lives and societies of Native Americans. This repetition of historic violence indicated to Diderot that people fail(ed) to learn from the past, and instead repeat its mistakes.⁶⁰⁹ Diderot's use of historic evidence in his argument against empire extended to his claims that

606 Diderot, *Historie des Deux Indies*, 75

607 Diderot, *Historie des Deux Indies*, 75.

608 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 75.

609 Diderot, *Historie des Deux Indies*, 90-1.

imperialism brings no benefit to the colonizing society. He claimed that history shows how the expansion of empire does not enrich the lives of those within it, and usually ends in disaster. A civilization that expands through conquest inevitably brings misery to its populace, and then collapses into bickering successor states, according to Diderot.⁶¹⁰ The historic abuses of the Catholic church were a point of major interest for Diderot in his works, and he cited them as an example of power's corruption of those who hold it. The intolerant and domineering nature of the Catholic church presented a major example of how centralized authority creates unhappy societies throughout history, according to Diderot.⁶¹¹

Altogether, Diderot's argument in *Deux Indes* was that imperialism brings no benefit to anybody involved, and should be ceased at once. Of course, this did not happen, but for Diderot, his self-given role was that of a writer, not a revolutionary. Though he would have likely appreciated it if his ideas had been implemented, it was never his goal to direct any sort of uprising in France. Rather than causing social change, Diderot and the Enlightenment philosophers more generally, viewed themselves as hands-off participants in advocating social change.⁶¹² That is not to say that Enlightenment thinkers like Diderot had nothing positive to contribute to Europe's cultural development. Promotion of liberty and love of fellow humans, in addition to the increased valuation of science, could be considered positive impacts of the Enlightenment. The discovery of inoculation, disassociation of religious influence from psychology, and better treatment of prisoners were all developed out of Enlightenment thought.

However, in spite of its promotion of universal progress and liberty, the *philosophes* did not address the direst form of inequality, slavery, until they were forced to. This forced engagement came from the Haitian revolution, an unprecedented slave revolt. It was 'forced' because the idea that a slave revolt could be successful had not even been considered by the Enlightenment's thinkers until it actually happened. Even as the slaves of San Domingue (Haiti) were actively rising up, the *philosophes* could hardly believe the news. Part of this reluctance to address black slaves as active participants in social change originated from simple racial prejudice against them. When the thinkers of the Enlightenment questioned what constitutes a man, they consistently agreed that those from Africa were the worst among them. So, when the African slaves of San Domingue successfully revolted, they were left asking: how could such an inferior race overthrow their masters? As Michel-Rolph Trouillot wrote, it was truly 'unthinkable.'⁶¹³ Perhaps this unwillingness to confront the issue of slavery until it became threatening indicates a reluctance to embrace actual universal equality among the *philosophes*.

610 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 90-1.

611 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 90-1

612 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 94

613 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 112.

Diderot and Tahiti

In the year 1758, Louis Bougainville landed on the island of Tahiti, making him the first Frenchman to do so. The Indigenous culture he encountered was, to him, strange and exotic. In response to this alien experience, he wrote an account of what he saw. According to Bougainville, Tahiti was a heavenly paradise on earth, a place where no material need was not met by nature's bounty. The fantastic climate of Tahiti was only surpassed, he wrote, by the selfless nature of its denizens.

Bougainville recounted in his *Voyage Around the World* (1771) that the people of Tahiti lived in what would today be considered a form of primitive communism. In addition to their lack of personal property or notion of ownership, the Tahitians also practices a very free form of sexual expression very different from Europe's anti-sexual tendencies. This vision of Tahiti, however, turned out to be more fantasy than reality. When the British explorer James Cook later visited Tahiti after reading Bougainville's *Voyage*, he realized how warped Bougainville's account was. On closer examination, Cook found that the Tahitians did in fact have personal property and had sexual practices very similar to those found in Europe.⁶¹⁴

In keeping with the French Enlightenment's goal of promoting drastic social change,⁶¹⁵ Diderot read Bougainville's *Voyage*, and wrote a kind of expansion to it himself. This *Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage* (1796) was Diderot's interpretation of Bougainville's account of Tahiti. Rather than being a critical examination of Bougainville's account, Diderot fully accepted his outlandish claims, and built on them even further.⁶¹⁶ In fact, Diderot consciously blurred the distinction between reality and fiction in his *Supplement*, using the latter to enhance his arguments about the former. This may not have been a conscious rejection of Tahitian reality, but what Diderot did hold massive implications about the meaning behind his *Supplement*. Given that Diderot supported the French Enlightenment's goal of radically altering French society, the way he presents Tahiti comes across as an alternative that he is advocating for.⁶¹⁷ In reality, Diderot's *Supplement* was written as a critique of French society, and a promotion of his personal ideals for society. By presenting Tahiti as a utopian society, he used it as a rhetorical device to criticize his own home country.

Diderot's entry on enjoyment in the *Encyclopedie* provides context for the social analysis we encounter in the *Supplement*. Diderot prefaces his entry on enjoyment by claiming that it is the highest aspiration of a human being to experience pleasure with another person. Pleasure, however, means something very specific to Diderot in this context. Sexual love between a man and a woman

614 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 61.

615 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, (Beacon Press, 1995), 70-8.

616 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 61-2.

617 Krieger, *Kings & Philosophers*, 153.

is what Diderot claims to be the highest level of enjoyment possible in life. But beyond the simple sensual pleasure caused by the direct act, Diderot also claimed that the act of making and raising a child is as equally gratifying. As a corollary to his principle that mating is the highest form of selflessness and pleasure, Diderot also claimed that people who remain celibate “do not produce any real enjoyment.” The key operating word here is ‘produce.’ Not only are chaste people in denial of their own pleasure, but they are willingly depriving other people of it, too.⁶¹⁸ This preoccupation with sexuality is a defining hallmark of Diderot’s enlightenment perspective, and guided the philosophy expounded in much of his writing.

In the clearest words possible, Diderot claimed that “The propagation of beings is the greatest object of nature.” Additionally, Diderot claimed that times of romantic or sexual attraction are when people are most aligned with the forces of nature within them. Human mating rituals are described in very romantic terms by Diderot, as well. According to him, the natural process of a woman choosing a man to father her children is the greatest compliment he could ever receive. Without addressing the factual veracity of this claim, it is evident that Diderot saw romance as a producing a net gain of happiness for people.⁶¹⁹ The positive emphasis placed on humans behaving naturally by Diderot here is quite different from other earlier claims about human nature. His content in *Deux Indes* about imperialism, wherein he denounced natural humanity as cruel and violent, is seemingly contradictory to Diderot’s opinions in the *Encyclopedie*.⁶²⁰ This internal conflict seems to point to Diderot having a multi-faceted understanding of human nature. Rather than being entirely good or bad, we are animals capable of both things in Diderot’s opinion.

Clearly, Diderot had a preoccupation with sex and sexuality. Rather than being some psychological hang-up, it seems more likely that his beliefs came from social and political influences. Specifically, the conservative and repressive culture of Catholic France. This resistance to the sexual conservatism of traditional Catholic culture was widespread in the French Enlightenment, and Diderot was certainly no exception. Philosophers and physicians alike worked to develop a new understanding of how people should approach sexuality. Their common goal was to improve society as a whole by creating a system of sexual norms more reasonable than the old model.⁶²¹ In his *Supplement*, Diderot expressed his distaste for his home country, using a native Tahitian as his mouthpiece. He wrote that French laws on sexual intercourse outside marriage were wholly insufficient for creating effective guidelines for moral behaviour. If France were to continue persecuting people for pursuing their natural desires, French law would continue to be cruel and despotic.

618 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 61

619 Dena Goodman, “The Structure of Political Argument in Diderot’s Supplement au Voyage de Bougainville,” *Diderot Studies* 21 (1983), 123-6.

620 Diderot, “Enjoyment” in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 265-6.

621 Diderot, “Enjoyment,” 266.

And if the choice was made to forgive a criminal for their acts of sexual deviancy, it would reveal the corruption and hypocrisy of the French legal system.⁶²² This deep institutional frustration with his native land that drove Diderot's writings was fairly typical for French Enlightenment thinkers. Among these *philosophes*, there was a common theme of desire for reforming French society. Given the French Enlightenment's trend of resentment towards traditional authority, it is reasonable to conclude that Diderot's anger at traditional Christian-European sexual norms originated from this anti-establishment trend of the *philosophes*.⁶²³

The structure and external context of Diderot's *Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage* reveal much about his purpose in writing it. Diderot's first response to Bougainville's expedition to Tahiti was one of outrage. He believed the venture to be a prelude to French colonization of the Pacific island. Given Diderot's opinion on colonization, this was a predictable response from him. However, after further reflection on human nature and the process of imperialism, Diderot decided to use Bougainville's *Voyage* as the basis for a treatise on colonization and morality. This would end up becoming his *Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage*.⁶²⁴ Formatted as a series of dialogues, the actual content of Diderot's *Supplement* had little basis in reality. His largely fictional account of Tahiti was based on the already misinterpreted version of the island portrayed by Bougainville himself. This being the case, Diderot's *Supplement* was less of a commentary on any real society, and more of a hypothetical scenario for Diderot to expound his views. On top of all this, Diderot's *Supplement* was partially a response to the idea of noble savagery. Rather than depicting Tahitian society as literal perfection, he instead chose to describe it as merely wonderful.⁶²⁵ This creation of a near-paradise in a real location is actually quite important in Diderot's rhetoric of human nature. Previous Enlightenment attempts to describe an original state of man, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1717-78), largely used hypothetical settings. By describing Tahiti as not quite fully mythical/natural, Diderot proposed a more attainable state of being, a "golden mean" between impossible nature and real civilization.⁶²⁶

Diderot's *Supplement* was a dialogue depicting a conversation about Bougainville's *Voyage* between two unnamed people, called A and B. Their discussion about life in Tahiti serves as Diderot's way of introducing the real reader to his own interpretation of the island society. Additionally, Diderot's use of fictional Frenchmen in his *Supplement* helped localize the ideas within, making

622 Diderot, *Historie des Deux Indes*, 75-90

623 Kathleen Wellman, "Physicians and Philosophes: Psychology and Sexual Morality in the French Enlightenment," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 2 (2002), 267, 274-5.

624 Diderot, "Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage" in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 272.

625 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 59-60.

626 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 49-50.

them more tangible and comprehensible to its European audience.⁶²⁷ One of the first things debated between A and B is the process by which human cultures become militarized. Subject B posits that societies develop into aggressive tendencies because their conditions demand it. In the case of the South Pacific, this often meant the necessity of fending off hostile wild animals in the islands' jungles.⁶²⁸ Diderot mainly used this dialogue about conflict and war to satirize European imperialism, but there are some underlying assumptions here that are quite influential. By claiming that the development of cultures is guided by environmental factors, Diderot seems to downplay the importance of free will. This has earned him some criticism from scholars who reject environmental determinism.⁶²⁹ The analogy being set up by Diderot here is that Europeans seeking overseas colonies are like savages who attempt to invade the homes of tigers. This echoes Diderot's claims in *Deux Indies* on how people who invade foreign lands deserve little sympathy if they are met with violent resistance.⁶³⁰

The next topic of discussion between A and B in Diderot's *Supplement* is the relationship between local customs and the notion of 'home.' They begin debating these ideas when B mentions that Bougainville brought a Tahitian man, Aotourou, back to Europe with him. According to Bougainville, speaking through B, each person is inclined to believe that their place of origin is the best in this world. However, that trend was disrupted in Europe, once the people there heard about Tahiti through from Aotourou. Given the idealized version of Tahiti presented by Bougainville and Tahiti, of course people from anywhere else would prefer it to their homeland. Upon returning to Tahiti with stories of Europe to tell, Aotourou was supposedly met with little enthusiasm. Diderot wrote that when the Tahitians heard about Europe and "came to compare their customs with ours they would prefer to think Aotourou was a liar rather than that we are so crazy."⁶³¹ Diderot's argument here was that Tahitians, due to their closeness to nature, had a clear understanding of how societies ought to function. Likewise, the contrived and repressive societies of Europe cause their people to blindly believe Europe to be a fine place to live.⁶³² In the grand scheme of his *Supplement*, this segment contributes to Diderot's criticism of French society by establishing that Tahitians have a much more sensible understanding of social structures than Europeans do.

627 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 50-51. Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 11-22

628 Sharon A. Stanley, "Unraveling Natural Utopia: Diderot's Supplement to the Voyage of Bougainville," *Political Theory* 37, no. 2 (2009), 268.

629 Goodman, "The Structure of Political Argument in Diderot's Supplement," 127.

630 Denis Diderot, "Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage" in *Rameau's Nephew and Other Works*, trans. Jacques Barzun and Ralph H. Bowen, (Hackett Publishing Company, 2001), 183-5.

631 Stanley, "Unraveling Natural Utopia," 270-2.

632 Diderot, *Historie des Deux Indies*, 74-5.

The next segment of Diderot's *Supplement* is not a continuation of A and B's conversation, but rather a scene set in Tahiti itself. Here, an old Tahitian man has a conversation with Diderot's fictionalization of Bougainville himself, as his crew prepared to depart from the island. As the people of Tahiti sadly bid the French crew farewell, their elder expressed his great regret at ever having let the explorers land. He predicted that the French would return and enslave the Tahitians, but asked them to remain true to their pacifist morals and not attack Bougainville's crew. The elder then went on to denounce Bougainville directly, saying that he had betrayed his brothers in humanity by introducing violence to Tahiti and preparing to colonize it.⁶³³ The emphasis on shared humanity presented by Diderot through the words of the Tahitian elder indicates a belief within Diderot that there are universal moral standards for mankind. Essentially, slavery is inherently bad, even if French and Tahitian cultures may view it differently.⁶³⁴ This assumption of a universal morality for humanity was largely typical for the Enlightenment, so Diderot was not really making any radical claims here.⁶³⁵ It is also likely that Diderot's vehement anti-slave stance communicated through the Tahitian elder came from his own knowledge of life in France's colonies. The French colony of San Domingue, now Haiti, was the most profitable in the Caribbean at the time. Of course, this wealth was produced by brutal slave labour,⁶³⁶ and being an educated man, Diderot would have known about this.⁶³⁷ The specific nature of slavery in San Domingue (and its eventual revolution) are beyond the scope of this essay, but they provide real-world context for Diderot's beliefs.

At the end of the old Tahitian man's speech against Bougainville's visitation, Diderot returned to the perspective of subjects A and B. Here, the two discuss another journal entry from Bougainville's fictionalized voyage, this one on the topic of religion and human nature. Before reading the excerpt itself, B tells A about how the Tahitians, upon first seeing Bougainville's crew, greeted them with gifts and friendly embraces. With this knowledge imparted, B then asks A what he thinks of humanity. A responds that it is "very fine," but B then tells A that the happy meeting was marred by a seemingly violent incident between the two cultures. Rather than being a fight, as A assumed, B reveals that the Tahitians had immediately detected a woman disguised as a man among the Bougainville's crew. Detecting a member of the opposite sex, the Tahitian men prepared to have relations with her, as their culture had taught them to do.⁶³⁸ In addition to serving as a segue into Diderot's section on religion and sexuality, this moment contributes to his argument that the Tahitians, because of their proximity to nature, had a clearer understanding of reality.

633 Diderot, "Supplement," 185

634 Diderot, "Supplement," 186.

635 Diderot, "Supplement", 187-8.

636 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 50.

637 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 51.

638 Bonnie G. Smith, *Modern Empires*, A Reader (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 170-1

The next segment on religion and sexuality is framed by Diderot as a conversation between a Tahitian native, Orou, and the chaplain of Bougainville's ship. This chaplain, upon disembarking onto the island and finding a place to sleep for the night, was invited by a man to pick a woman of his household to sleep with. Being a Catholic priest, the chaplain refused because of his vow of chastity. Surprised and confused, Orou suggested that the chaplain consider leaving his French morals in France, while also adopting Tahitian ones there. The proposed change of morals being presented here speaks more to social norms than an alteration of human nature. As Diderot wrote, all people are prone to the same feelings of jealousy, anger, and greed. However, the social designs of Tahiti curb these vices better than how Europe does.⁶³⁹ Orou also appealed to the chaplain's emotions, saying that by refusing to mate with his daughters or wife, he had insulted them. Eventually, the chaplain relented, and slept with Orou's youngest daughter.⁶⁴⁰ The fact that Diderot had his fictional chaplain break his Catholic vows and sleep with a young girl indicates his conviction that Tahitian sexual norms are better than the irrational and moralistic European ones. If even the most committed person to European sexual-conservative ideals can be so easily converted, then clearly the Catholic model itself must be severely flawed.⁶⁴¹ Through this fictionalized Tahiti, Diderot criticized his own French-Catholic culture for its conservatism.

At the next morning of Diderot's story of Orou and the chaplain, the latter goes about trying to explain his Catholic faith to the Tahitians. After explaining the transcendent nature of God and his role as creator of the universe, the chaplain then told Orou about how European Catholics treat people who do not commit to monogamy. Orou's response to the chaplain's theology was to claim that he found "these strange precepts contrary to nature, and contrary to reason."⁶⁴² Speaking through his character Orou, Diderot made his opinion perfectly clear here. The chaplain eventually accepts Orou's position, and comes to decide that Tahitian life does have some advantages over the European social model. By having the chaplain partially change his mind, Diderot furthered his argument that Tahiti, while not perfect, did have factors worthy of emulation.⁶⁴³

Furthermore, Diderot described the economic and political systems of Tahiti as being more beneficial to the collective than those of France. Diderot imagined Tahiti's economic system to be a community-based one, where resources are collectively shared and distributed based on the number of children in a family. To ensure population levels stayed under control, people deemed unready for parenthood would be kept separate on the island. This interplay between being granted resources (food) and reproducing would encourage people to produce

639 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 72-6.

640 Diderot, "Supplement," 193-4.

641 Stanley, "Unraveling Natural Utopia," 277-8.

642 Diderot, "Supplement," 194-6. Stanley, "Unraveling Natural Utopia," 279

643 Stanley, "Unraveling Natural Utopia," 284-5.

more offspring, thus giving an economic foundation to Diderot's idealized Tahitian society.⁶⁴⁴ The economic system Diderot advocated for here has similar roots to the ideas of Adam Smith (1623-90). While Smith's capitalist system of free enterprise and Diderot's communal ideals were fairly different, they were both responses to the traditional Christian aversion to pleasure. Both Diderot and Smith advocated for systems where people could pursue self-interested pleasure, rejecting the idea that pleasure is sinful.⁶⁴⁵ By imagining a complete fictional society in the setting of Tahiti, complete with economics and laws, Diderot presented a blueprint for creating a better social order in his own home country.

Diderot's claim that Tahiti's society came about by planning, not happenstance, reveals something very profound about Diderot's theory of human development. Although all cultures are influenced by the climate in which they are found, according to Diderot, intelligent design is what gives actual shape to societies. He believed this applied to Tahiti as well, with their tropical environment allowing for a very peculiar form of social engineering to be developed there. This "willful artifice" of culture building the Tahitians take part in points to an underlying assumption of Diderot's. This being that nature is arbitrary, but people are capable of creating systems that alter it for better or worse.⁶⁴⁶ Because Tahitians had no cause to worry much about providing for material needs, they could devote their time to philosophy and cultural development. The lack of a need to devote large amounts of time to agriculture allowed the people of Tahiti to purposefully create a system that placed the common good above selfish desires. Diderot reinforces this claim of his by stating that people only become selfish or violent when their survival is threatened, which it would rarely be in a land where food is so plentiful.⁶⁴⁷

However, while having a very well thought-out cultural and social system, the Tahitians lacked many of the technologies present in Europe at the time, Diderot claimed. This seeming contradiction between being culturally advanced but scientifically backwards had a simple solution, according to Diderot: That the two are separate, and have little correlation in practice. Given that Tahiti had already surpassed Europe in terms of cultural refinement, there would be little point in bringing Enlightenment ideals there, Diderot claimed.⁶⁴⁸ This claim, although it seems self-doubting, was likely Diderot's way of arguing that there was no need for European nations to enlighten an already venerable culture.

Returning to the characters of Orou and the chaplain, Didero next had them discuss the matters of private desire and public welfare. Because of how Tahiti's social structure is built around private (sexual) desire, the chaplain assumed that

644 Diderot, "Supplement," 198..

645 Stanley, "Unraveling Natural Utopia," 270-1.

646 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 56.

647 Porter, *The Enlightenment*, 19, 22

648 Stanley, "Unraveling Natural Utopia," 281.

there must be a great amount of conflict between selfish desires and the greater good. Orou responds that quite the opposite is true, and that people rarely harm each other in his culture, physically or emotionally. The chaplain, fairly convinced of Orou's correctness, observes that "jealousy is practically unknown here in Tahiti," but assumes this must be because Tahitians have weak emotional bonds.⁶⁴⁹ This seemingly upsets Orou, because Diderot then had him present a very long speech to the chaplain, correcting him on the status of public morality in Tahiti.

Orou begins his explanation of why there is no conflict between public and private interests in Tahiti by stating that Tahitian culture replaces personal wealth with social connections. Naturally, Orou claims, people value their belongings over the well-being of other people. However, in the absence of personal property, as is the case in Tahiti, people replace their love of things with love of people. When individuals care more about fellow human than anything else, they will contribute their efforts towards things that benefit society in general, such as education of the youth.⁶⁵⁰ Diderot's claim here is essentially that a conscious effort must be put forth to curb the evil elements of human nature. This call to a reorganization of society for the improvement of the common good is typical for Diderot's writings, and in some ways the French Enlightenment more broadly.⁶⁵¹

That is not to say, though, that he wanted real European societies to perfectly emulate his imagined Tahitian one. First of all, this hypothetical transformation could likely never be fully realized, even by Diderot's optimistic standards. The main reason for this would be the lack of historic and environmental precedent. As Diderot claimed, it took Tahiti's developmental past being situated in a tropical climate to reach the kind of society they had.⁶⁵² Aside from this key prohibitive element, Diderot noted a few flaws in his fictionalized Tahiti. Orou himself notes that the Europeans "have the edge on [the Tahitians] when it comes to intelligence." Although Diderot did not explain this statement, he did write that the Tahitians cleverly had members of Bougainville's crew impregnate some Tahitian women, to improve the overall intelligence of their populace⁶⁵³. This does indicate that Diderot believed intelligence to be a universally desirable trait, and that Europeans possess it in greater quantity than Tahitians. Orou also claims that the people of Tahiti "are savages;" a people of less complicated social structures.⁶⁵⁴ It seems that Diderot chose to include these flaws in his fictionalized Tahiti to make the achievement of a more free and equal society seem less impossible. If Diderot's Tahiti were presented as too perfect, it might seem unattainable, and therefore not worth pursuing.

649 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 53-5.

650 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 57-8.

651 Diderot, "Supplement," 210.

652 Diderot, "Supplement," 210-11

653 Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, 29.

654 Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 53-5.

After the conclusion of Orou and the chaplain's conversation, Diderot once again shifted the scene back to individuals A and B. Having read the debate between Orou and the chaplain themselves, A asks B what can actually be learned from the Tahitian story. B responds by explaining the process by which cultures develop. After managing to meet the bare necessities of life, cultures are introduced to "the boundless sea of imagination." While this may sound like a good thing, Diderot, speaking through B, claims that immorality soon follows in societies that move beyond focusing on their immediate survival. This being the case, B expresses his hope that the Tahitians never change, instead maintaining their happy existence of relative ignorance.⁶⁵⁵ B then claims that there is a deep connection between laws and morality. However, instead of laws being the enforcers of morality, he states that having too many laws causes a decay of good public behaviour. If people were to simply consider the impact of their actions on others, instead of listening to the laws enforced on them by the rich and powerful, society would be vastly improved.⁶⁵⁶ This appeal to conscience by Diderot is particularly targeted at the authorities of France, towards which he consistently expressed discontent in his articles and books.

Near the end of the conversation between individuals A and B, the latter presents a summary of Diderot's ideas presented in his *Supplement*. According to Diderot, via B, the following things are the main causes of common misery in Europe: The treatment of women as property. Too many civic customs that direct people away from simple nature. Social hierarchy, which gives rise to discrimination based on possession of wealth. The fact that raising a family usually leads to a decrease in personal well being, even though population growth benefits the collective.⁶⁵⁷ Diderot lists all of these things as parts of the social condition of European civilization that have, in his mind, caused the state of general misery identified as the pre-Enlightenment period. However, all of these aforementioned factors are less important than the next two, according to Diderot. He names them as the greed-driven supremacy of the ruling class, and the moralistic domination of institutionalized religion.⁶⁵⁸ These two identified problems in European (French) society are really the core message of Diderot's *Supplement*. Everything presented in his fictionalized Tahiti served as a vehicle through which Diderot explained the corrupting effect of the aristocracy and clergy in his own culture.

Conclusion

In the context of the broader Enlightenment, Diderot's writings in *Deux Indes* and his *Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage* contributed to the movement's drive against imperialism and the traditional social order of Europe. Diderot's writings

655 Diderot, "Supplement," 212.

656 Diderot, "Supplement," 212-3.

657 Diderot, "Supplement," 217

658 Diderot, "Supplement," 218.

in *Deux Indes* and his *Supplement* framed the problems of imperialism not as distant and intangible, but as real issues that affected the colonizing powers of Europe. As a part of the Enlightenment, he contributed to the development of ideas of liberty and equality in Europe. However, Diderot made some of these arguments by fictionalizing and exoticizing the Indigenous people of Tahiti. This use of a real culture to further his arguments might make Diderot appear insensitive. However, even though Diderot used people subjected to colonialism as manipulated actors in his arguments social hierarchy in Europe, he did seem to genuinely care about the welfare of all humans. And although the Enlightenment may have failed to bring about the free- loving utopia of Diderot's Tahiti, it has still imparted upon us a legacy of idealizing tolerance and justice.

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THERESA R. DRISCOL

Protest Music of the Anti-Vietnam War Movement

The 1960s was a decade of division and discord for the United States as Americans fought for many social issues including civil rights, women's liberation, and wealth equality. The United States' escalating participation in Vietnam, however, created a divide unlike the others, with the side in opposition consisting of a diverse group of people who represented the intersectionality of the previous struggles. Popular music from the 1960s became a lens through which to view Americans' responses to the Vietnam conflict, particularly those of youth whose progressive perspectives were both amplified and inspired by the folk and rock 'n' roll music that defined the decade.⁶⁵⁹ This paper draws upon the music of this eventful decade to examine the values, attitudes, and ideas that shaped the anti-Vietnam War movement, as presented through the deliberate words of its supporters using specific literary devices to strengthen their efficacy. *The Vietnam Songbook* was compiled and edited by Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber in 1968 as a way to document and call attention to the Vietnam War protest movement;⁶⁶⁰ this and the editors' inclusive representation of anti-war songs has led to the *Songbook* being the foundation of this paper. Due to the relevance and universality of music in the 1960s, American protest songs found in *The Vietnam Songbook* were fully able to vocalize the culture of the anti-war movement in which participants urged Americans to challenge the actions of their government, question their nation's role in the international community, and ultimately to stand against the values of mainstream American society. The history of the United States in the twentieth century is filled with much conflict, resistance, and resolution, all of which have been preserved in history by the songs of the anti-war movement.

659 William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's*, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971) 235.

660 Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds., *The Vietnam Songbook*, (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 8.

The Vietnam War started to become a matter of contention for many Americans in 1965 when the United States escalated its involvement by sending thousands of U.S. Marines into Vietnam.⁶⁶¹ The conflict in Vietnam, however, had been going on for many years prior to American troops getting directly involved. Vietnam has historically struggled with gaining and maintaining its national sovereignty; varying levels of foreign occupation have been met with backlash from different independence groups leading revolutions and rebellion movements. The history of Vietnam tells of a complicated past with its people consecutively pushing back against the occupation of Chinese forces in the 1780s, resisting French colonizing efforts from the 1860s until 1954, and dealing with the threat of Japanese expansion during World War II.⁶⁶² Japan took the control of Vietnam from France, along with other regions inside the greater area of Indochina in the early 1940s, while still allowing for the preservation of French influence and administrative figures in Vietnam.⁶⁶³

In 1945, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh — a Communist revolutionary inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology — the independence movement in Vietnam was successful in taking back power of the country from the Japanese.⁶⁶⁴ The United States financially and strategically supported the efforts of Ho's Viet Minh guerilla forces as they fought against Japan.⁶⁶⁵ Before Ho had established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, President Roosevelt of the United States tried to persuade other countries to agree on placing Vietnam under an international trusteeship. Roosevelt concluded that Vietnam was not ready for self-governance and that the French were not to be trusted with reestablishing their rule over Vietnam. Vietnam, Roosevelt insisted, was “in worse condition after 100 years of French rule than it had been before the French arrived.”⁶⁶⁶ Despite Roosevelt's preference and Ho Chi Minh's success, the international community thought it would be best to return Vietnam to the French that same year, so France “resumed control, as oppressively as ever.”⁶⁶⁷

The Viet Minh fought for many more years to secure their right to self-determination. In 1954 their goal was accomplished, at least for a moment.⁶⁶⁸ At this time the Viet Minh were supported by most of Vietnamese society,

661 Charles E. Neu, *America's Lost War: Vietnam, 1945-1975*, (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2005) 84

662 Robert Buzzanco, *Vietnam and the Transformation of American Life*, (Malden: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1999) 13-14.

663 Neu, 3-4.

664 Buzzanco, 14.

665 Neu, 4.

666 Gary R. Hess, “Franklin Roosevelt and Indochina,” *The Journal of American History* 59, no. 2 (1972): 354.

667 Buzzanco, 14.

668 Buzzanco, 15

but the pattern of interference from foreign powers continued as the United States and select members of the international community ignorantly made the decision to split the country of Vietnam along its seventeenth parallel.⁶⁶⁹ In the process, these foreign powers virtually created a nation in the south called the Republic of Vietnam, which was backed by the United States in an attempt to keep the communist ideology of Ho Chi Minh isolated in the north. In 1954, President Eisenhower used the “domino thesis”⁶⁷⁰ to explain the need to deal with this threat to the “Free World” promptly:⁶⁷¹ if one domino or country fell into the clutches of communism then all the surrounding countries would fall shortly as well. As the tensions of the Cold War strengthened and America’s other foreign ventures were largely met with failure and the loss of support, President Kennedy authorized training for the southern army in Vietnam in 1961 and amped up White House payments to the southern prime minister, Ngo Dinh Diem.⁶⁷² Kennedy needed a win after the continuous losses suffered in the Cold War era, and apparently the war in Vietnam needed to be that win.

Within the context of the 1960s, the response of Americans to the war in Vietnam was a culmination of all the other movements and ideologies of the time. After World War II, America emerged as “an economic lord set far above the destroyed powers, its once and future competitors among both Allies and Axis powers.”⁶⁷³ The prosperity of the nation spurred a baby boom with more babies born from 1948-53 “than in the previous thirty years.”⁶⁷⁴ The children would go on to represent the youth counterculture of the 1960s, a generation of white children growing up with privileged lives.⁶⁷⁵ Unfortunately, while the wealth of the country increased, inequality remained quite the same, pushing many groups to demand “more progress towards the promises of prosperity.”⁶⁷⁶ The great imbalance of social and economic status at this time in the United States made the counterculture possible,⁶⁷⁷ as people could clearly see the divide between rich and poor, young and old. When the generation of youth noticed the unequal distribution of prosperity they were inspired to create this culture that appeared “out of the disintegration of the old forms, the vinyl and

669 Buzzanco, 15.

670 Neu, 21.

671 Neu, 21.

672 Buzzanco, 65.

673 Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1987) 13.

674 Gitlin, 13.

675 Russell Duncan, “The Summer of Love and Protest: Transatlantic counterculture in the 1960s,” in *The Transatlantic Sixties: Europe and the United States in the Counterculture Decade*, edited by Kosc Grzegorz, Juncker Clara, Monteith Sharon, and Waldschmidt-Nelson Britta, (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2013) 145.

676 Duncan, 144.

677 Duncan, 145

aerosol institutions that carry all the inane and destructive values of privation, competition, commercialism, profitability and elitism.⁷⁶⁷⁸

Alongside the youth counterculture, there were constant struggles for inclusion and equality from the marginalized in society. The Civil Rights Revolution was a movement to combat the “natural” order of society that had been established by white Americans throughout the nation’s history.⁶⁷⁹ The reception of the non-violent demonstrations from this movement in the 1950s would seem to foreshadow how the non-violent anti-war demonstrators would be treated in the next decade:

Rights workers did not obey the law, neither did they defend themselves. Both these responses were un-American. So was their insistence on redeeming the oppressor through love. People hate those they have wronged, and all the more so when that hate is met with love. Hence the beatings, murders, and other savageries which rights workers experienced after the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955.⁶⁸⁰

Some people found that the fight for equal rights among the races in the U.S. had a lot of similarities to the intrusion of American influence and soldiers in Vietnam. Both examples had peaceful protesters technically breaking the law in order to push back against unethical practices and policies.⁶⁸¹ Martin Luther King Jr. had discussed this issue while in an Alabama jail, where he argued that “civil disobedience — the non-violent breaking of laws — was entirely justified if the laws that were being enforced were unjust.”⁶⁸²

One of the other big events that played a part in the anti-war movement’s story was the Women’s Liberation movement. After attempts to pass legislation to solidify women’s rights in the early decades of the twentieth century,⁶⁸³ women’s issues in the United States were not protested or heard from much until the late 1960s, despite issues of discriminatory practices that continued to hold women at a lower status than men⁶⁸⁴. The fight for women’s rights once again seemed to expose a failure in the government in that the United States was supposed to be a democratic and free country, but still it held back half the population from political and social equality. Though this movement is only mentioned briefly here it is important to note, again, the connections between this one and the anti-war movement. “Properly understood liberation for women should be universal, rather

678 Buzzanco, 235-236.

679 O’Neill, 158.

680 O’Neill, 159.

681 Michael S. Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance During the Vietnam War*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003) 9.

682 Christopher Catherwood, *One Hundred Years of Protest: Everything You Need to Know*, (London: Allison & Busby Limited, 2015) 80.

683 Catherwood, 110.

684 O’Neill, 195

than just the privileged right of those fortunate to have been born in the West,⁶⁸⁵ which is a statement that can also be applied to the liberation of a country from the ongoing meddling of foreign superpowers.

The historical context of the anti-war era needs to include a discussion on the American popularity of folk music and the emergence of rock 'n' roll in the sixties. Music influenced the young people of the nation greatly and became a way to perpetuate and enjoy youth counterculture.⁶⁸⁶ Music helped people form consciousness⁶⁸⁷, as the music that played enthusiastically on new portable transistor radios reflected the culture at the time, which we are able to look back upon in the present day. Folk music aided in the politicization of youth because songs in the genre were expected to tell a story,⁶⁸⁸ and the collective story of the decade was resistance. The gentle nature of folk music contributed to the supposed familiarity of the songs, even when written with a message of protest.⁶⁸⁹ The counterculture and anti-war movements were both aided by the spread of thought-provoking folk songs, which were accepted more universally than rock 'n' roll songs within the American population because they appeared less aggressive and offensive. Although folk artists like Joan Baez maintained relevance into at least the late 1960s, rock 'n' roll music proceeded to infiltrate the United States' airwaves and found a space of belonging in the anti-war movement.⁶⁹⁰ Rock 'n' roll was taken on by many artists and fans because of the feeling it encouraged:

Rock is a music of instincts, something we all have, rather than of training, something we don't. Rock and roll, especially early rock and roll, is and wants to be amateurish; it's homemade, out-in-the-yard-and-in-the-garage music. This is not the music of ordinary working people as played by highly polished musicians; these are the ordinary people themselves. As one rock and roller has said, rock is "just an attitude. You don't have to play the greatest guitar."⁶⁹¹

People from many different classes and communities in the United States experienced a connection to rock music, perhaps because it gave everyone the feeling of having their voices heard,⁶⁹² when that might not always have been a possibility in their professional or public lives. Music, especially folk and rock 'n' roll, was the perfect medium for Americans to express their anti-war attitudes in a community of like-minded people.

685 Catherwood, 111.

686 O'Neill, 235.

687 Duncan,

688 O'Neill, 235.

689 O'Neill, 236.

690 146. Andrew Wiest, Mary Kathryn Barbier, and Glenn Robins, eds. *America and the Vietnam War: Re-Examining the Culture and History of a Generation*, (London: Routledge, 2009) 256.

691 Wiest et al., 256.

692 Wiest et al., 256.

Much of the music created during the late 1960s took on the essence of the anti-war movement, as the ridiculousness of America's involvement in the Vietnam War lent itself to artistic interpretation. Songwriters and musicians who considered themselves to be opposed to the war would frequently use literary conventions like satire, sarcasm, and parody to express their emotions on the issue and to appeal to an anti-war audience. The emotional aspect of the movement is very important to this discussion, because emotion is at the heart of protest, whether it is the emotion of love, anger, fear, sadness, or frustration. The editors of *The Vietnam Songbook*, Dane and Silber, were a great match for all these meaningful songs, as they too had personal ties to what was unfolding in the 1960s, having experience in both the American music industry and the New York leftist political community.⁶⁹³ Through the songs of the protest movement, it is evident that the people involved expressed different emotions towards the various stages of the war, depending on their values and their personal identity. It is not always clear what someone values or identifies with in the anti-war songs, but many of the song writers wore their heart on their sleeve; either way, the songs preserve the cultural consensus of resistance and objection that was formed in the anti-war movement.

The literary conventions used in the lyrics within the Songbook come across as not only a way to express strong and complex emotions, but also as a way to cope with such a tragic war. Joe McDonald, a popular psychedelic rock artist of the sixties, wrote an anti-war song called the "Fixin' To Die Rag" in which his lyrics point out how insane the war appeared to him: "So put down your books and pick up a gun, / we're gonna have a whole lot of fun. / And it's one, two, three, what are we fighting for, / Don't ask me I don't give a damn, next stop is Vietnam. / And it's five, six, seven, open up the pearly gates. / Well there ain't no time to wonder why, / Whoo-pee We're all gonna die."⁶⁹⁴ McDonald's song pokes fun at how the government did not expect or want people to look too closely into the conflict they were being conscripted for. If the citizens of the United States were to investigate the causes of the war and the alliances of their own government, they would be able to see how senseless the war really was, without even considering the actual atrocities committed in Vietnam. Joe McDonald's song portrays the sense of misdirection coming from both the secrecy of the government's motives for entering the Vietnam War and the apparent hopelessness of the situation, with statements such as, "what are we fighting for,"⁶⁹⁵ and, "We're all gonna die."⁶⁹⁶ The "Fixin' To Die Rag" was performed at Woodstock 1969 to a physically accurate representation of youth counterculture: teenagers and young adults who felt "very

693 Christopher Morris, "Irwin Silber. (Obituary)," *Daily Variety* 308, no. 51 (2010): 18.

694 Joe McDonald, "Fixin' To Die Rag," in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 56-57.

695 "Fixin' To Die Rag", 56.

696 "Fixin' To Die Rag", 56.

lost,⁶⁹⁷ coming together to relate and communicate with the help of folk and rock music and drugs. Dark humour and the sarcastic acceptance of a terrible fate were common characteristics of many anti-war songs and of youth counterculture in general.

The U.S. government believed that it had good reason to be in Vietnam, “The northern Vietnamese, they claimed, had “invaded” the country below the seventeenth parallel [into South Vietnam], thereby forcing the United States to intervene with advisers, material, and eventually combat troops.”⁶⁹⁸ We know that the U.S. had supported and financed the efforts of the North Vietnamese under Ho Chi Minh a couple decades earlier when they both shared an enemy in Japan,⁶⁹⁹ but apparently these contrasting narratives were either not known or ignored by most American citizens. Another elephant in the room that would have damaged the reasoning of the American government was that Vietnam had acted as one nation until the U.S. led the charge to separate the country at the Geneva Conference in 1954. The northern army had not invaded the south to prompt the war; to be precise, it was Vietnamese citizens in the south who spurred an opposition to their southern authority figure, Ngo Dinh Diem, against the advice of Ho Chi Minh.⁷⁰⁰ For the anti-war protesters who had gone through the effort of learning the truth about the war, there was an inclination to mock the government’s motives publicly, as demonstrated in the song “Talking Vietnam” by civil rights activist Julius Lester: ““We aren’t spreading the war, just retaliatin’. Everybody knows we’re a peace-loving nation.” The more peace the better...Peace for every man...Piece of an arm...Piece of a leg...six feet apiece...for everybody.”⁷⁰¹

The political struggle in Vietnam was a delicate situation for the United States to handle as they strove to gain control of the East’s gravitation towards communism. President Eisenhower had ignored the hesitancy of his advisers in 1954 and officially began helping Ngo Dinh Diem in his fabricated rise to power.⁷⁰² The United States had ensured that Diem was able to “form a viable government”⁷⁰³ in the south by persuading the last emperor of Vietnam to elect Diem as prime minister and by sending over American advisors to build up the army of South Vietnam.⁷⁰⁴ 1956 was set by the Geneva settlement as the year that Vietnam would hold an election to effectively determine a leader and unite the country once

697 Michael Wadleigh, dir., *Woodstock: 3 Days of Peace and Music* (Director’s Cut), 1969; (Burbank, CA: Warner Bros. Entertainment Inc., 1994.) DVD.

698 Buzzanco, 61.

699 Catherwood, 100.

700 Buzzanco, 61

701 Julius Lester, “Talking Vietnam,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 120.

702 Neu, 33.

703 Neu, 32.

704 Buzzanco, 55.

again.⁷⁰⁵ American officials predicted that Ho would easily win the leadership race in a free election because of his national popularity and support, so naturally, the southern state that the U.S. had created, “canceled the Geneva-scheduled elections and thus left Ho and his supporters in the south with little choice but to again wage a war for liberation, unification, and Vietnamese socialism.”⁷⁰⁶ The heavy influence and encouragement from the United States and the constant fear of the spread of communism resulted in their ever-growing commitment to South Vietnam and Diem. The way that Americans forced themselves into the politics of another country for their own gain left anti-war protesters with more fuel for satirical criticisms of the government. The *Songbook* contains Bill Frederick’s “Dean Rusk Song,” written satirically about Secretary of State Dean Rusk’s dialogue on foreign affairs in 1966:

Oh, once there was a savior and he lived in old Saigon.
And the people really loved our man Diem.
Cardinal Spellman gave him power, helped along by Eisenhower...
He was bloody, but he wasn’t very sharp,
‘Cause our puppet broke his string, and he thought he’d like to sing,
So we issued him a halo and a harp.⁷⁰⁷

As the warring years went on under Diem’s supposed rule, discontent among the cities in South Vietnam grew and the Viet Minh, labeled the “Viet Cong” by the south, forged a revolutionary movement largely made up of peasants from the south.⁷⁰⁸ American officials were so out of touch with the reality of the problems in Vietnam that they were seen by American protesters as ignorant people who believed, “We’re not even fightin’ for you. / We’re just fightin’, ‘cause, / We don’t know what to do,”⁷⁰⁹ relayed in the song “All The King’s Horses” by Skip Storey and Joe Mazo. Protesters regularly mocked the government for not having a reasonable motive for staying in the war, or for joining it in the first place. The United States would continue to feel obligated to stay involved in the Vietnam conflict as more money and lives were spent in foolishly trying to stop the country’s popularly backed communist ideology by force.

The aforementioned “Talking Vietnam” song attacks President Johnson for his war-related actions and speeches directly, “The President said, “We’ll fight to the death.” / Mr. President, speak for yourself...If he wants to fight, let ‘im go ahead.”⁷¹⁰ In the song, Lester particularly mocks Johnson for his inability to

705 Buzzanco, 54.

706 Buzzanco, 54-55

707 Bill Frederick, “Dean Rusk Song,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 33.

708 Neu, 39.

709 Skip Storey and Joe Mazo, “All The King’s Horses,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 35.

710 “Talking Vietnam,” 121.

place himself in the shoes of others, both metaphorically with his lack of empathy and physically by not going to war himself. President Johnson was a figure who was highly criticized by the anti-war movement, which makes sense since it was his administration that drastically increased the number of combat troops sent into Vietnam to fight the communist forces in 1965.⁷¹¹ From a progressive, anti-war perspective Johnson is an easy muse for satire, but the wider reality was that Johnson had popular support in America for his interventionist campaign in 1964 and the support for his government carried throughout Johnson's time in office.⁷¹²

Over the decades of the conflict, each U.S. president seemed to pass on a new set of problems and expectations to the next one. President Johnson took on a lot of the baggage of past presidencies when he entered office suddenly in 1963 following the assassination of President Kennedy. Less than a year after his inauguration, Johnson admitted that he did not see any value in fighting for Vietnam and he pointed out how hard it would be to exit from such a huge mess after so much had been invested in the conflict.⁷¹³ During the next election season in fall 1964, "Johnson told the voters that he was not "ready for American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys" and included the phrase "We seek no wider war" in many of his campaign speeches,"⁷¹⁴ which shows why some Americans were surprised when his actions as president showed an increase in involvement and destruction in the war.

The anti-war protesters often had something to say about the Johnson government's deceptive rhetoric and the movement's resulting distrust of such social systems. These sentiments were voiced in the *Songbook* by Tom Paxton's song "Lyndon Johnson Told The Nation": "Well, here I sit in this rice paddy, / Wondering about Big Daddy, / And I know that Lyndon loves me so; / Yet how sadly I remember / Way back yonder in November / When he said I'd never have to go."⁷¹⁵ Johnson won the 1964 election by a majority against Republican Barry Goldwater, who explicitly wanted to bomb Vietnam and was thought of as the more war-oriented of the two frontrunners.⁷¹⁶ Perhaps there would have been a different president running the United States during the height of this turmoil if Johnson had been more transparent in his campaign. Those who protested the Vietnam War certainly saw this point as a reason to expose Johnson's contradictions and encourage others to think more critically about their own government system, whether they trusted it or not.

711 Michael P. Sullivan, *The Vietnam War: A Study in the Making of American Policy*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2014. 83.

712 Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now!: American Society and the Ending of the Vietnam War*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) 15.

713 Neu, 73.

714 Neu, 81.

715 Tom Paxton, "Lyndon Johnson Told the Nation," in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 43.

716 Neu, 80.

The escalation of American entanglement in Vietnam became tangibly threatening to all Americans once Johnson authorized a dramatic increase in American troops in 1965, which led to the U.S. Selective Service drafting 170,000 men and enlisting another 180,000 of those eligible for military service in the span of about four months.⁷¹⁷ The numbers from 1965 alone are small in comparison to the terrifying fact that more than 23 million men were eligible for the draft between August 1964 and January 1973, when the United States finally exited the war.⁷¹⁸ In *The Vietnam Songbook*, co-editor Barbara Dane alleges that, “The anti-war movement’s deepest concern is ultimately the young draftee pressed into the service against his own best interests,”⁷¹⁹ explaining why such a large number of protest songs participated in discussion on the draft. Being drafted into the U.S. army did not automatically constitute deployment in Vietnam, but many men did not want to take a chance with any placement in the military, so they opted for draft deferral or resistance. When you consider that 58,721 Americans troops died in the Vietnam War by the time it officially ended in 1975,⁷²⁰ it is safe to assume that most draftees did not want to try their luck.

There were many methods of avoiding participation in the war, including manipulation of the draft system by being or acting unfit for the physical and mental strains of war, or successfully getting a deferment for family, educational or financial reasons.⁷²¹ Apparently, another way to be deemed unfit to serve was also to display communist values and/or attitudes of the anti-war movement: “If you want to beat the draft just listen to me, / Take my advice and you’ll stay free. / You don’t have to be a fairy, a dip, or a head; / All you got to do is be a red. Or act like one. You know, march on a couple of picket lines, sign a few petitions, maybe take up folksinging.”⁷²² This song, “Talking Dirty Red Draft Dodger Blues” by folk singer Eliot Kenin, uses sarcasm to poke fun at the extravagant measures that the government went through to investigate suspected communist sympathizers, as Kenin writes about the Army Intelligence and F.B.I. utilizing substantial time and effort to figure out the political motives of a man who declared that he would not sign “the oath” to enter the army.⁷²³

There were also those who tried to claim the status of “conscientious objector” because of their individual moral or religious opposition to the war; during the Vietnam War the number of American men declaring themselves a conscientious

717 Foley, 39.

718 Wiest et al., 143

719 Dane, *The Vietnam Songbook*, (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 28.

720 Bruce Dancis, *Resister: A Story of Protest and Prison during the Vietnam War*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014) 325.

721 Dancis, 1-2.

722 Eliot Kenin, “Talking Dirty Red Draft Dodger Blues,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 122.

723 “Talking Dirty Red Draft Dodger Blues,” 122.

objector was immensely greater than with previous foreign wars.⁷²⁴ To claim this status was seen as a more legal route of opposing the Vietnam War, because the men would still have obeyed the guidelines set out by the government throughout the process, which is in contrast to the anti-war protesters who would have often opposed both the war and the American government.⁷²⁵ Some men who identified as conscientious objectors still managed to get into trouble with the government,⁷²⁶ but that could have been the result of the men having completely moral-based contempt for the war, without any proven religious affiliation. Normally, if CO status was obtained, the drafted men could be placed in an alternative means of service so they would not have to participate in the violence of the Vietnam War directly.⁷²⁷ Most anti-war protesters did not fall into the CO category because of their tendency to be more active and blatant in showing their disapproval of both the war and the government.

One of the impactful groups of the anti-war movement that was known to use explicit tactics to oppose the war was the student resistance. Student participation is interesting to examine, since they were usually very involved in the anti-war movement and protests, despite often having academic deferments in place already.⁷²⁸ Starting in 1964, as the generation of youth simultaneously entered university and reached eligible age for the military, their middle-class privilege and countercultural values created the perfect environment to raise a generation of educated protesters.⁷²⁹ In some instances, the student protesters tried to invoke principles of rationalism and political discourse to support their moral opposition to the war, which can be seen in Peter Krug's song "The Ingrate," written about the state of a student who resisted the draft board:

Oh, they called me a commie, a dirty coward rat,
I said, "I don't like killing, is there something wrong with that?"
They said I have a duty, un-American to doubt.
I said, "Now let's be reasonable — " That's when they threw me out

(Chorus) "Oh, you're an ingrate,
an ingrate, you should be shot, you should be hung or some awful fate,
cause we gave you an education and all those things so great.
Now you won't even die for us you're just an old ingrate."⁷³⁰

724 Wiest et al., 143.

725 Wiest et al., 10.

726 Chris Rohmann, introduction to "The Valley of Death," in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 24.

727 Dancis, 2.

728 Catherwood, 102.

729 Catherwood, 102.

730 Peter Krug, "The Ingrate," in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 84-85

“Teach-ins” were held at universities, where thousands of students came to diplomatically discuss the Vietnam War with debates and lectures from both sides of the issue.⁷³¹ Throughout the years of war, students from many prominent universities, including The University of California at Berkeley, Harvard, and Cornell, ⁷³²created their own protests in an attempt to criticize America’s involvement in the Vietnam War. The main national organization leading the charge of student protesters was the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) who were “not willing to advocate that members give up their student deferments or take actions such as noncooperation, refusing induction, or burning draft cards,”⁷³³ though these were methods that were heavily used by the student movement. The anti-war songs that discuss the student resistance usually highlight the desire to not become a murderer in Vietnam and for the draft board and government to realize that they are not being “reasonable”.⁷³⁴

Of those who decided not to claim an academic deferment, though they had the option to, most did so to comment on the unjust drafting practices of the United States Selective Service. The academic deferment was called out as being “racially and class biased because it gave college students the opportunity to avoid the draft, an option not available to others who were not able to attend college.”⁷³⁵This assessment is historically true, as you can see the effects of America’s discriminatory drafting practices when considering the “disproportionate numbers of working-class, poor, and minority men”⁷³⁶ who were enlisted in the war. The draft was hardly a real threat for those who could afford higher education and its accompanying deferments. Even before the war in Vietnam became a concern for Americans, minorities in the country, particularly black communities, had been struggling for centuries to gain respect, independence, fair treatment, and other civil liberties. Many minorities were part of the anti-war movement because they could empathize with the inhumane treatment of Vietnamese people under the hand of the Eurocentric United States of America. There were many songs written by black artists who put the frustration they felt from the war into their lyrics, such as with the song “Genocide” by Len Chandler: “Well, now, it’s not only in the south / That they try to put a gag in freedom’s mouth, / But that gag is wearing thin this whole world wide.”⁷³⁷ “Genocide” was a rewritten version of Chandler’s song “We Will Not Bow Down to Genocide,” created in support of the civil rights movement. The song’s reference to freedom suggests that the U.S. government was trying to keep freedom from the Vietnamese people, as well as from black

731 Buzzanco, 95.

732 Foley, 49 and Catherwood, 102.

733 Dancis, 51.

734 “The Ingrate,” 85.

735 Dancis, 47.

736 Foley, 50

737 Len Chandler, “Genocide,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 81.

people in America, which represents the people of the anti-war movement who believed in Vietnam's right to autonomy.

The theme of white power dominating both America and Vietnam was a key issue for black Vietnam War protesters, displayed in the *Songbook* by a quote from Edward Oquendo, a black draft resister, who stated, "As a black man I refuse to serve in whitey's army. I am 19 years old. I have lived in the black ghetto all my life, attended segregated schools, experienced racial discrimination in employment...I object to the war in Vietnam...It is a war on people of color. And I am a colored man."⁷³⁸ In 1966, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) actively encouraged the black population of America to support the fight of the Vietnamese revolutionaries, and in 1967 Martin Luther King Jr. recited a speech in which he, "chastised the American government as "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today." His speech was also an effort to humanize the Vietnamese."⁷³⁹ Many black people recognized the hypocrisy that lay in America's efforts to spread the wonders of democracy in the East at a time when the supposed democracy that existed in the United States effectively undermined the power of any citizen that was not white, rich, or a man.⁷⁴⁰ While John F. Kennedy was a senator in 1956, he spoke of Vietnam as the "offspring"⁷⁴¹ of the United States, as if the country could not function properly on its own, similar to how white society thought that black people in America needed more rules and regulations in order to behave in the correct manner. This again shows that the racist structuring of American society and politics had always affected American's view of Vietnam. The literal question of Vietnam being more of a war against race than ideology is brought up in Fred Gardner's song "Is It A Race War?" with the satirical representation of a Pentagon official: "We're fighting for right, not because we are white / And the enemy happens to be yellow — / And slanty eyed, sneaky and sly / And only about four and a half feet high."⁷⁴² The race-based foundation of the war is an observation that the anti-war movement spoke about with little restraint, since they saw it as an underlying motive for the Vietnam War, as shown in, "Is It A Race War?"

Surprisingly, soldiers were also involved in the anti-war protests and their perspectives were sometimes valued by the American public more than the protests of those who rejected the war and government altogether. The Fort Hood Three was a trio of active-duty soldiers who resisted their orders to serve in Vietnam

738 Edward Oquendo, introduction to "I Won't Fight Another Man's War," in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 78.

739 Wiest et al., 125-127.

740 Buzzanco, 91-92.

741 Neu, 36

742 Fred Gardner, "Is It A Race War?" in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 89.

and were court-martialed in 1966⁷⁴³. The trio consisted of David Samas, Dennis Mora, and James Johnson who thought themselves representative of a “cross section of the Army and of America”⁷⁴⁴ because they were Americans who came from three different ethnic backgrounds. These men stood by their belief that the Vietnam War was “immoral, illegal, and unjust,”⁷⁴⁵ which made them an icon in the anti-war movement, as they proved that even people who normally supported the American military and government could oppose the Vietnam War. An interesting composition in the *Songbook* that was inspired by the Fort Hood Three is a parody of “The Ballad of the Green Berets” — the single most popular song in the USA in 1966, exaggerating the traditional American values of god, family, country, and war⁷⁴⁶. The parody is written by Grace Mora Newman, who is the sister of the Fort Hood soldier Dennis Mora,⁷⁴⁷ and she writes, “Side by side we walk as men. / Brothers one until the end. / Black and White we think alike. / We will save but not take lives. / For all those who heed our cause, / Tell the world we’re not alone. / Rally ‘round and help us win / Stand with us and we’ll all come home.”⁷⁴⁸The original Ballad focuses on making a hero of the soldiers who fought in the Vietnam War, and in contrast, the parody makes a hero of the soldiers who did the opposite. Newman’s song will forever tell the world the story of her brother and of the other American soldiers who resisted the Vietnam War on the basis of morality and human dignity.

Soldiers who had previously served in World War II or the Vietnam War and lived to tell the tale were also part of the movement. In one specific march on the White House in 1966, American veterans showed their refusal to support the Vietnam War by turning in various memorabilia and documents of their war experiences given to them by the United States government⁷⁴⁹. The participation of war veterans in the anti-war movement brought in the insight of men who had originally been obedient to the American government, but had cut off that support when the government chose to put itself at the forefront of a civil war that America realistically knew little to nothing about. There were numerous songs written about the irrational trust that American citizens had in their government, including “A Soldier’s Lament” by Vietnam War veteran Richard C. Peet, recounting, “They say our cause is right, / And so willingly I fight, / No matter what the bitter odds

743 Dancis, 64.

744 James Johnson, David Samas, and Dennis Mora, introduction to “Ballad of the Fort Hood Three,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969), 82.

745 Buzzanco, 93..

746 Duncan, 147.

747 “Dennis Mora’s Sister to Work for Peace,” 1967, Manuscript/Mixed Material, <https://www.loc.gov/item/powmia/pw083017/>.

748 Grace Mora Newman, “Fort Hood Three,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 126

749 Buzzanco, 93.

may be.”⁷⁵⁰ Veterans were usually considered pro-war because they had already participated in a war, however, the decision to support a war largely depended on the motives that the government possessed for a specific war, which is probably why the United States gave little information to the public regarding the reality of the situation in Vietnam.

The conscience of the soldier was often debated in anti-war discussions, because some felt that the men serving in Vietnam had decided to do so freely, but others saw the soldiers as being led astray by the U.S. government. Most anti-war songs agreed with the concept that soldiers had control of their own participation in the war, or at least that they were branded with a bad reputation if they did not protest America’s involvement in some way. In song and history alike, the Mexican-American War has been invoked as being somewhat of a historical equivalent to the Vietnam War, where soldiers marched “against their common sense and consciences”⁷⁵¹ out of respect for the wishes of the government. As with the court of law, anti-war music frequently referenced cases in history that were similar to the Vietnam War in order to persuade Americans to look beyond their own lives and consider the consequences of the war on a greater scale. “What Are You Doing Out There?” by Mortimer Frankel is based on the question posed by Henry David Thoreau when he was jailed for choosing not to support the American government’s unjust war in Mexico: “‘I’m opposin’ this dirty, this devilish war, / And what are you doin’ out there?’ / When mischief is brewin’, when love comes to ruin, / The heart has its burdens to bear. / This evil, God knows, it is time to oppose it, / So what are you doin’ out there?’”⁷⁵² Frankel’s song communicates the emotions of confusion and disgust commonly felt by the protesters in response to the U.S. soldiers and citizens who exhibited blind patriotism even in the face of America’s glaringly unethical treatment of the conflict and people in Vietnam.

Pessimistic song writers saw the problem of blind patriotism as fueling the criminal actions of American soldiers in Vietnam because, “If you take the gun they give you / then you know you’ve got to kill / If you take the gun they give you / There’ll be blood you’ll have to spill / if you take the gun they give you / even against your will / you may end up dead / or you may end up alive / but you’ll be a murderer still.”⁷⁵³ This song, “If You Take The Gun” composed by Lewis Allen, portrays the American soldiers in Vietnam as being obedient to a fault, which is the sentiment that prompted another historical connection, this time in the somewhat widespread comparison of American soldiers to Nazi soldiers. “It was American

750 Richard C. Peet, “A Soldier’s Lament,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 23.

751 Foley, 19

752 Mortimer Frankel, “What Are You Doing Out There?” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 108-109.

753 Lewis Allen, “If You Take The Gun,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 94.

bombs which were the closest thing to an immoral equivalent of Auschwitz in our lifetimes,”⁷⁵⁴ writes an analyst of the sixties. The comparison of these two wars and government organizations is not all that much of a stretch because even President Johnson himself liked to use references towards the Nazis, such as when he expressed a personal longing for American youth to “develop as much fanaticism about the U.S. political system as young Nazis did about their system during the war.”⁷⁵⁵ As with the other representations of the anti-war movement’s history in music, the connection between Nazi Germany and the general American public during the Vietnam War was not missed by song writers. “We Didn’t Know,” another song by Tom Paxton, utilizes a sarcastic tone in order to reveal the horrors of a complicit society:

It was Hitler and his crew that tore the German nation down.
We saw the cattle cars it’s true, and maybe they carried a Jew or two.
They woke us up as they rattled through, but what did you expect me to do?...

The President’s such a peaceful man,
I guess he’s got some kind of plan
They say we’re torturing prisoners of war,
But I don’t believe that stuff no more...
I wish this war was over and through,
But what do you expect me to do?⁷⁵⁶

Following World War II, Americans tended to think of themselves as a force for good in the world,⁷⁵⁷ and this led to a blurring of the lines between old reputations and new ones. The looming consequences of a complicit society were very prominent during the Vietnam War, with the majority of Americans continually voicing their support for the troops, their disdain for the war protesters or just keeping their mouths shut.⁷⁵⁸ During the 1960s, the part of American society that simply went along with the government’s rosy idea of the war was labelled the “silent majority”; they did not noticeably rise up and protest in favour of the war until the 1970s.⁷⁵⁹ It is hard to tell which state of political involvement was disliked more by the anti-war movement.

The American government’s lack of hesitation to send so many innocent men to their very-possible deaths created a lot of negative emotion in the population,

754 Gitlin, 25.

755 Lyndon B. Johnson, in the introduction for “The Ingrate,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 84.

756 Tom Paxton, “We Didn’t Know,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 118-119.

757 Gitlin, 25

758 .Jeffreys-Jones, 15.

759 Catherwood, 104.

uniting war protesters and supporters with a common concern. In the decades after World War II, which claimed many American lives, the trauma of senseless war was still present in many individuals and families.⁷⁶⁰ A number of the anti-war songs produced during this time reflected the morbidity and solemnity of the situation, like in “The Killing Ground” written by Bruce Phillips: “The train pulls away, / You can hear the drum-roll sound, / Another young boy goin’ to the killin’ ground.../ The newspapers tell / Of a funeral, and soon / The old men meet together / Up in the judgement room. / They look up and down the register / To see who may be found / To take a young boy’s place out on the killin’ ground.”⁷⁶¹ Though the general population of Americans supported the war,⁷⁶² the tragedy of the war was felt by almost every person in the country, no matter where they lay on the political spectrum.⁷⁶³

The greatest tragedy of the Vietnam War was quite possibly something that most Americans could not have been bothered to learn about, and that is the upheaval of Vietnamese society and the simultaneous destruction of the people and land of Vietnam. By looking into the protest songs of the 1960s from the *Songbook*, we can tell that the anti-war movement tried to hold the American government accountable for what they did in Vietnam by openly mocking the government’s foreign policy and their inclination to kill first, ask questions later. Within the lyrics of “Beware: Here Comes Friends,” Richard Kohler uses irony to comment on the foreign policy of the Johnson administration, stating, “Vice President Humphrey is so very nice, / He smile to see de GI’s burn de people and dey rice.../ When de U.S. comes into a foreign land, / De prisons and de cemeteries start to expand.”⁷⁶⁴ The American public’s disregard for the lives of Vietnamese people was amplified by the government’s ability to blame most mistakes on the decisions of South Vietnamese officials,⁷⁶⁵ since the United States was technically supposed to be supporting, not leading, the actions of the South Vietnam government.

Protesters held onto the conviction that the U.S. government was the puppeteer of the destruction, seen through all the songs humanizing Vietnam and exposing American foreign policy. James H. Bowden wrote music about the delusional state of the United States, declaring in “Do You Believe The Johnson Line” that, “Our foreign aid means death by fire They were better off before. / If we must burn some babies, / To save democracy, Well that’s just fine We’ll hold the line / And

760 Ruth Jacobs, “Alice Was Her Name,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 31..

761 Bruce Phillips, “The Killing Ground,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 98.

762 Catherwood, 104.

763 Foley, 13

764 Richard Kohler, “Beware: Here Come Friends,” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 101.

765 Jeffrey-Jones, 14.

keep those bodies free.”⁷⁶⁶ The song accentuates the notion that the lives of the Vietnamese were insignificant to the American government, though they claimed to be saving the people of Vietnam from the communist northern forces.⁷⁶⁷ It is remarkable that the United States thought they could get away with convincing the whole world that they were helping Vietnam by forcing democracy in a country that overwhelmingly would have voted for Ho Chi Minh to be the country’s leader if the 1956 elections had happened like they were supposed to. Before the 1960s, Americans knew little of Vietnam since globalization was not so prominent or strong, but the war stimulated people to learn about the country,⁷⁶⁸ although it appeared like those who had knowledge of the history and culture in Vietnam were part of the opposition to the war. Protest songs in the *Songbook* offered informative accounts of Vietnam’s war and people, like in the song “Who’s In Charge of Killing In Vietnam?” by Jim Bowden,⁷⁶⁹ where there are references to the “C.I.A. decree” that helped form the Diem government, the fact that the “peasants didn’t like Diem,” the coup in Vietnam that “killed / Diem and all his gang,” and “flaming napalm gel” bombs from America.

The United States made a mistake in assuming that democracy is naturally good for all countries and their citizens. It turned out that the democratic government installed in South Vietnam with America’s insistence was “in fact an authoritarian regime run by Diem and members of his family.”⁷⁷⁰ Diem’s brother even admitted in the early years of the war that the U.S., “helps us with a lot of money but doesn’t know anything about Vietnamese affairs.”⁷⁷¹ Many members of the anti-war movement had suspected or understood the American government’s ignorance and endorsed slogans such as “Ballots Not Bombs in Vietnam”⁷⁷² and “Self-Determination for Vietnam”,⁷⁷³ among others trying to persuade the government to withdraw from Vietnam in order to protect American and Vietnamese people. A poem written by an anonymous American G.I. included in the *Songbook* hits home the idea that the government convinced its citizens and itself that America knew what was best for Vietnam, before looking into the perspectives and opinions of the people they were reportedly trying to save:

Come the man, filled with doubt,
Knowing not what this war’s about.

766 James H. Bowden, “Do You Believe The Johnson Line?” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 71.

767 Buzzanco, 61.

768 Dane, Foreword to *The Vietnam Songbook*, (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 7

769 Jim Bowden, “Who’s In Charge of Killing In Vietnam?” in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 112-113.

770 Neu, 34.

771 Neu, 39.

772 Gitlin, 181.

773 Gitlin, 181

Intruded upon a people's land,
And lived to see his freedom banned.
To his surprise, he is treated well,
By the very people he came to kill.
They let him learn of his wayward way,
And taught him things from day to day.
He slowly begins to comprehend
What the people he attacked are trying to defend.
They are the freedoms for which his forefathers died,
Two centuries ago on that bloody hillside.
Independence and freedom, you hear them shout.
Now, he certainly knows what that's all about.⁷⁷⁴

The G.I.'s poem, though not specifically a protest song, needs to be included in this discussion because of its relevance and the way it connects a soldier's experience in Vietnam to the ideas being pushed by the anti-war movement back in America at the time. The movement was always concerned with the lives of American and Vietnamese people.

The anti-Vietnam War movement was able to provide a platform for the collective and individual voices of both the socially marginalized and socially privileged, particularly in the form of music because of its universality, helping the collection of protest songs in *The Vietnam Songbook* to produce less bias and selectivity when examining the entirety of the anti-war experience. Through music, the movement was supplemented by people of different ages, race, military status, academic standing, and political positioning. Nonetheless, the consistent support for America's involvement in Vietnam from the majority of citizens in the United States enabled the war to become "the nation's longest armed conflict."⁷⁷⁵ The protest movement stuck to their guns, figuratively of course, and ensured that the American government was continuously challenged and checked on their behaviour until eventually President Nixon was able to pull all American troops from Vietnam completely by 1975.⁷⁷⁶ The protest music examined in this paper provides the world with insight into the anti-war movement, as portrayed by the people who started, furthered, and ended it. Music was one of the most impactful and relatable forms of communication during the 1960s, which, when combined with the influence of all the prior movements of the decade, inspired the overwhelming embrace of music by the Vietnam War protesters.

774 "Precious Freedom," from side note in *The Vietnam Songbook*, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds. (New York: The Guardian, 1969) 54.

775 Jeffreys-Jones, 15.

776 Catherwood, 105.

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LIBERAL STUDIES

KALEY JUVONEN

Smoke Signals: Examining the Causes of Vaping Through an Interdisciplinary Lens

Electronic nicotine delivery devices (ENDS) are battery-powered electronic devices that deliver nicotine in the form of heated vapour (Emery et al., 2014, p. 17). Vaping is when you use ENDS that vaporize a nicotine solution which is then inhaled, or ‘vaped’ by the user (Lucherini et al., 2018, p. 1037). Vaping devices were introduced to the US market in 2007 as aids for smoking cessation and have since become popular among youth and young adults, likely because of their enticing flavours and perceived lack of negative health effects (Dinardo & Rome, 2019, p. 789). Over recent years, electronic cigarette use has surpassed all other tobacco products considered (Owusu et al., 2019, p. 256). In Canada, 37% of Canadians aged 16-19 tried vaping in 2018, compared to 29% in 2017 (Grégoire, 2019, p. E114). Between 2017 and 2018, the prevalence of current e-cigarette use among US high-school students increased from 12% to 21% (Tan et al., 2019, p. 366). In 2019, more than 5 million US middle and high school students reported current use (at least once in the past 30 days) of e-cigarettes and other ENDS, and nearly one million students cited daily use (Zeller, 2020, p. 772).

This recent spike has caused many researchers alarm, as more and more research on potential negative health effects of vaping are becoming known. Nicotine exposure during adolescence could harm brain development and lead to a number of long-term and long-lasting health effects, including nicotine addiction (Zeller, 2020, p. 772). Evidence is emerging that vaping may introduce high levels of dangerous chemicals into the body and cause severe lung injury and death (Dinardo & Rome, 2019, p. 789). However, a new lung disease is not the only adverse effect of vaping, as an acute nicotine overdose syndrome has also been identified (Grégoire, 2019, p. E113). There are studies that have linked e-cigarette ‘vaping’ sessions to onset of eosinophilic and lipid inducing pro-

inflammatory mediators in human lung tissue and mouse models, and there is also concern over vaping being a gateway to tobacco and marijuana use (Dinardo & Rome, 2019, p. 789; Narang et al., 2015, p. 385A). Even with all of this information, the long-term health effects of inhaling liquid flavouring chemicals and nicotine are still essentially unknown (Sindelar, 2020, p. e54(1)). This sudden increase combined with the emerging health effects related to vaping concerns researchers over the cause(s) of this spike, and what can be done to stop it.

There are currently more adolescents and young adults vaping than there are smoking conventional tobacco products (eg. traditional cigarettes) (Cressey, 2015, p. 267). People from different areas of expertise have begun to provide different reasons for this sudden increase, ranging from advertising and depictions of vapes/vaping in different forms of media, the public's general beliefs relating to health claims, and debates over the efficacy of current laws and regulations in place to deter young people from vaping. This paper will look at the sudden increase of vaping among youth, focusing on the causes behind such a sudden spike in recent years, before integrating insights from the chosen disciplines to gain an interdisciplinary understanding of the problem.

Step 1: State the Focus Question

The question this paper sets out to answer is, “What has caused such a sudden increase of ENDS use (in lieu of traditional tobacco products) among youth?” and must be looked at from different disciplines to gain a comprehensive understanding. This is important as there is growing concern over vaping being a gateway to smoking other traditional forms of tobacco (eg. cigarettes), as well as any health effects that are as of yet unknown. If this is the case, it is important to figure out what the direct causes of this increase is so that it can be reduced if possible. If this is not the case, it is still important to determine the causes of such an increase as the dangers of vaping itself has been called more and more into question as emerging evidence suggests that ENDS are not as ‘harmless’ as they were once thought to be.

Initially researchers were not worried about this issue as, when ENDS products were first introduced, they were advertised as a healthier alternative to smoking traditional cigarettes, when the reality is that health effects were relatively unknown at the time of their introduction. Since then, research has failed to convince the general public that that is not the case. For this reason, it is important to question any assumptions that have been made about vaping throughout the years, using multiple disciplines to adequately understand all the research that is currently available. Ultimately this project seeks to determine the exact causes of this sudden increase of youth vaping, as well as learn about any negatives associated with vaping, as they are important in determining the types of regulations that should be in place.

Step 2: Justify Using an Interdisciplinary Approach

To analyze a problem through an interdisciplinary perspective we must rely on two things, disciplinary insights (within disciplines) and the integration of those insights (Cook, 2021). This approach is necessary for this issue as it is clear from the question itself that multiple disciplines will be needed to gain a proper understanding of the topic. The question I am attempting to answer is complex and focuses on the causes related to a sudden increase of youth vaping, while also looking at health risks to determine proper regulations, we can see the disciplines of medicine and political science jump out immediately, with the disciplines of history, psychology, and sociology possibly being relevant (though this remained unsure until the literature searches). The discipline of political science could give us information on laws and regulations surrounding ENDS, as the strictness of rules could be a factor in an individual deciding whether they are going to start vaping or not. Additionally, the discipline of medicine will give us valuable information of potential health risks surrounding vaping, which would in turn give reason for why laws and regulations are even needed in the first place. It could also be that the assumptions about health risks (mainly, that there aren't any) are leading young people to try vaping because it is assumed to be harmless, or at least less harmful than traditional cigarettes. As of yet there has been no comprehensive study on the topic, and no single discipline will be able to address the problem to such an extent as they are only looking at the problem from their sole disciplinary angle. Clearly by looking at this problem from multiple perspectives and integrating them we may find the specific reasons that vaping has become so popular among youth recently, while also providing more medical information so that it is clear why the causes are important.

Steps 3 and 4: Identify Relevant Disciplines and Conduct a Literature Search

Before we can delve into the causes surrounding this issue, it is important to determine which disciplines will be necessary to answer our question, and which disciplines will not be useful (Cook, 2021). Initially the disciplines thought to be relevant were psychology, sociology, political science, and history, however this changed after the first literature search. The discipline of psychology focuses on the nature of human behaviour, and the internal and external factors that affect that behaviour, so it was assumed that this discipline would be useful in determining any sort of internal or external reasons for an individual to begin vaping (Repko, 2017, p. 135). The discipline of sociology looks at the social nature of societies and of human interactions within them, so it was assumed that insights from this discipline could reveal any societal norms/expectations that influenced an individual's decision to begin vaping (Repko, 2017, p. 135). The discipline of political science looks at the nature and practise of systems of government and of individuals and groups pursuing power within those systems, so it was assumed

that this discipline would provide information on the laws and regulations in place for the vape industry (Repko, 2017, p. 135). The discipline of history studies the people, events, and movements of human civilizations past and present, so it was assumed that this discipline would be useful by comparing the past practises of the tobacco industry to the current practises being used in the vaping industry, to see if the same tactics are being used (Repko, 2017, p. 135). Using these assumptions as a foundation, the first literature search was conducted.

This initial literature search revealed that history was not going to be a relevant discipline moving forward. There is no benefit in comparing traditional cigarettes to e-cigarettes for two reasons: 1) e-cigarettes can be used as a smoking cessation aid, whereas traditional cigarettes cannot be used in such a fashion, and 2) the health risks of traditional cigarettes are better understood (due to the length of time they have been around) and more widely known than health risks surrounding vaping, specifically when looking at long-term effects. There is no use in comparing past research on traditional cigarettes to e-cigarettes when the products themselves do not serve the same function, and the assumptions about both products are incredibly different. Furthermore, it would be impossible to compare the advertising practises used for traditional cigarettes to the advertising practices used for e-cigarettes since society has changed so drastically since their inception. Though current advertising for vapes has been compared to the advertising practices utilized in the past, the mediums being used are incredibly different (eg. television commercials vs. social media posts) and there is no guarantee that the messages are being received by the audience in the same way, so it would be impractical to rely on past practices to explain current behaviour. For these reasons the discipline of history was ultimately decided to be left out from future research.

In addition to weeding out an irrelevant discipline, the initial literature search revealed a discipline that *became* relevant, the discipline of medicine. This discipline revealed important insights related to health risks associated with vaping, which is important because there are many who wonder why further research is even necessary, given the assumption that vaping is healthy/healthier than smoking traditional cigarettes. Even if we ignore the fact that ENDS have not been on the market for that long, making any long-term data impossible to collect, there is currently existing data that proves there are risks to vaping, challenging the assumption that it is 'harmless'. Given all of this it is clear why this discipline's perspective should be taken into account, as any health risks associated (or *not* associated) with vaping could be a factor in an individual's decision to begin vaping. Therefore, the medical discipline is essential in analyzing the problem from an interdisciplinary perspective.

After successive literature searches it was decided that the most relevant disciplines to the problem are psychology, sociology, political science, and medicine. Each discipline was chosen because it provides a valuable perspective that would be missed if it was not included. Psychology provided us with some

possible internal and external causes for behaviour, giving us insight into the minds of both those who partake, and do not partake, in vaping. Sociology provided insights into the minds of young people who vape as well as those who do not, and their perceptions surrounding it. These are valuable perspectives as they allow us to see the world through their eyes, which in turn helps us understanding their reasons for vaping. Political science provided important information on the difficulties surrounding the creation of laws related to vaping, revealing the complexity that comes with enacting fair policies. Medicine gives us information on what is currently known about the health effects related to vaping. These four disciplines are all necessary in order to gain a complete understanding of all the different perspectives there are related to vaping among youth.

Step 5: Develop Adequacy in Each Relevant Discipline

Once the disciplines most relevant to the problem are selected, it is essential to gain a sufficient understanding on the insights of each discipline before working to integrate them. Simply put, the next step is to develop adequacy in each of the chosen disciplines (Cook, 2021).

The overall perspectives of the most relevant disciplines on vaping among youth (and why there is cause for concern) are as follows:

- Psychology focuses on the many different explanations that an individual may consider beginning vaping, finding mostly external influences in the literature. Much of the information centers around the vape industry's effects on youth vaping, with advertising practises targeting younger generations, perhaps with the intention of gaining lifelong customers or, if some believe, to use vaping as a gateway drug to other types of tobacco products. Applied to the issue of a sudden increase of youth vaping, this suggests that the vape industry's practises may be influencing the behaviour of these young vapers, whether consciously or not.
- Sociology looks at different social norms surrounding vaping, and how youth interpret these norms/assumptions to influence their behaviour. Through this discipline we hear from vapers and non-vapers alike, gaining valuable perspectives from people who decided to vape and those who did not. Much of the literature looks at the different types of approaches there are to vaping, with two major types emerging: the 'Cloud Chaser' and 'The Substitute'. By understanding the different approaches to vaping, as well as the assumptions individuals have about vaping, we can begin to understand causes for vaping initiation that may not be obvious to someone on the outside looking in.
- Political Science mainly focuses on the laws and regulations being proposed or implemented by different governments as a response to information concerned over the health effects of vaping. As it is no longer seemingly harmless

governments were tasked with finding ways to restrict children and young people from vaping when they otherwise would not, while also keeping vaping available as a smoking cessation aid. Additionally, this discipline ties into the vape industry's influence as it tries to deter anyone from making restrictions too harsh (actually behaving similarly to the tobacco industry before traditional cigarettes were more heavily regulated).

- Medicine gives us important information surrounding the different health effects that vaping can have, sometimes specifically concerned with what happens when you *start* vaping at a young age. This ties into the sudden increase of vaping as it stands to reason that youth today who are unaware of the negative consequences would be more likely to try vaping than someone who was informed about them would. Even given the information available, there is still a lack of evidence concerning long-term effects that would be impossible to find given the recent nature of ENDS products being on the market, especially on such a large scale.

Though all four disciplines are relevant to the problem, the disciplines of psychology and sociology will likely be the most helpful since they are looking at direct causes, and asking the people directly involved for their thoughts. The disciplines of political science and medicine are important as their actions (or lack of actions) could be influential factors on youth making the decision to start vaping, given the answers provided by the individuals in the sociology literature. Medicine specifically provides information relevant to why exactly we should be worried about this issue, as any sort of negative health effects are undoubtedly important enough for researchers to be worried about young people engaged in such an activity. While political science and medicine are both essential to understanding the issue, the disciplines that will be able to give insight into what youth actually think are the disciplines of psychology and sociology. It is important to note that through the interdisciplinary process some of these insights may become more or less important than others and may be subject to change.

Step 6: Analyze the Problem and Evaluate Each Insight Into It

Since each of the most relevant disciplines for this project only manage to focus on a part of the problem, it is important to understand how each discipline relates to the research question. Analyzing each theory's explanation for the cause(s) of the sudden increase of youth vaping will form an essential foundation that is needed for the integration process (Cook, 2021). The table below will look at the overall perspectives that each discipline has.

Table 1.1 Identifying Disciplinary Perspectives on the Issue

Most Relevant Disciplines	Perspective on the Issue in General Terms
Psychology	Finds mostly external influences as reasons for such an increase in youth vaping recently, focusing on the vape industry’s advertising practises and their effect.
Sociology	Finds that peoples’ assumptions about vaping, whether correct or incorrect, can influence their decision to start vaping. Also looks at the different approaches that people can have toward vaping, and performativity seems linked to a young person’s decision to begin vaping.
Political Science	Details the difficulties of creating vaping laws, especially when the vape industry tries to keep strict forms of regulation from being put into place.
Medicine	Finds negative health effects that are cause for concern among researchers, especially when long-term effects are still unknown, Details the different health effects currently known in relation to vaping, specifically in relation to youth.

The Insights of Psychology

Psychology typically focuses on the nature of human behaviour, and the internal and external factors that affect that behaviour (Repko, 2017, p. 135). When applying this perspective to the problem we can find similarities and trends in the literature.

The main similarity that the majority of the literature covers is that of advertising practices for vaping, tied in with social media exposure since the vape industry has seemingly realized the importance of advertising on those platforms. US adults are being exposed to e-cigarette marketing on the internet and in social media networks, but the exposure to, searching for, and sharing of e-cigarette information differs by demographics, which indicates that marketing differentially targets specific population groups (Emery et al., 2014, p. 24). Marketing has the ability to shape consumer behaviour, often without our awareness, so if marketing is disproportionately targeting youth there is concern over the affect that could have on their decision making (Padon et al., 2018, p. 954). Though the vape industry may deny it, findings indicate that adolescents are indeed the target market for e-cigarette advertisements (Struik et al., 2020, p. 6).

Advertisements emphasize e-cigarettes as a solution to maintain nicotine dependence by portraying them as an innovative way to get the nicotine fix most commonly associated with cigarettes, but this is as unfair comparison given the fact

that most e-cigarette pods contain up to three times the amount of nicotine compared to a pack of combustible cigarettes (Struik et al., 2020, p. 6). About 80% of adult smokers are addicted before the age of 21, with youth also showing dependency symptoms earlier and at lower levels of nicotine use than adults (Glauser, 2019, p. E173). Since nicotine is a gateway drug (in the way that it lowers the threshold for addiction to other agents) the use of ENDS products could help spawn even more opioid addiction, especially since youth seem to get addicted earlier and at lower levels than adults (Drazen et al., 2019, p. 680). Given the literature it is clear that the younger an individual begins vaping, the higher the likelihood that they will become addicted to nicotine, possibly trying other substances later in life.

There is growing evidence that the reasons to begin vaping are changing, as evidenced by studying social media posts and google searches. One study found more tweets suggesting that vaping is health-*enhancing* than tweets about vaping as a smoking cessation tool (Basáñez et al., 2018, p. 151). This study found that, on Twitter (using tweets posted from January to March 2017 that included healthy food terms) there were nine times more tweets conveying the notion that e-cigarettes have health enhancing properties (9%) than tweets claiming that e-cigarettes can be used to quit smoking (1%) (Basáñez et al., 2018, p. 151-152). Google searches for ENDS for quitting smoking have been on the decline, supporting the conclusion that cessation is declining as a reason for vaping (Ayers et al., 2017, p. 4). This could be because many adolescents actually ridicule traditional cigarettes for being outdated, so they do not begin smoking combustible cigarettes in the first place when ENDS products are seen as “almost harmless” (Narang et al., 2015, p. 6; Glauser, 2019, p. E172).

A study that set out to characterize vaping posts on Instagram found that a large portion of vaping-related images shared on the platform depict e-liquids of e-juices, with numerous forms of highly appealing product packaging and related accessories also identified in the data set (Ketonen & Malik, 2020, p. 5). The study also found that an overwhelming amount of content related to vaping on Instagram depicted positive sentiments and attitudes towards vaping, while the negative facet was mostly absent (Ketonen & Malik, 2020, p. 6). A different study (analyzing Instagram posts containing e-liquid related hashtags) found that e-liquid manufacturers and vendors use marketing strategies like cartoons to appeal to customers and potential customers (Allem et al., 2019, p. 2). E-liquid marketing is focused on promoting flavours, which is known to enhance appeal and intentions to use the products, compared to advertisements for non-flavoured products (Allem et al., 2019, p. 2). Given the age limit of 13 years to create an account of Instagram, these types of posts could potentially expose the vulnerable cohort to an array of products meant for adult use only, while also associating positive attitudes to the products (Ketonen & Malik, 2020, p. 6).

Instagram is not the only social media platform where vaping messages are being promoted. On Twitter it was found that price promotions for e-cigarettes are

thriving, with price promotions for tobacco products regulated by the FDA being far less common than price promotions for e-cigarettes (Jo et al., 2016, p. 478). This lack of regulation gives the vape industry an advantage over the tobacco industry in their marketing practices, which could be why vapes are being used more than combustible cigarettes in recent years. Additionally, the promotion of flavoured e-liquids and images of colourful vape pens is similar to the posts present on Instagram, with very few tweets advertising vaping as a cessation aid (Sowles et al., 2016, p. 4). Messages promoting vaping as a healthier alternative to smoking, or as a quitting aid, only accounted for 3% of the advertising tweets (Sowles et al., 2016, p. 5). Perhaps the reason using vapes as a smoking cessation aid has declined in recent years is due to advertisements shifting their messages from smoking cessation to glorifying the use of ENDS.

E-cigarettes have not received enough attention in terms of its importance in the media, even though the amount of coverage has been growing (Sun et al., 2018, p. 1). ENDS news reports have typically focused on the West (eg. the USA and Britain), with some potential hotspots of overlooked activity in places like Egypt and Russia (Ayers et al., 2018, p. 10). There is almost no published research on ENDS in Egypt, Russia, Ukraine, and Paraguay even though these are hotspots of ENDS news reporting and, potentially, areas of ENDS market growth (Ayers et al., 2018, p. 11). Even though e-cigarettes have received growing attention over recent years, media coverage on the whole is imbalanced across time and media platforms (Sun et al., 2018, p. 7). Perhaps this is why different people can have different assumptions about e-cigarettes, as where you get your information clearly affects the quality of the content.

In addition to the use of advertisements and social media to promote ENDS, there were other external factors that could come into play when an individual is deciding whether to take up vaping. These were not seen as trends throughout the literature, and instead were usually only touched on in the articles that set out to study the specific phenomena. Articles studying trends found that the most common characteristics of adolescent e-cigarette users was that they were older in age, male gender, conventional smokers, were influenced by peers, smoked daily, and were heavier smokers (Perikleous et al., 2018, p. 1). One study found that, despite a decline in past-month use of traditional cigarettes (from 2011-2015), there was also a large increase in past-month e-cigarette use during that same period, raising the possibility of product substitution (Chaffee et al., 2017, p. 11). Another found associations between *parental* vaping and youth smoking and youth vaping, suggesting the possibility that familial use could be a draw for youth who grow up watching their parents use ENDS products (Green et al., 2020, p. 8). Another looked at where people vape, raising concerns over normalizing vaping in public spaces, while simultaneously finding risks associated with vaping in private locations (such as living spaces, workplaces, etc) as it creates a substantial health risk for family members, peers, and neighbours in the form of

second and third hand aerosol exposure (Majmundar et al., 2019, p. 3). Another study interestingly found that vaping was more likely for youth in *disadvantaged* groups than in more advantaged groups, especially among youth who had never smoked, calling into question the effect that a person's socioeconomic status has on vaping onset (Ggreen et al., 2020, p. 8). Though each of these factors may have only been mentioned in a single article, each insight is valuable in understanding the complicated nature of youth vaping.

The Insights of Sociology

Sociology looks at the social nature of societies and of human interactions within societies (Repko, 2017, p. 135). When applying this to the problem of the sudden increase of vaping among youth in recent years, we gain important perspectives from the individuals involved. Through this discipline we found information from individual perspectives, on assumptions about vaping and the different approaches to vaping.

The assumptions that youth had about vaping related to different aspects, including laws and regulations related to vaping, health effects, and more. One of the major assumptions that is present throughout the literature is the assumption that vaping is healthy, or at least *healthier* than smoking combustible cigarettes. In one study the predominant view among the interviewees was that e-cigarettes were seen as being *substantially* less harmful than combustible tobacco (McKeganey et al., 2018, p. 15). Many articles attributed to this discipline found that adolescents attribute fewer health risks to e-cigarettes compared to other tobacco products (McKelvey et al., 2018, p. 2; Mamudu et al., 2020, p. 7; Chen-Sankey et al., 2019, p. 7). This could be because of a general lack of knowledge, but it could also be a result of the vape industry actively working to convince consumers that this is the case.

In one study they found that the participants (16-24 years old) generally knew little about the technical aspects of e-cigarettes when it came to relative harm, often asking the interviewer for clarification, while also knowing little about the technical properties of e-cigarettes and how they relate to combustible cigarettes (Lucherini et al., 2018, p. 1044, 1048). The study suggests that the void of information about the relative harm of e-cigarettes may result in young people forming positive opinions about vaping (Lucherini et al., 2018, p. 1048). These positive opinions/assumptions could then in turn be encouraging youth to try vaping instead of combustible cigarettes, which would also explain the decline in traditional cigarette smoking while there has been a rise of vaping among youth.

In another study, when asked about the first time they used an e-cigarette, the majority of interviewees detailed situations in which a friend of theirs had been using an e-cigarette, where the interviewee was curious about the experience of vaping, and where they had either asked to try the equipment or had been offered to try it by their friend (McKeganey et al., 2018, p. 14-15). The most frequently mentioned reasons for continuing to vape, beyond initial experimentation, had to

do with the range of flavours that can be used, the element of fun associated with the use of e-cigarettes, the lack of an offensive smell that accompanied their use, the greater range of setting in which they can be used, and the reduced stigma that was associated with their use compared to smoking (McKeganey et al., 2018, p. 15). *None* of the interviewees in this study explained their continued use in terms of a felt need to relieve the effects of nicotine withdrawal, or in terms of a planned attempt to stop smoking, which calls into question the use of vaping as a smoking cessation aid (McKeganey et al., 2018, p. 15). However, this could be because the sample of people used overly represented the ‘Cloud Chaser’ type of vaper, rather than the ‘Substitute’, as these two approaches to vaping show very different reasoning on behalf of the individual (McCausland et al., 2020, p. 10).

Studies have found that vapers tend to adopt one of two vaper identities, the ‘Cloud Chaser’ and ‘Substitute’, which some users move between during different stages during their time vaping (McCausland et al., 2020, p. 10,11). Individuals who fit into the ‘Cloud Chaser’ category connected with the vape subculture (in varying degrees), and involved concepts of pleasure, community, and performance (McCausland et al., 2020, p. 11). This fits with studies that find participants indicating the importance of clouds, hand movements similar to smoking, the tastes of different flavours, stimulation, vaping tricks, and social benefits (Harrell et al., 2019, p. 10; Sharma et al., 2016, p. 9). The ‘Substitute’ on the other hand found the aesthetic and performance part of the vaping subculture to have little appeal, since these types of vapers largely view their use of ENDS as a means to quit smoking, so enjoyment did not play a substantive role in their reasons for use (McCausland et al., 2020, p. 11).

Another major trend found throughout the literature is the importance of the flavours of e-liquids, with evidence indicating that flavours can be an influential factor on vaping uptake among youth. The two most popular flavour types are fruity and sweet, and studies have found that candy-like flavours could increase their appeal since they mask the heavy cigarette taste, with these candy-like flavours potentially being perceived as enjoyable (in comparison to non-candy-like flavours) (Li et al., 2018, p. 6). Evidence also shows that the possibility and appeal of flavours in e-cigarettes serve as one of the main reasons for youth to initiate and regularly use e-cigarettes, which could be a result of youth having strong preferences for sugar and sweet tastes (because sugar releases opioids and dopamine, thus adding an addictive potential) (Chen-Sankey et al., 2019, p. 7). The wide availability of flavours may increase youth’s perceived access to the products (through a variety of ways including social connections, non-compliant tobacco vendors, and online stores), advertisements may portray flavoured ENDS as less harmful than unflavoured ENDS, which increases the appeal of e-cigarettes (Chen-Sankey et al., 2019, p. 7).

Individuals also shared viewpoints on vaping regulations and policies, with insights indicating that the severity of laws could affect vaping uptake. Interestingly

enough, many participants in the studies were supportive of strong regulation (though there were some differences on specific areas of regulations, like age restrictions), with many mentioning the relatively unknown health effects of vaping as a reason for doing so (Weishaar et al., 2016, p. 1638, 1640; Farrimond, 2016, p. 1079). There was also the opinion that, since the marketing of e-cigarettes was allowed, it was understood as an implicit *endorsement* from the government for those products (Weishaar et al., 2016, p. 1642). Though this is a false assumption, this insight proves how important it is for policies and laws to reflect the nature of the product, so even though there may not have been many negative side-effects associated with ENDS at one point in time, in the wake of emerging evidence it is important to re-evaluate any assumptions to ensure young people are not putting themselves at risk unknowingly.

In addition to these insights there were some important ideas to be mentioned, though not found throughout the majority of the literature. The idea that vaping was empowering to users as it provides them with a sense of control (over their nicotine dose, health, finances) was evident in one study (Sharma et al., 2016, p. 9). In another which solely looked at social norms it was found that youth have more pro-vaping than pro-smoking norms, fitting with the previous evidence so far (East et al., 2019, p. 6). The most surprising finding was from an article from 2021 (the most recent of all the articles chosen), which revealed that young people are actually trying to *quit* using e-cigarettes, with a variety of motivations including health, finances, social, and academic (Amato et al., 2021, p. 1). Knowing that recently youth have expressed interest in quitting vaping is important as it could be a result of new social norms, new regulations being put into place, or a combination of different factors.

The Insights of Political Science

Political science looks at the nature and practise of systems of government, and of the individuals and groups pursuing power within those systems (Repko, 2017, p. 135). When applying this to the problem, we find that the act of regulating ENDS is actually very complicated, with justifications for *and against* tighter restrictions. Understanding the complexity of this is important so that we are aware of the reasoning behind different policies, instead of forming our own assumptions.

As of 2018, 98 countries regulate e-cigarettes, including their sale, marketing, packaging, manufacturing, taxation, reporting, and clean air laws, however the specifics vary by country (Tan et al., 2019, p. 366). The major takeaway from this discipline focuses on the complex nature of creating laws and regulations related to vaping. This is because, while policy makers want to keep youth safe from potentially harmful products, there is also an interest in keeping ENDS available as smoking cessation aids, which should be available to young smokers as well as older ones (Sindelar, 2020, p. e54(1); Cahn., 2013, p. 560). Policies should ideally protect young people without diminishing the ability of e-cigarettes to help

adult smokers' transition away from more harmful combustible cigarettes, or to serve as cessation aids (Sindelar, 2020, p. e54(1)). The two policies that state and federal policymakers are focusing on to prevent vaping among young people are a minimum sales age laws that restrict the sale of ENDS to adolescents, and bans on flavoured e-liquids, however this also comes with a host of problems as there are also adults who enjoy flavoured e-liquids (Sindelar, 2020, p. e54(1)). Enforcing bans on sales to minors is also difficult in retail locations, and even more so online, and young people have the possibility of obtaining ENDS from friends or family members, so it is clear this situation is more complicated than it may appear on first glance (Sindelar, 2020, p. e54(2)).

Another cause for concern is the underlying motivations JUUL Labs-sponsored research programme may have, especially considering the fact that a study found potential weaknesses in 7 of the 8 criteria used to evaluate tobacco industry funding of research, the weaknesses being a lack of transparency, processes not being fully described, the investigator's freedom to publish data being unclear, research agenda is not determined independently from the company, the governance team is not described, there are no stated conflicts of interest, and they promoted research findings in press releases and the news media (Tan et al., 2019, p. 367-368). These weaknesses undermine the scientific credibility of JUUL Labs-sponsored research, increase the risk of JUUL Labs influencing the research agenda of the tobacco control research field as a whole, and undermine public health (Tan et al., 2019, p. 368). Research like this is important because young people could be getting their information from sources such as this, whose credibility can be called into question given the nature of their research. Perhaps incorrect information is also a factor in young people's decision to begin vaping.

This ties in to the worry of the e-cigarette industry's influence over policymakers. The director of the Center for Global Tobacco Control in Boston, Massachusetts, blames the demise of an anti-vaping bill on the intensive political lobbying in the area, stating that, "the e-cigarette industry is acquiring the kind of influence that the conventional tobacco industry has used for many years to prevent the implementation of sensible measures to protect the health of the public," which is incredibly worrying if accurate (Cressey, 2015, p. 267). If the vape industry is able to influence the policies like this it potentially creates health risks for the public, since the industry already has a vested interest in youth vaping since, as already stated, the younger you start the easier you get addicted to nicotine, which could essentially create lifelong customers.

There has been a noticeable silence from public health and government sectors in discussions on social media, which is dominated by pro-vaping messages disseminated by the vaping industry and vaping advocates (McCausland et al., 2019, p. 1). Further research is therefore needed to determine exactly how influential pro-vape messages are on social media but given our current study it seems safe to say that these messages definitively influence the youth they market to. Clearly the

regulation of marketing practises by the vaping industry is something that should be looked at, if advertising is able to influence people to such an extent.

The Insights of Medicine

Medicine looks at the health effects related to vaping e-cigarettes and is important to our interdisciplinary perspective as it will explain the actual risks that come with vaping. Through the literature searches there was clear evidence supporting the theory that vaping may not be as healthy as originally thought, with evidence likely to keep coming out as any long-term effects potentially make themselves known.

Evidence is mounting that e-cigarettes are not simply benign alternatives to combustible tobacco products, despite what the vaping industry would lead one to believe (Fillon, 2016, p. 6). This combined with the rapid increase in prevalence of vaping among adolescents has aroused public health concerns (Miech et al., 2019, p. 1). Studies have linked e-cigarette use to onset of eosinophilic and lipid inducing pro-inflammatory mediators in human lung tissue and mouse models (Narang et al., 2015, p. 385A). The same study confirmed a case of hypersensitivity pneumonitis associated with vaping, leaving the implication that e-cigarette use is somehow associated with significant lung disease (Narang et al., 2015, p. 385A). The US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported a new “severe pulmonary disease” appeared to be related to vaping, counting 500 cases and 6 deaths as a result as of September 11, 2019 (Grégoire, 2019, p. E1113). In addition to a new lung disease, an acute nicotine overdose syndrome has been identified, where individuals can develop an acute toxicity syndrome to nicotine with violent side effects including intense abdominal pain, repeated vomiting with nausea, headaches, palpitations, uncontrollable shaking, and an incapacity to concentrate on anything that can last for many hours (Grégoire, 2019, p. E1113). Bear in mind these are all relatively short side-effects of vaping as ENDS have not been on the market long, so knowing this it is even more worrisome when considering long-term effects.

Some research has focused on the flavours of e-liquids themselves, doing research on e-liquids that do not contain nicotine as well as ones that do. In one study researchers investigated whether the reactive, short-lived free radicals found in tobacco smoke were also present in e-cigarette vapour, finding free radicals in the aerosols for all 3 e-liquids tested (Fillon, 2016, p. 6). This calls into question the assumption that second-hand e-cigarette vapour is harmless. The same study also found that select e-cigarette liquids may change cell viability, cell proliferation, and calcium signalling in lungs, and that all flavours tested were toxic at high doses (Fillon, 2016, p. 6). Another study found that, after only one exposure to e-cigarette vapour, the subjects had diminished cough reflex sensitivity, which is a characteristic common in tobacco smokers (Fillon, 2016, p. 6). Even nicotine-free e-cigarette solutions were found to include lung-harming substances, like acrolein,

which has been proven to damage the lungs by attacking the molecules that hold endothelial cells together (Fillon, 2016, p. 7). All of these different findings make it abundantly clear that vaping has many negative health risks and is not as harmless as the vaping industry or their proponents would like the public to believe.

Though the rapid increase of vaping among youth has been referenced heavily throughout this project, it is important to put that in context so that the concerns of researchers and policymakers are understood. When put into historical context, the absolute increases in the prevalence of nicotine vaping among 12th-graders and 10th-graders are the largest ever recorded by Monitoring the Future (which annually surveys nationally representative, independent samples of students in the 12th, 10th, and 8th grades) in the 44 years that it has continuously tracked dozens of substances (Miech et al., 2019, p. 1). In other words, when comparing the prevalence of nicotine vaping over one year, there were approximately 1.3 million *additional* adolescents who vaped in 2018, as compared to 2017 (Miech et al., 2019, p. 1). Vaping with a pod system is growing quickly among Canadian teens, and these JUUL vaping devices deliver higher nicotine concentration than combustible cigarettes, posing a higher risk of nicotine addiction (Grégoire, 2019, p. E113; Dinardo & Rome, 2019, p. 789).

The majority of the literature explains the numerous ways that vaping can be harmful, only the main harms being mentioned here (apart from just adolescents, there are risks of swallowing liquid nicotine, risks of fires and explosions from defective batteries in ENDS) (Dinardo & Rome, 2019, p. 789). Only one article made the argument that vaping was not a gateway factor in smoking initiation, though that is hardly important when vaping itself is harmful in many ways. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that there have been studies that question the idea that vaping somehow leads to other opioid substance use, though their findings were ultimately that an effect had not been *clearly* demonstrated, not that there was no effect demonstrated at all (Lee et al., 2019, p. 12).

Integrating Insights and Producing an Interdisciplinary Understanding

The first part of the interdisciplinary research process looked at the main disciplinary insights relating to the rapid increase of youth vaping in recent years. Each disciplinary perspective, though essential, only provides a partial explanation to the problem. The main focus of the second part of the interdisciplinary research process is to use these disciplinary insights to create common ground between them, before integrating them together, which will produce a newer, greater understanding (Cook, 2021).

Step 7: Identify Conflicts Between Insights and Their Sources

Conflicts can occur between insights within a discipline, and between insights across disciplines (Cook, 2021). This could be because underlying assumptions are different between disciplines, or between authors, so what they assume everyone

knows is really only easily understood by those working in the same discipline. Every discipline has a distinct worldview and focuses on different aspects of a problem, so they must first be evaluated individually before working to combine insights. However before fully integrating disciplinary insights, we must first identify any conflicts between them as they stand in the way of integration (Cook, 2021).

Sources of Conflict Within the Same Discipline

Sources of conflict within the same discipline were typically a result of different underlying assumptions or by presenting alternative results than another study. In general, there was little conflict within disciplines as most of the information actually reaffirmed itself and supported findings from other articles within the discipline. The sources of conflict within each relevant discipline — psychology, sociology, political science, and medicine — are detailed in Step 6 above.

Sources of Conflict Between Disciplines

It is necessary to identify sources of conflict between disciplines, having already identified the sources of conflict within the same discipline (Cook, 2021). However, for this problem we find that the disciplines actually *support* each other's findings more often than they don't, though the focus of each article may be slightly different from the others. For instance, we can consider the disciplines of medicine and political science, since political science articles would typically use insights from the discipline of medicine to explain why policies are necessary, while medicine can often have the express purpose of supplying information so that proper policies are put in place; though the disciplines have different aims, they still use the same information to apply it to the same end goal. There is the possibility that the lack of conflicts between disciplines is due to the lack of existing information on vaping effects and vaping among youth. This seems unlikely given the information that *is* already available, but it should be noted, nonetheless.

Steps 8-10: The Discovery/Creation of Common Ground, Integrate Insights, & Produce an Interdisciplinary Understanding

This step is another important step on the road to integration and involves the modification of insights (or assumptions or theories) gained from individual disciplines (Cook, 2021). The integration techniques that can be used during this step are *redefinition*, *theory extension*, *organization*, and *transformation*. Each are important to the interdisciplinary approach, though all may not be needed to integrate insights related to our problem.

Beginning with *redefinition*, it is first important to define the technique to understand how it applies to the problem. Simply put, *redefinition* is used when you need to clarify the meanings of concepts or insights, focusing on modifying or redefining those concepts in order to bring out a common meaning (Cook, 2021). This technique is focused solely on the language used and does not involve

changing anything about the concepts themselves, so the trick is to modify any terms as little as possible to create a common ground (Cook, 2021).

First it is important to know that electronic/e-cigarettes, vapes, vaporizers, ENDS (electronic nicotine delivery devices), and ATPs (alternative tobacco products) are all essentially the same product, at least for the purposes of this study. None of the literature looks at the individual differences between products because there is such variance between them, so for the purposes of this study they all mean the same type of device when looking at the literature. Some articles specify certain products (such as JUUL pods) which for the purposes of this paper will also mean the same thing. Additionally, cigarettes, combustible cigarettes, traditional cigarettes, traditional tobacco products, and conventional tobacco products (as well as other similar variations) all mean the same thing as well. Since cigarettes are more regulated than e-cigarettes these products will luckily have little variation between them. It is important to note that vaping, inhaling vapour, and smoking e-cigarettes all mean the same action and should not be confused as different activities. Finally, it is important to note that youth, young adults, adolescents, and young people all mean the same demographic being studied (though some articles might have a larger range than others), typically those aged 16-early 20s.

The next step is using *theory extension*, which entails broadening the scope of a theory to include the concerns of other theories (Cook, 2021). For our project there are many ways that theories can be extended and will be listed in no particular order or order of importance, since they all relate to one another in some way. First we can look at how the negative health effects (from medicine) relate to the formation of policies and laws (from political science), as growing evidence of negative effects has led to policymakers becoming more concerned and therefore enacted further regulations. We can then look at how the vape industry's influence over policymakers/policies (from political science) may have influenced young people's perceptions about vaping, since there are some that believe if vaping were truly harmful they would have regulated it more strongly (from sociology) (Weishaar et al., 2016, p. 1642). These assumptions about vaping being healthy and safe (from sociology) could be one of the reasons for the sudden increase of vaping among youth, which the disciplines of medicine and psychology are concerned about.

There is also the idea that the difficulty in regulating vaping relates to the vape industry's influence (from political science), but also to the assumptions about vaping (from sociology) as it is harder to enact policies that people do not believe are relevant (if it was actually as harmless as the vape industry claims it to be). The laws that *are* being enacted clearly relate to the discipline of medicine's findings on the negative health effects, as the push for stricter laws is a direct result of negative effects being found. Lastly, but on a much more general scale, the insights from the discipline of medicine clearly influence the push for regulation in the discipline of political science, with insights from sociology and psychology explaining why there should be a concern for young people specifically vaping.

The next technique that could be used in an interdisciplinary study is that of *organization*, where you take seemingly unrelated concepts and place them in some sort of relation to one another (Cook, 2021). For this project however there is no reason to do this, as all concepts and insights found are in one way or another related to something else. Every article, whether intentional or not, relates to insights from other disciplines (detailed above in *theory extension*) so *organization* does not need to be done for this project.

The last technique that can be used is that of *transformation*, which involves placing opposing insights/ideas on a continuum (Cook, 2021). Though there does seem to be one instance where this could be done *for* this project, it is trickier than simply putting the ideas on opposing sides and calling it a day. The insights that *could* be placed in opposition are the idea that vaping is harmful, and the idea that vaping is perfectly safe. Upon first glance this may seem simple, as you could place these insights on opposite ends of a spectrum and then place further insights between them depending on how harmful they believe vaping to be. This would be misguided because the only evidence found that vaping is healthy has come from articles published by the vape industry themselves, with the efficacy of the information being called into question (Tan et al., 2019). While these insights are in conflict with one another, only one side has any evidence supporting its position. For this reason, *transformation* does not need to be used for this project.

Integrating the disciplinary insights gives us a complex answer to our complex question: what has caused such a sudden increase of ENDS use (in lieu of traditional tobacco products) among youth? Sociology-based insights informed us that the vape industry's effects on policies and regulations is influential on youth vape uptake, as youth can take the government allowing such products to exist as an actual endorsement of the products (Weishaar et al., 2016, p. 1642). The insights gained from the discipline of medicine reaffirm the need for regulations that protect youth from an early nicotine addiction, while also ensuring that these products are available for those who want to use them as a smoking cessation aid. You can see that by looking at the issue through the lenses of multiple disciplines, we are able to understand the complexities surrounding the issue and propose further actions (such as further regulations surrounding marketing and sales) in line with that understanding.

On a personal level the interdisciplinary process has opened my eyes to the complexity surrounding the issue and has changed my own habits as well. When I began this study, I was someone who used e-cigarettes on a semi-regular basis (eg. not every day, but multiple times a week) and was interested in learning about the activity, since I have many friends who partake as well. Initially I was more curious than anything and was honestly unsure if there was enough information for an interdisciplinary perspective to be taken in a paper, but luckily, I could not have been more wrong. I learned that I had fallen under the group of people who assumed that there was little information on vaping and its health effects,

and after going through the literature so extensively I quit vaping and have not done it in months at the point of this paper's submission. Furthermore, this study has solidified my opinion that interdisciplinary studies is essential in a society as complex as ours and has changed the way I look at everything now. No matter the issue I find myself considering alternative perspectives without even thinking about it, and if more people had this skill perhaps it would be possible to lessen the divisiveness of issues and lead people away from an "either or" mentality when it comes to complex problems.

Conclusion

The process of integration provides a framework for us to produce an interdisciplinary understanding of the issue. The issue needed to be looked at through an interdisciplinary lens because there has yet to be anyone who has taken all of these different issues and perspectives into account to comprehensively understand the issue. Through the interdisciplinary process it has become clear that insights from the disciplines of psychology, sociology, political science, and medicine are necessary to try and create some type of solution to the problem of an increase of e-cigarette use among youth. Further research is still needed on any long-term effects of e-cigarette use.

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Attitudes of Workers in Inclusive Assisted Living Communities

Abstract

As the population ages rapidly, ageist attitudes towards older adults becomes increasingly important. Although healthcare workers (e.g., nurses, doctors, etc.) have been researched extensively for their role in ageism, there is a gap in research regarding non-healthcare workers in older adult communities. The current study sought to examine the prevalence of negative attitudes amongst non-healthcare workers (i.e., house keepers, servers, chefs, etc.), in a unique assisted living community (ALC). Various questionnaires were used to measure the attitudes of participants (N = 34) who ranged from servers and receptionists to directors and nurses. Comfort, education, position, and level of exposure were examined.

The study found that workers classified in an administration or United Minds aids program scored significantly better than all other occupations on most scales. Employees with a healthcare education scored significantly better than those without on most scales, however, workplace training was not found to have a significant impact on scores. The more long-term exposure workers had, the more it significantly impacted avoidance tendencies and comfortability around older adults. Finally, exposure and education surrounding residents living with dementia impacted attitude scores. Overall, the more education (healthcare specific) and exposure (long term specifically) the participant had, and the more comfortable they were around older adults, the better their attitudes were towards older adults. Implications and meanings of the findings are discussed.

Keywords: ageism, non-healthcare workers, education, exposure, comfort, ethnicity

The global population is aging at a rapid rate and never has there been this many older adults in the world. It is seen that 17.5% of the entire population in Canada is 65 years or older; by 2031 it is projected that this demographic will account for 28% of the total population, and by 2050 it is projected globally there will be just over 2 billion people over the age of 60 (Statistics Canada [1], 2019; Statistics Canada [2], 2019; WHO, 2019). But why is this happening? To note a couple reasons, people are living longer, more productive lives due to technologies and prevention of disease, and women are reproducing less (Kydd et al., 2019).

As a result of this large population, how older adults are treated and viewed by society has become an increasingly important topic. Interestingly, the one thing that is universal across every race, gender, and ethnicity, is aging. As a result, one would think that there would be more empathy given to the older adults in society as it is the one thing everyone has in common. A large factor in how older adults are treated is how present-day society appears to have normalized ageist attitudes (i.e., ageism) (Levy, 2003). The demonstration of ageism in our society is deep. Some of the ways that have been used, and shown some success, in combating ageism is through both education and exposure (Burnes et al., 2019). That is, the more we educate young and older adults of the explicit and implicit ways ageism is expressed, and the more we can speak with and really connect with older adults, the more successful and capable society will be in combating ageism as a whole.

It has been well studied that healthcare workers in assisted living communities' negative attitudes can have significant impacts on older adults' self efficacy, health, and cognition to name a few (Burnes et al., 2019; Vernooij-Dassen et al., 2005). Not well studied are the attitudes non- healthcare workers have towards older adults in assisted living communities. It is important to study this population because although they may not have a medical background, they still have a significant amount of exposure to, and influence on, older adults in these communities. To mitigate damages of ageism, research must first understand where it comes from and where it is most prevalent.

The Purpose of Stereotypes and Schemas

A stereotype is a common belief held about a specific social group or individual and it is formed and organized in our minds by experience, education (or lack thereof), and assumptions (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002; Simone, 2011). These help us anticipate actions and are a large part of decision making (usually implicitly) and can negatively affect those individuals that fall into our stereotypes as a result, such as older adults. (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002). For example, Hess, Hinson, and Statham (2004) conducted a memory test on older individuals and found that the older adults who were primed with negative stereotypes (e.g., cranky, confused, feeble, etc.) did significantly worse on memory recall tests than the older adults who were primed with unassociated primes (e.g., fork, dog, computer). Likewise, Levy et al. (2002) found that self-perception of aging was the largest predictor of life

longevity, when compared to socioeconomic status (SES), loneliness, functional health from the cohort, age, and gender (Levy et al., 2002). All these implications of outside stereotypes' influence on older adults are quite significant and alarming.

Self stereotypes are equally as dangerous and have both mental and physical effects on all individuals. It appears that the individuals who actively avoided older adults as a result of stereotypes were even more negatively affected by self stereotypes when they aged (Levy, et al., 2002). Additionally, Levy et al. (2002) found that positive self perceptions of aging resulted in an added seven point five years to a person's life. Therefore, stereotypes are not only between the groups (i.e., young vs. old), but also within them (i.e., old vs. old, or, old vs. self) (Chasteen et al., 2002).

Ageism

Ageism is defined as the “stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination against people on the basis of their age” (Burnes et al., 2019, p.1). There are different dimensions related to ageism: cognitive (stereotypes), emotional (prejudice), and behavioural (discrimination) (Wyman, Shiovitz-Ezra, & Bengel, 2019). For example, someone may hold the stereotype that older adults are unable to learn new things, be prejudice by getting upset when an older adult takes longer to learn something new and discriminate by not hiring an older adult based on this belief: they will not be adaptable in the workplace. It appears that ageism, implicit and explicit, can have serious effects on older adults' health, happiness, self efficacy, and their overall well being (Cuddy & Fiske., 2002). Research by Molden and Maxfield (2017) has shown that when negative older adult stereotypes were presented to older adults, it increased their worry of developing dementia. This worry can provide detrimental effects such as inability to focus on tasks, health problems, etc. (Molden & Maxfield, 2017).

Along with ageism, and likely related to it, there also appears to be a lack of intergenerational contact within western society (Meshel & McGlynn, 2004). Greenberg et al. (2002) proposed that young people tend to avoid older adults out of their deep-rooted fear of death, this is known as the Terror Management Theory. Simply, older adults are closer to death and therefore younger people avoid them to manage their terror of dying (Pyszczynski, et al. 1999). This lack of contact and exposure to older adults (no matter the reason) may result in more stereotypes and schemas being formed through media: a common theme being an 'old person' trope. This in turn could form and reinforce inaccurate stereotypes and schemas, and in turn negatively impact older adults (Mason, Darnell, & Prifti, 2010).

Healthcare Workers and Their Role in Ageism

In 2013, Americans that were 65 years and older represented 15% of the total population but accounted for 36% of total health care costs (Wyman et al.,

2019). Therefore, the influence older adults have on the healthcare system (and as a result the need for health care workers) is also an increasingly important subject. Nurses and doctors are two professions that are very likely to encounter this large population due to the increased medical needs of older adults as they age. It has been repeatedly shown that ageist attitudes can be present in health care professionals (Burnes et al., 2019; Wyman et al., 2019), and some barriers in care are visible when healthcare workers hold ageist attitudes. For example, a study found that doctors were perceived to be less patient, respectful, and optimistic when dealing with older adults (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002).

Wells, Foreman, Gething, and Petralia (2004) found that, among others, education, ethnicity, and being primarily residential care workers were all predictive factors for nurses to have negative attitudes towards older adults. Not only did they find negative attitudes towards older adults, but Wells et al. (2004) also found that 56% of nurses agreed that they had low self esteem when they were working with older adults. In comparison to acute care nurses, residential care nurses (i.e., nurses working in assisted living communities) reported experiencing rewards working with older adults but they did also report higher personal costs (i.e., low professional esteem) (Wells et al., 2004).

In a similar study Gallagher, Bennet and Halford (2006) studied the attitudes of nurses, assistant personnel and porters in long term and acute care facilities and found that non-health care professionals (i.e., assistants and porters) believed older adults were irritable, grouchy, and untidy (Gallagher et al., 2006). Gallagher and colleagues (2006) also found that overall education (i.e. high school, G.E.D, post secondary, masters etc.) did predict negative attitudes (i.e., less education was associated with more negative attitudes). These results were similar to the findings by Lookinland and Anson (1995) who found that the less educated the participant was, the more negative their attitudes and the more experience they had, the more positive attitudes. These findings together suggest education and exposure/experience are the two factors that have a significant impact on an individual's attitudes of older adults.

Implications of Health Care Workers' Negative Attitudes of Older Adults

There are serious implications for older adults if the health care workers caring for them hold these negative attitudes. Wyman et al. (2019) found that ageism can hinder an older adult's ability and willingness to both seek assistance and recover from illness or injury. Additionally, Ambady, Kool, Rosenthal, and Winograd (2002) found that physical therapists who used distant body language with their older adult patients strongly correlated with short and long-term decreases in their patients physical and cognitive functioning, as well as lower self efficacy and increased recovery time. Stereotypes and lack of education on aging diseases, such as dementia, can play a role in a doctors' inability to diagnose and recognize such

diseases, as well as decrease the likelihood that an older adult will seek help when experiencing age related symptoms (e.g., hearing loss or slowed reaction time) (Vernooij-Dassen et al., 2005). Whether an older adult is experiencing normal (primary) aging, or if they are suffering a cognitive disease, the stigma may prevent these individuals from seeking help. As a result of these negative attitudes amongst health care professionals, it is hard to motivate people to pursue a career in gerontology when their knowledge of aging is low and their ageist attitudes are high (McLafferty & Morrison, 2004., Merz et al., 2016).

Older Adults Living Arrangements Role in Ageism

Older adults have many different choices in places they can live (e.g., at home alone or in assisted living communities), and with the surge in population that the world is seeing, the demand for dedicated age facilities will increase (Sykes, 2005). These choices will vary significantly depending on the old adults needs; however, overall, the potential and current residents will want the people who work at these places to not hold ageist views. For instance, dementia friendly communities which provide memory care programs (i.e., support for people living with dementia) are a relatively new concept as knowledge of the disease grows, appearing only in the last 50 years (Phillipson et al., 2019). These communities aim to empower the people living with dementia while increasing their inclusivity in social communities (Phillipson et al., 2019). However, there are workers in these communities that hold both positive and negative attitudes towards older adults living with dementia. Phillipson et al. (2019) found that when communities and educational efforts were implemented, there was an increase in positive attitudes overall and the participants felt older adults living with dementia were valued and contributing members of the community (Phillipson et al., 2019). Not all older adults have dementia, and not all older adults living with dementia move into assisted living communities; however, it is a population that is important to include when analyzing how older adults are treated, and the stereotypes that surround them.

How to Combat Ageism

As outlined above, there has been significant research done on medical professionals' attitudes towards older adults. In order to study and prevent ageist attitudes impacting students' willingness to pursue a career in gerontology, Merz et al. (2016) sought to educate first year post secondary students in various degrees via an elective class which taught traditional social gerontology. Even though their knowledge of aging increased significantly from the course, their implicit negative attitudes did not change, and their explicit positive attitudes increased only slightly (Merz et al., 2016). However, on a more positive note, Matsui and Braun (2010) found that when nurses providing end of life care attended seminars on aging and dying, their attendance to the seminars was negatively correlated with their fear of aging. This suggests that the more education, the less scared the nurses appeared to

be of aging. Liu et al. (2012) also found that the more education non-nurse/doctor professions receive, the less likely they are to perceive aging as negative (e.g., workplace courses for employees on aging).

Exposure to older adults is thought to be another factor in combating ageist behaviours and attitudes (Hannon & Gueldner, 2007). As important as education appears to be, O'Connor and McFadden (2010) found that nurses were more likely to have more positive views on older adults, specifically with dementia, if they worked with them consistently and had a high percentage of exposure with older adults. Hope (1994) found that nurses who worked in acute medical care settings with specifically older adults had more positive attitudes of older adults than nurses who worked with young to middle aged adults in acute medical care settings. However, interestingly, a moderating factor was post secondary education and knowledge on aging (Hope, 1994). McLafferty and Morrison (2004) replicated the finding that nurses who have exposure to older adults in acute care settings are more likely to have significantly higher positive attitudes. Exposure can have benefits for not only younger adults but older adults as well. Meshel and McGlynn (2004) found that intergenerational contact not only increased positive attitudes of middle school aged students, but older adults also scored higher on life satisfaction after the six-week program.

Therefore, there appears to be benefits to both experience and education. In an extensive meta-analysis of the research that has been done on the topic, Burnes et al. (2019) report that the biggest positive impact on ageism and ageist attitudes is through interventions (i.e. occupational course material taught during work), education (i.e. post secondary and on gerontology), and intergenerational contact. Some nursing post secondary programs have even implemented education and exposure to geriatric units as part of the curriculum (Lookinlands, & Anson, 1995; McLafferty & Morrison, 2004). Therefore, education and exposure with older adults appear to be the two best moderating factors when dealing with ageist attitudes.

Where is There a Gap in the Research?

The exploration of ageist attitudes and these two methods' (i.e., education and exposure) success in reducing the negative attitudes amongst individuals who work with older adults daily has become increasingly important. There is research on medical professionals' ageist attitudes towards older adults (Liu et al., 2012; O'Connor & McFadden, 2010; Wells, Foreman, Gething, & Petralia, 2004) and there is research on the general public's attitudes of older adults (Burnes et al., 2019; O'Connor & McFadden, 2010; Chasteen et al., 2002). Although there have been studies which looked at the attitudes of nurses and other healthcare professionals (i.e., porters, assistant personnel, and nurses; Gallagher et al., 2006), and some that looked at nurses and some non-healthcare related professionals (e.g., janitors; Wells et al., 2004), the findings varied across the studies and the sample

size of non-health professionals was small. As such, there are gaps in the literature of non-medical personnel who are consistently around older adults in assisted living communities (i.e., Gallagher et al., 2016; Wells et al., 2004). Workers that would fit this criterion include food servers, house keepers, maintenance workers, receptionists, administration staff, and other various positions. Essentially, any worker critical in the functioning of the assisted living community, but without any official healthcare position, has not been studied extensively.

It has been debated whether exposure (O'Connor & McFadden, 2010), or education (Hope, 1994; Liu et al., 2012; Merz et al., 2016) is best for combating ageism amongst healthcare workers; recent studies have concluded that both would be the most ideal strategy (Burnes et al., 2019). So, if these results are so well studied on nurses and healthcare professionals, similar results that examine education and exposure (or lack thereof) for non-healthcare workers in assisted living communities should be sought. Therefore, the proposed study wished to examine the ageist attitudes of these non-health care workers in older adult assisted living communities in order to determine if there were: one, any differences between non-health care workers and their attitudes towards older adults, and two, if education and/or exposure were predictive factors of positive attitudes towards older adults (as there will be varying levels of both education and exposure throughout departments).

Based on previous research (Burnes et al., 2019; Hope, 1994; Gallagher et al., 2006; O'Connor & McFadden, 2010; Wells et al. 2006), it was hypothesized that workers who had more daily contact with older adults and more formal education would have the highest positive attitudes. The education that was hypothesized to be the biggest predictor of positive attitudes was gerontological education (either by the employer or in post secondary). There is no research found, to the knowledge of this study, that shows if one (i.e., education or exposure) will be a bigger predictor than the other on this population. It was anticipated that one, if not both, would be important in predicting attitudes. Additionally, the different positions' results and demographics were compared to see if there was one occupation that held higher ageist attitudes than others. It was hypothesized that servers would have the highest positive attitude scores as they typically interact with older adults throughout their entire shift and their exposure would be the highest (Gallagher, et al., 2006; Hope, 1994).

Method

Participants

The target participants of this study were individuals working in two locations of an Assisted Living Community (ALC) who experience varying levels of contact with older adults and have varying levels of education. These communities have older adult residents who vary from fully able bodied, to requiring varying levels of

assisted care (including memory care, i.e., dementia care). This ALC was a private assisted living community which aimed to provide a comprehensive integrated community in which there are no specified floors sections, or rooms for age care/memory care residents. This, therefore, impacted how often workers came into contact with older adults, especially those residents living with dementia.

Overall, there were 34 participants in this study; 26 females, 7 males, and 1 who preferred not to disclose their gender. Participants ranged from ages 19 to 67 with a mean age of 37.85 years. They worked at either location A ($N=15$), location B ($N=3$), or both ($N=16$). Their ethnicity was categorized into two categories; Caucasian ($N=21$) and other ($N=13$) which included Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese and prefer not to say. The positions held by participants ranged from directors, managers, servers, bus drivers, creative facilitators, united minds (UM) worker (dementia care), nurses, accountants, health care aids, marketing, kinesiologists, and receptionists. The majority of the participants worked full time ($N=20$) while the minority reported working part time ($N=14$). All participants held post secondary diplomas ($N=8$), degrees ($N=16$), or post graduate degrees ($N=6$), except for four (high school diploma's only). There were a vast range of degrees, from fine arts, physiotherapy, civil engineering, nursing, human resources, and more.

Materials

Demographic Questionnaire. A demographic questionnaire measured level of education and exposure level, as well as general demographics such as gender, age, and occupation. Wells et al. (2004) found that ethnicity may be a descriptive predictor in attitudes towards aging, so this was included as well.

Fabroni Scale of Ageism. In order to assess ageist attitudes, the Fabroni Scale of Ageism (FSA) was used. This scale was developed by Fabroni and colleagues (1990) to assess ageism across many different factors (Ugurlu et al., 2018). It measures negative attitudes towards aging (i.e., discriminatory and stigma), as well as avoidance tendencies (Phillipson et al., 2019; Ugurlu et al., 2018).

Dementia Attitudes Scale. The ALC in the present study was an inclusive community, meaning residents living with dementia are free to use the entire facility at their leisure. Therefore, in order to test comfort being around, and knowledge of, residents living with dementia, the study used the Dementia Attitudes Scale (DAS) (O'Connor & McFadden, 2010). This is a scale with two subscales (knowledge and comfort being around older adults living with "Alzheimer's Disease and Related Disorders" (ADRD)).

Procedure

The human resource managers at communities specialized for older adults were emailed to ask for permission to use their employees as a part of the research sample. Only one ALC (with two locations) was able and willing to participate in

the research. Ethics approval was received from the St. Mary's University Research Ethics Board (REB) and guidelines were set for the researcher. Participants filled out confidential questionnaires at their respected workplaces.

Results

When looking at the results of the FSA and DAS subscales, a low FSA score represents more positive attitudes (i.e., less ageist attitudes), and a high DAS score represents more positive attitudes (i.e., less ageist attitudes). All participants received an overall score on the FSA and DAS and a score for each of the subscales. The location the participants worked at (i.e., location A, location B, or both) resulted in no significant impact on any scores.

Ethnicity

The Caucasian participants ($N = 21$) reported significantly better scores on the FSA ($M = 46.00$, $SD = 7.75$) compared to the 'other' participants ($N = 13$) (i.e., Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese and prefer not to say) ($M = 57.62$, $SD = 10.32$), $t(32) = -3.74$, $p < .001$. The Caucasian participants ($N = 21$) also reported significantly higher scores on the DAS ($M = 126.05$, $SD = 10.02$) compared to the 'other' participants ($N = 13$) (i.e., Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese and prefer not to say) ($M = 109.31$, $SD = 14.94$), $t(32) = 3.92$, $p < .001$.

Comfort

All participants reported a relatively high comfort level subjectively. Out of the participants ($N = 34$) only two reported 'disagree' to the question "I feel totally comfortable around older adults at work," and the rest 'agreed' ($N = 13$) and 'strongly agreed' ($N = 19$). A T-Test was conducted to determine if there was a significant difference between the two groups and there was ($p < .05$). A chi square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between ethnicity and comfort level. The relation between these variables was significant, $X^2(1, N = 32) = 4.57$, $p < 0.01$. Therefore, it appears that, for the 'other' ethnicity group there were more participants that strongly endorsed their comfort level, while for Caucasians, there was a fairly even split between those who agreed and those who strongly agreed.

Education

An analysis was done on both the position of the workers, and their level of education measured by their degree (if applicable). There was a significant impact on scores based on the degree type they had. Groups were separated into healthcare education ($N = 15$) (i.e., nurses, kinesiologists, healthcare aids, counselling) and non-healthcare education ($N = 19$) (every other degree, diploma, or non education person). The workers educated in healthcare scored significantly better on the FSA ($M = 46.53$, $SD = 7.36$), compared to the non healthcare educated group ($M = 52.53$, $SD = 11.53$), $t(30.81) = -2.15$, $p < .05$. Overall, the participants educated in

healthcare fields had better overall attitudes towards older adults and those older adults living with dementia, compared to those with non-healthcare education.

Position

The participants were placed into one of three groups: *Administration* (i.e., any directors, managers, or leads; $N = 11$), any workers that worked in the *United Minds program* (i.e., the in house dementia care for residents living with dementia or cognitive impairments; $N = 7$), and all *Other positions* (e.g., receptionists, accountants, creative facilitators, servers, etc.; $N = 16$). A one-way ANOVA was preformed with LSD post-hoc follow up tests. There was a significant impact of position on the FSA scores, $F(2, 31) = 3.42, p < .05$, with the significant differences being between the Other ($M = 54.25, SD = 10.74$) and Administration ($M = 44.36, SD = 9.84$), groups, $t(31) = 2.601, p < .05$, with the administration scoring better than the other group. Position also had a significant impact on DAS scores, $F(2, 31) = 3.63, p < .05$, with the significant difference in scores between the Other scoring worse than the ($M = 113.31, SD = 15.30$) UM groups ($M = 128.29, SD = 113.31$), $t(31) = 2.45, p < .05$.

Exposure

Based on participants' responses to the question "At work, how much interaction do you have with older adults *on a daily basis*?" they were placed into one of two groups. Responses 'sometimes' and 'often' were grouped ($N = 10$), and 'most of the time' was grouped with 'always' responses ($N = 24$). Surprisingly, there were no significant differences in scores for the FSA and DAS (including subscales) based on level of interaction each day, all p 's $> .62$.

How long the participants have worked with older adults was a significant factor on a variety of scores. Participants were grouped into one of three categories: 0 to 3 years ($N = 10$); 3 to 6 years ($N = 10$), and 6+ years ($N = 14$). A one-way ANOVA was preformed with LSD post-hoc follow up tests. There was a significant effect of how long workers worked with older adults on the FSA scores, $F(2, 31) = 3.78, p < .05$. For the FSA scores the 0 to 3 years group scored significantly worse ($M = 56.80, SD = 11.27$) than the 6+ years group ($M = 45.86, SD = 9.18$), $t(31) = 2.75, p < .01$.

Discussion

The current study sought to look at four main possible moderating factors on workers' attitudes towards older adults: comfort, education, exposure, and position. The incidental findings will be discussed first, and then these four factors will be addressed.

Looking at ethnicity first, Wells et al. (2004) found that 25% of their sample population was born outside of Australia (where the study was conducted) and alluded to ethnicity having an impact on participants' attitudes in their discussion;

however, the researchers did not provide any statistical analysis to the knowledge of this study. In contrast, the present study found that when completing the attitude questionnaires, Caucasian participants appeared to have more positive attitudes towards older adults than the non-Caucasian participants did. This finding was a result of the non-Caucasian group scoring lower on the FSA and its subscales, as well as higher scores on the DAS and its subscales, relative to the non-Caucasian participants. This in turn It has been widely debated whether Western or Eastern cultures' views are different when it comes to aging, and if they are, what does that mean. Voss, et al. (2018) found that there were more positive attitudes in Caucasian (United States and Germany) cultures than in China towards aging; however, this difference in beliefs was not replicated across all domains such as age groups, friends, personality, and finances. This suggests that views on aging may be an ethnic, or cultural, experience and unique to attitudes in comparison to other domains such as friends and finances. The present study found a similar result where Caucasian attitudes are more positive to aging overall, however there are many confounding factors such as level of socialization with older adults outside of work. The level of interaction with older adults outside of work did not vary across the sample group, so the study was unable to see if this was correlated to different ethnicities' attitudes or not. Additionally, when dealing with a group such as 'other' it takes into account many different ethnic cultures and if there were to be a difference found in the present study, it would need to be broken down further into what ethnic backgrounds hold similar beliefs. A large study across 26 different cultures and 3,435 participants (Lockenhoff et al., 2009) found that, across all the cultures studied, they agreed on aspects related to aging, including: societal view on aging, physical attractiveness, ability to perform everyday tasks and learn new things, as well as increased perceived wisdom, respect, and knowledge. However, there were variations in aging perceptions associated with culture (i.e., education levels, values, and national character stereotypes) (Lockenhoff et al., 2009). This study found there were differences between Western and Asian countries and acknowledged (as did Giles et al., 2009) that this may be due to sociocultural and intergenerational communication structure. For example, Giles et al. (2009) found that participants from south and east Asia perceived middle-aged and older adults as having less vitality than younger people when compared to Western countries. Since there has been found to be communication and perception differences across different cultures, a reason for the significant difference in the current study may be that the ethnicities outside of Caucasian culture communicate differently. However, this brings up an alternative point where ethnicity does not account for other variables, such as the person may be ethnically Chinese (as they were born there, or their parents were) but they identify as a Canadian and grew up in Canada, so their ethnicity is not an overall identifying factor for them. For the current study, there is not a lot of generalizability that can be extrapolated from this as the sample size was so small. This would be of interesting note as Canada welcomes more immigrants every year. In the 2016 Alberta census, 12.5% of all visible minorities in Canada lived in Alberta (where the current study was

conducted) and of this, 12.5%, 18% identified as Filipino, and 17% identified as Chinese (Alberta Government, 2016). The reason this is worthy of note here is that with the increase in visible minorities, there will be an increase in the workforce, and subsequently assisted living care for older adults. Research needs to be done in order to seek out reasons and mitigations for negative attitudes towards older adults for all ethnicities and cultures.

The current study sought to find any significant differences in comfort level between all positions. All participants reported a relatively high comfort level, and this may represent a ceiling effect. However, an ANOVA was conducted to determine if there were any significant differences in responses to the subjective question “I feel totally comfortable around older adults at work,” and there was. Subjective comfort level had a significant impact on the FSA, all the FSA subscales, as well as the DAS and the DAS subscales, showing that those workers who reported higher comfort levels also scored better on the FSA and DAS subscales. Additionally, with the question having a high correlational value with the DAS comfort subscale ($r = .784, p < .01$), it can be assumed that there is high reliability for the question. This correlational relationship may mean that those participants who are uncomfortable around older adults, may be so because they are most uncomfortable around those living with dementia. Caucasians appeared to be more evenly split amongst ‘agree’ ($N = 11$) and ‘strongly agree’ ($N = 9$) compared to the Non-Caucasians who responded ‘agree’ ($N = 2$) and ‘strongly agree’ ($N = 10$). This difference was significant; however, it is limited by its sample size. It is unknown why there is a polarization in the results amongst non-Caucasians compared to Caucasians and more research should be done to look into these relationships of comfortability and ethnicity

To see if there was a significant difference between the ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’ participant groups, a T-Test was conducted. The participants who strongly agreed scored significantly better than the ‘agreed’ group on every test (i.e., FSA and all its subscales, and the DAS and all its subscales). Although they both appeared to have very high comfortability in relation to the question, there is an underlying difference between the two groups. So, the more comfortable the workers appeared to be around older adults at work, the better their attitudes. This is interesting as with the raw data of so many reporting agree and strongly agree, one would assume the participants are comfortable and therefore have good attitudes towards older adults; however, this appears to not be the case necessarily. It’s not that the ‘agree’ group scored poorly on the tests, but rather, perhaps, the question may not be depicting the actuality of their feelings. The correlation between the DAS comfort subscale and the subjective question would counter this, however.

Interestingly, O’Connor and McFadden (2009) hypothesized that the more interaction people had with older adults, the less likely they are to have negative attitudes and as such, they created the DAS in reaction to new facilities that embraced programs helping residents living with dementia. The ALC in the current

study has an inclusive living situation as noted above. The comfortability results show that, even though there is plenty of opportunities for workers to interact with older adults living with dementia, there may be an underlying issue of comfort. However, overall, further research should be done on the specific comfortability of workers who work with older adults, including where comfortability stems from, and if the ceiling effect in this study can be replicated in other ALC's.

The current study sought to determine if there was a significant impact of education (both on job training and formal) on the attitudes of workers. It was hypothesized that the more 'on the job' training the individual had, the more positive their attitudes would be. This was based on Burnes et al. (2019) who found that occupational course material taught during work was one important mediating factor in combating negative attitudes towards older adults. Matsui and Braun (2010) found that nurses who attended end of life seminars had better attitudes towards death and aging. As well, Liu et al. (2012) found that the more education non-nurse/doctor professions received, the more positive their attitudes were. However, in the current study, there appeared to be no significant impact on scores from the on-job training received. This was surprising as previous research suggested in house training was an effective combatant of ageist attitudes. These results may have happened because the sample size was too small, or the question given was unclear. Another possibility for the lack of significance could be that most workers are either highly educated in their gerontology focused training (provided in seminars or courses over their career), or that they are under educated, both would possibly yield no significant difference in scores. The lack of impact could also be because there was not a high response rate to the specific question; that is, those who did respond to the 'yes' or 'no' question when asked "(h)ave you received any training related to older adults from your workplace?" did not report accurately (e.g., they did not respond, or they did not report a number but rather a worded answer, e.g., 'lots and lots') on the second part of the question "If yes, briefly describe the amount and type of training." Only 27 participants reported useable data. Since these results were unexpected and opposite to common research, more research should be done to see if on job training has an impact on attitudes, and if so what kind of training is most beneficial. This would be something companies could implement right away for their employees to help mitigate negative attitudes towards residents, and thus reduce negative impacts of ageist attitudes on both staff and residents.

Additionally, it was hypothesized that the more formal education (specifically higher levels of gerontological education) the better (higher) the attitudes. This hypothesis was based on the research of Gallagher et al. (2006) who found that a lack of overall education (i.e., high school, college, etc.) was a predictor of negative attitudes, as well as Wells et al. (2004) who found that gerontological specific education was a predictor of positive aging attitudes. The current hypothesis was supported by the evidence found in this current study. The participants were grouped

into those with healthcare education and those without healthcare education. This included diplomas, degrees, and post graduate degrees from all countries (e.g., a kinesiologist who received a physiotherapy degree in Australia). The workers educated in healthcare had significantly better attitudes. This was shown on their significantly lower scores on the FSA, and the FSA antilocution; however, they did not appear to be significantly less likely to hold avoidant or discriminatory attitudes. A reason for this may be that formal education does not mediate socially adapted behaviours, like avoidance or discrimination. This was seen in a similar study where Merz et al. (2016) taught gerontology focused lectures to undergraduate students and although their knowledge on aging increased significantly, and their explicit attitudes got better (slightly), their implicit attitudes did not change. A similar result may be the reason the avoidant and discriminatory attitudes were not significantly impacted by education. Finally, Greenberg et al. (2002) suggest that fears and desires are the roots of our avoidant behaviour, so education would not mitigate these.

Additionally, healthcare educated workers had significantly better scores on the DAS, the DAS comfort, and the DAS knowledge. This suggests they have more knowledge overall and are more comfortable around older adults living with ADRD, perhaps due to their education. The current study supports previous findings, like that of Gallagher (2006) and Wells et al. (2004), which suggest a reason for the better scores amongst healthcare workers is they may have a larger knowledge reservoir on these types of cognitive disorders compared to someone who has little to no healthcare education. This suggests that the more knowledge a person carries about aging and gerontology, the more positive the attitudes.

The job position of the workers was hypothesized to have an impact on positive attitudes, with the workers who had the most exposure to the residents having the most positive attitudes (e.g., the servers). This was based on research by O'Connor and McFadden (2010) who found nurses had more positive attitudes towards older adults, specifically those with dementia, if they had a lot of exposure to them. Likewise, McLafferty and Morrison (2004) replicated this finding for healthcare workers. Burnes et al. (2019) suggest exposure is a key piece of the puzzle of combating ageism. As the sample size was so small, workers were placed into three categorical groups: *Administration*, *United Minds (UM)*, and *Other*. Based on these three groups, the 'administration' group reported significantly better attitudes than the 'other,' and this is seen on the FSA. They appeared to have less avoidance attitudes than the 'other' group. It is interesting that the workers who are primarily dealing with other employees and not necessarily residents (i.e., contrast between servers and director of human resources) have the most positive attitudes. A reason for this may be that the mean age of the administration is 51 years old, whereas the mean age for the UM group was 26.71 and the 'Other' group was 33.69 years. Perhaps the reason their FSA scores were significantly better is because

they are older. This current study found in the correlational analysis that the older the participant was, the better their attitudes were, and this relationship approached significance. Another reason may be that the administration have progressed in their careers to management and administrative duties, therefore they could have been in the industry longer. The longer in the industry may result in better attitudes towards older adults overall (this is backed later when the length of time working with older adults is discussed). Finally, the older the participant, and the higher the position, the more life experience and even on duty experience and training the worker may have received. More research should go into this age effect, as well as the relationship between the administrative workers' attitudes towards residents.

Position also appeared to have a significant influence on the DAS scores with the UM having significantly better attitudes than the 'other' group. As a reminder, the UM program is a program designed around residents living with dementia and their primary roles are to spend time and actively stimulate and engage with those residents living with ADRD throughout their entire workday. This was not surprising as it can be assumed the UM workers have more training and have more contact with people living with dementia since this is their primary job. This mirrors the research done by Burnes et al. (2019) who suggest that it is both education (formal and informal) and exposure that improve attitudes towards older adults. Additionally, Phillipson et al. (2019) say that gerontological education appears to predict a person's fear of developing dementia, and UM's training may be resolution to these issues. It appears the more interaction workers have with residents living with ADRD, the more positive their attitudes (as shown in their DAS scores). This is a significant finding, and more research needs to be done into the specific attitudes of those working in programs such as the UM program as this may offer an adequate program, training, and education model for other communities and programs.

How long participants worked with older adults also had a significant impact on scores. The longer workers had worked with older adults (0 to 3 years, 3 to 6 years, and 6+ years), the better their avoidance attitudes towards older adults were (i.e., the better the FSA avoidance score). As well, the longer the workers worked with older adults, the better they scored on the DAS comfort scale. There was no significant impact on whether workers were full time or part time. These results may show multiple things. First, perhaps the longer the worker has worked with older adults, the more they enjoy it and the more comfortable they become (as seen in the DAS comfort scale). A reason the 0 to 3 and 6+ year groups are vastly different because the 0 to 3 year group may not know if this is a career they would like to stay in, whereas the 6+ group have shown longevity in the industry, this suggesting they may enjoy it and prefer to be there. Research may provide some insight into this factor. Wells et al. (2004) found that nursing students' attitudes towards older

adults is a large predictor of whether students move into a gerontological field, as well as the ones in the long-term care reported high reward but also high professional costs (e.g., low professional esteem). Consequentially, this would limit the number of medical personnel available to care for this growing population, which could have a detrimental impact on the overall care of older adults, suggesting attitudes held previous to entering a job may be the reason for staying or not. Likewise, research by Eshbaugh, et al. (2013) found that when looking into various professions and programs, undergraduates look for enjoyability, benefits, personal fulfillment, excitements, an opportunity to help others, and if it is a respected occupation. Perhaps if the worker does not feel this field provides these aspects to them, they may not show longevity in it, and alternatively those who do feel all or any of these factors may stay. More research should be done into the workers who choose to leave and those who choose to stay and their motivations for doing so. There is a possibility the reasons are related to their attitudes towards older adults.

Although there are many findings that resulted from this study, there are some limitations. One limitation to this study was the DAS scale and its generalizability as it was tested on predominantly female Caucasians during its conception. This study consisted of participants of different ethnicities, not just Caucasian so generalizability of this scale may be difficult. A correlational analysis was conducted on the involved scales though, and the results showed that there was a high correlational relationship between all of the measures. This is especially true for the measures and their subsequent subscales (e.g., the DAS and DAS comfort, $r = .964, p < .01$). This suggests that the questionnaires and measures used had high criterion validity between each other, as well as high convergent validity. Additionally, a sample size of sixty or more participants was sought; the sample size of this study was relatively small ($N = 34$), and thus had some consequences, such as the F value approaching significance for position's impact on the FSA antilocution, DAS comfort, and DAS knowledge. If there were more participants, it is likely that these values could have been statistically significant, especially because the UM group was so small (7).

A limitation to previous studies was their lack of representation of non-healthcare workers; therefore, this study sought out this group specifically. In the present study, there was a large number of administration (e.g., directors) and healthcare workers (e.g., nurses) that responded; however, there were fewer frontline staff (e.g., servers) than originally anticipated. Another study that corresponds to the missed demographic (such as a larger number of servers and housekeepers) should be done in order to truly see if there is a difference in positions. When looking at different positions, though, it is important to note the factors that go into the attitudes of those workers' positions, such as education and exposure. This study did find significant differences in these levels. Although the lack of representation of these positions should be

noted, the exposure and education did have evidence to support that the more education and exposure a worker has, the more positive their attitudes will be towards older adults.

Additionally, the ALC studied is a unique facility. It has a rare model of operation where there are no 'locked' units or floors assigned to level of care required. They have a robust UM team which actively engages with residents living with dementia in meaningful ways and is very active in research and educating their staff. The demographic in this ALC population is affluent Caucasian older adults, and they are a private for-profit institution with share holders (as opposed to public, and private non-profit). Therefore, the staff and findings at this facility can be assumed to be different from the more common facilities in western society, such as public ALC's with locked floors and units; therefore, generalizability to other ALC's is hard. Research should be done to compare the different models of care (public, private, and private non-profit) and their workers to see if attitudes differ amongst them.

This research should be used to demonstrate and facilitate an open discussion about the attitudes of workers towards the older adults living in ALC's. The residents often depend on workers around them, and workers having unmitigated negative attitudes towards older adults has the potential to do a lot of harm. However, on a lighter note, this study provides evidence to show that education (healthcare specifically, and hopefully gerontological focused), and increased exposure to older adults, can be mitigating factors and may even produce more positive attitudes. ALC's should make a conscious effort to assess workers' attitudes towards older adults frequently as this is something that can have a lasting impact on an older adult. These negative attitudes may not only have impacts on the older adults (Levy, 1996; Levy et al., 2002; Lookinland & Anson, 1995), but also the workers (Chasteen et al., 2002). Additionally, if an older adult comes to an assisted living home for the remainder of their lives, it should be seen as a duty of society to provide meaningful and positive care for them. There is simply not enough research done on this topic, and future research needs to be done so the psychology and older adult care communities can join together to create meaningful experiences for not only the workers, but also the residents.

It was found in this study that ethnicity appears to impact attitudes. As well, high comfortability, healthcare education (formal), position (e.g., director of human resources vs. server), and prolonged exposure (6+ years) were all predictors of positive attitudes. The majority of these findings strengthen the previous research in this field and should bolster the evidence to implement activities based on these findings. Understanding the attitudes the workers in these communities have is only a portion of the story. How the older adults are treated as a result of these attitudes, as well as how they feel they are impacted by the workers' attitudes is the next step. It has been shown in other studies

that poor care from healthcare workers can have serious effects on older adults' health, happiness and overall, well being (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002; Veerlooij-Dassen et al., 2005). Positive attitudes are a starting point for these ALC's to help mitigate adverse outcomes for their residents. The current study aids in helping understand non-healthcare workers' attitudes towards older adults. This is important to examine because in ALC's, such as the one in this study, there are many workers who come in contact with older adults on a daily basis, other than just healthcare workers (e.g., servers). Overall, this group of workers has been relatively under researched, and any exposure an older adult has to ageist attitudes can be detrimental. This research helps the field understand attitudes better in these non-healthcare workers; however, more needs to be done to keep our growing population of older adults safe and happy.

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AUTHORS

Hannah Ackerman is a fourth-year English literature student at St. Mary's University. Her capstone is about secret societies and their roles in literature. Hannah's essay is inspired by her love of secret societies, such as the ones written by Erin Morgenstern, who is the focus of her essay.

Artemis Baker has a Bachelor of Arts in English with a minor in History. Xe is currently working towards a Bachelor of Elementary Education degree on the path to becoming a teacher. Xe is passionate about making the world a better place and inspiring others to do the same. Xe wrote about satire to highlight how the tool of satire can be a useful force for social change.

Kyrie Bouscal depends on published creative writing as a source of truth and critical healing. Since graduating from the English program in 2020, she increasingly values individual experience as a catalyst for social change and plans to embolden essential humanity in her next degree and beyond.

Padraic Cohen is a recent graduate of St. Mary's University who is currently working towards a master's degree in North American history at Arizona State University. Padraic chose to write on the Irish Civil War due to his family's Irish heritage and his interest in interwar history.

Rick Coumont graduated with his degree in History (and a minor in English) following a lifelong interest in humankind's collective past. Of particular interest to him are periods of history where radically different cultures have interacted. This line of inquiry brought him to the topic of European imperialism, and in particular how they understood their own ideology.

Joshua Davey graduated St. Mary's University in 2020 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in English. As seen in the essay he has written in this journal, Joshua has a soft spot for Shakespeare. A *Midsummer Night's Dream* being his favourite piece of literature ever. He is also an author looking into publishing.

Taylor Lyn Dunphy has been a student of St. Mary's University for the past five years and is currently finishing her sixth and final year in Educational studies. Born in Scarborough, Ontario and raised in Calgary, Alberta, Taylor has lived an adventurous lifestyle pursuing the path her grandfather Sonny also followed in the field of literary studies and shaping the minds of our youth.

Theresa Driscoll wanted to create a research paper that related to the Vietnam War after realizing how little she knew about the conflict, despite it being such an important moment in world history. She loves discovering new information

and making connections between the different people and cultures of the world, this paper is an extension of that passion.

Cheyenne Fordham graduated from St. Mary's University with a major in English. Her capstone project was founded on her desire to participate in ethically discussing and celebrating Indigenous literature. When Cheyenne is not immersed in the fantastical world of her current read, she can be found on her dirt bike racing through the mountains. She moves through life with her heart full of love from her family and her chocolate lab, Dio.

Kate Gillis is Métis from Calgary, Alberta with family roots in the historic Red River Settlement. In the Spring of 2020, Kate completed her Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in History, and a minor in Psychology from St. Mary's University, Calgary. Kate is now a masters student in the Indigenous Studies department at the University of Saskatchewan, with her research focussing on early Métis history and feminisms.

Jennifer Hamilton is a born and raised Calgarian who has always been naturally drawn towards psychology, how people think, and how humans age. She recognized the impact of ageism on society through volunteering and working in an older adult community. From these experiences, she decided to study the implications of ageism in order to provide evidence for the expanding gerontological field.

Daniel Melvill Jones is fascinated by the intersection of ideas, culture, creativity, and theology. Upon completing his undergraduate degree at St. Mary's University, he moved to Vancouver, BC to study interdisciplinary theology at Regent College. He has presented his work on Flannery O'Connor at the 2019 World Congress of Humanities and the 2021 Conference on Christianity and Literature, and his non-academic writing has been featured in publications like *Mockingbird*, *The Curator*, and *Christ and Pop Culture*. He is deeply involved in his school and parish community and is sustained by the love he shares with his wife, Annie.

Kaley Juvonen graduated from St. Mary's University with a Bachelor of Arts degree, majoring in Liberal Studies and minoring in Sociology. She wrote her paper on vaping because she and most of her friends partook and was curious about any harmful effects. Through her research process she has since quit vaping herself.

Leigh Linsey is a four-year history major. He has a passion for the outdoors, playing music and his dog. Having personally been to the Vimy Monument, Leigh felt inspired to examine this fateful battle, and what it meant for a young nation.

Kyla McDonald completed her undergraduate degree with a double major in English and History. She has always been interested in literature, films, and history; especially in relation to authors outside of the traditional canon, female-centric cinema, and fashion, respectively. This passion is why she chose to focus on the queer gaze and women's fashion for her capstone projects.

Alvaro Ortiz's time at St. Mary's has been defined by exploring big ideas through the lens of Catholic philosophy. When he first saw the Alien films, widely known and praised for their portrayal of a strong female protagonist, it was starkly clear to him that the titular antagonists represented distinct dangers to women, dangers that both Catholic philosophy and modern feminism continue to contend with. It was a great privilege in this project to study the life and works of the Catholic philosopher Edith Stein who, in her unique and prescient body of work, permits us to interpret Ripley, the sci-fi heroine in a way that defends the dignity of women from both debasement and annihilation.

Annisha Plesche is an English graduate from St. Mary's University. She is an artist, although she has tried to deny it on many occasions. As an actor and writer she constantly works to get the hell out of the way and serve the craft, story, and character truthfully. She cares about telling women's stories, a lot.

Mikayla Ravenda realized while in her undergraduate degree that trauma literature is the genre she finds particularly most captivating as both a reader and a scholar. She appreciates the honesty that can be found in writing, which is one of the primary reasons her essay revolves around the texts *Helpless* and *Know my Name*. While one text evokes readers' sympathy for a predator; the other text mentally swallows readers, bringing them into the psyche of someone who survived being sexually assaulted.

Josh Shepard graduated from St. Mary's University in 2021 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in History. In addition to his studies, Josh served two terms as the Student Legislative Council's Vice-President Internal and as the President of the Pre-Law Club. Josh is currently a law student studying at the University of Alberta.

Em Williamson is an artist, writer and has a B.A. in English who focuses on the field of lesbian feminist criticism. She is primarily interested in analyzing the development of lesbian representation throughout history and working to improve representation both through her own work and in providing education for other writers.

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