Undergraduate History Journal at the University of Calgary

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THE UNDERGRADUATE HISTORY JOURNAL
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

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Statement of Purpose

The publication of student papers and research in the *Undergraduate History Journal* support the individual learning experiences of students and enhances the intellectual environment and community of the history department.

First, this publication acts as a model for new students coming out of high school or mature students who have been away from academic life for some time. Students can see real and recent examples of works graded for top marks in history at the University of Calgary. There will be many examples and formats of different approaches and styles for assignments, as opposed to a "paint-by-numbers" approach, which would inhibit innovative approaches to historical inquiry. The *Journal* grants students an understanding of the efforts expected of them in their courses and will be inspired to achieve equal, if not better, results.

Second, the *Journal* has been intended for in-house use as a printed physical journal only, but this year there has been a shift to an online platform. This is intended to give wider access to the undergraduate work to those in the history department, but also to those who may not be in the department but have an interest in history. Moving to an online platform also allows to showcase the exemplary work of history students at the University of Calgary. Its intent is to act as a collection of exemplary assignments for teaching and learning purposes, rather than a source of knowledge and citations for other scholars.

Third, the *Undergraduate History Journal* will give students experience in submitting papers for publication, and in peer-reviewing those publications, through membership on the Editorial Board. The Board is composed of students, under the direction of a faculty member. Students gain experience by examining submissions as critical editors, making suggestions about the academic work of their peers, and collaborating in a team environment with a collective goal. The peer-reviewing process is double-vetted and entirely anonymous, with papers going through multiple rounds of editing, with no bias involved to ensure fairness. Editors become knowledgeable in the process of publication, through workshops run by faculty members, such as copyediting workshops and the proper use of editing technology. This expertise can be used in careers connected to the fields of editing, writing, and publishing.

Fourth, editing experience with the *Journal* will be useful for students who wish to pursue graduate studies, as the connections with a history faculty member will provide students with additional sources for reference letters. Editors will gain experience taking work that has received a high grade and elevating it to an even higher standard. Published works can be used for Graduate school applications. In addition, granting bodies, such as the Social Science and Humanities Research Council, look favourably upon a publication track-record which the *Journal* fosters.

Fifth, the *Journal* will act as a hub to build community amongst undergraduates and act as a steppingstone for community events. For example, the *Journal* can sponsor undergraduate conferences and publish the proceedings. The *Journal* can include a section on community news and events of the past and coming year, announcing the Randall Prize winner, Group Study Programmes, sources of funding (such as PURE Awards), exhibitions, dates for Departmental History Talks, paper presentations around the University and elsewhere, and the Honours' Students Conference. The *Journal* can also host undergraduate seminar papers for students who wish to present their work to the History Department, similar to the History Department's Colloquium Series for faculty, acting as good practice for the Honours Conference and the development of public speaking skills.

Further, the *Journal* will contribute to the initiative of supporting undergraduate research as well as fostering collaboration between students. Editors will be in a position of mentorship, helping newer undergraduates navigate their experience in the History Department and at the University of Calgary as a whole. The publication will highlight the achievements of history students at the University of Calgary and give family and friends a deeper appreciation of student work conducted at this institution.

Letter from the Editorial Board

We are so excited to be presenting the seventh volume of the *Undergraduate History Journal* at the University of Calgary. The UHJ is a teaching and learning tool that is intended to guide and support our undergraduate students, giving examples of written assignments across the Department of History, which has received a grade of an A or A+. These assignments are not only useful for new students starting their degree right out of high school, but also for individuals re-entering academic life. The UHJ is also a great way to showcase all the amazing work undergraduate students produce every single year and is a celebration of the value of an Arts education in the discipline of History.

We have learned a lot from our first six editions and not only were we able to make some improvements, but we also recognized the importance of having a resource like this made by students, for students. We have continued to receive strong submissions, both in numbers and in quality, and our principal goal remains the same: to highlight and share academic tools and resources within the undergraduate community. With that being said, we are excited to publish the first edition of the UHJ online. Our hope for having the Journal online is to make it more accessible to all students, not just to those studying history, and to showcase the outstanding work of U of C students to a broader audience.

We would like to thank our Faculty Advisor Dr. Glenn Wilkinson for answering our every question, supporting our decision-making, continuing to advocate for the Journal, and giving us advice for next steps to improve the Journal. We would also like to thank all the students who submitted their work to us this year. We know that it is never easy to put your work up for critique, but we appreciate everyone taking the time to dig through their assignments and contributing to something we really care about. These recent years have been hard for everyone, and the continued growth in the quality and quantity of submissions, despite the circumstances, has been exciting to see and highlights the resilience of the University's student body. We always encourage students to submit their work, so if you are interested, look out for our emails for the next edition of the Journal for the 2026-2027 school year.

The pursuit and study of history is a worthwhile endeavour, even if you are not currently pursuing history as a focus, we encourage you to try some courses! The study of history has always been fundamental to the creation of well-rounded educated people and helps to develop a mature mind; it fosters empathy — something we need now more than ever. As this Journal demonstrates skills like critical thinking, writing, communication, and research, are imperative not only as undergraduate students, but as active members within the community.

We hope you enjoy reading the following selection of excellent papers and use this tool to guide you through your academic experiences.

Editorial Board
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Editorial Board

Senior Editor: Sophie Robitaille is in her fourth-year of completing a Bachelor of Arts degree in History, with a minor in English. Her main interests in history are the World Wars and the influence of the Ancient World on our world today. She is especially interested in Ancient Greece, Rome, and Egypt, as well as their accompanying mythologies. After completing her undergraduate degree, Sophie plans on pursuing postgraduate studies. She hopes to one day become a secondary school social studies teacher and share her love and knowledge on the subjects. Sophie loves being active, reading, writing, and listening to music outside of school.

Senior Editor: Maryam Khan is in her fourth-year of working towards a dual Bachelor of Arts in History and Political Science, with a second major in International Relations. She is interested primarily in 20th century diplomatic history, especially during the Cold War era. After completing her undergraduate studies, Maryam plans on pursuing a master's in international relations or diplomacy. In her spare time, she enjoys various crafts, reading, and exploring new places.

Associate Editor: Marcus Vermilya-Mayer is a fourth-year History Major with a minor in Anthropology. His academic interests include 20th-century Canadian social politics, Meji Era Japan, and the criminal court system of early-modern England. In Fall 2025, he will begin the Honours program, conducting research on gender and peer surveillance in post-war Canada. After

Associate Editor: Maggie Ayriss is a first-year graduate student pursuing a Master's in Community Health Sciences. Maggie currently holds BAs in History and Communications and Media Studies. She is committed to a transdisciplinary research approach where she utilizes her history and communications background to complete health humanities research that focuses on fundamental changes to Canada's health system. Maggie hopes to continue to pursue higher academics and would like a career in health policy. Outside of academics, Maggie enjoys gardening, spending time with her dog and cats, and photography.

Associate Editor: Thomas Mastin is a third-year student pursuing a Bachelor's Degree with a major in History and a minor in Greek and Roman Studies. He is primarily interested in the early and late European modern period, specifically military history covering Pike-and-shot, linear warfare, and the long nineteenth-century. After his undergraduate degree, he hopes to pursue a career that will allow him to learn as much history as possible and write whatever comes to mind. When not in school, Thomas' hobbies range from reading and writing, to playing ice hockey and daydreaming.

Associate Editor: Dania Samih is in her fourth year of completing a Bachelor of Arts Honours degree in History. After finishing her undergraduate degree, Dania hopes to go on to graduate studies so she can continue to develop her thesis and conduct research. Outside of school, Dania enjoys artistic projects, watching films, and staying active.

Associate Editor: Bea Marie Bello is in her third-year of study pursuing a Bachelor of Arts degree in History, alongside a minor in Greek and Roman Studies. Bea is interested in all kinds of history and how it intertwines with pop culture. She hopes to share such knowledge through writing and education. In her free time, Bea likes crafting, reading books, and listening to music.

The Witch of Wapping, The Trial of Joan Peterson
by Ellen Berridge, HTST 204

The primary source that I am analyzing is a printed pamphlet from the year 1652 concerning the witch trial of Jone Peterson, also known and referenced as the Witch of Wapping. The trial took place in Wapping, East London in the borough of Tower Hamlets on April 7, 1652, and she was later put to death on the charges of witchcraft on April 12, 1652. This document is important because it shows how the proceedings of a witch trial were typically built off of little evidence and an inability to explain an underlying cause of death.

This document is a printed account of the witch trial of Jone Peterson who was accused of using witchcraft to help kill community member, Lady Powel, who had died of another medical cause, according to the descriptions in the physicians notes on the second to last page of the document. Jone Peterson was accused of witchcraft, where the document states " Then the court proceeded upon the first indictment which was for bewitching Lady Powel to death."[1] The person who printed this document is not explicitly mentioned, however in the source there is mention of the person to who was recording the words of the trial as it was going on, which is what this source is based off of. This person is referenced multiple times throughout the source as Mr. Recorder. Although Mr. Recorder is never named it is possible that they authored the pamphlet due to how much they are mentioned. The reason that this source was created was because there were "several accounts of lying pamphlets concerning the witch of Wapping".[2] From this, it can be figured that the intended audience was to the surrounding community who would have heard, read and possibly been spreading falsities about this trial. To place this source into some historical context, during the 1650's Charles II was leading an invasion into England in the

[1] "A declaration in answer to several lying pamphlets concerning the witch of Wapping," 6.
[2] "The Witch of Wapping," 4.

third Civil War, the Anglo-Dutch War was starting in 1652, and the witchcraze was at its height in England.

In the document it is mentioned at the end that the judges Coll. Okey, Coll. Berkstead and other Justices of the Peace were not happy with the charge and trial of Jone Peterson, due to a lack of true evidence "did declare themselves that they were not satisfied either with the proceedings, or proof against this Peterson, that she was guilty of witchcraft."[3] This quote is important because it demonstrates how the court and the people who were commencing the trial felt in regards to the account of witchcraft that Jone Peterson was accused of. From what the document states at the end that the other Justices of the Peace and Coll. Okey and Coll. Berkstead felt that on this account there were personal feelings that were the true attribute to this specific trial, "relating to the prejudice of Mrs. Levingstone, which they are ready to testify to the parliament."[4]

In this document, the trial of Jone Peterson was stated by those who commenced the trial to not have enough evidence against the accused and that they were not satisfied by how it had proceeded. This becomes important because when looking at other witch trials and cases of witchcraft it is a theme that comes up often, not just in Europe but from all around the world. The sudden witch craze that Europe and the world experienced in the 1400's to the mid 1700's was fueled by war and religion. In England, the suddenness of the witch trials and the witchcraze can be pointed to the split of the Catholic and Protestant churches during and after the reformation.[5] During this period, the churches used witchcraft as a way to try and gain followers as stated in the article "Catholic and Protestant officials focused witch-trial activity in confessional battlegrounds during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation to attract the loyalty of undecided Christians."[6] This can be seen as an important aspect of the sudden boom

[3] "The Witch of Wapping," 11.
[4] "The Witch of Wapping," 11.
[5] Peter T. Leeson, and Jacob W Russ, "Witch Trials," *The Economic Journal London* 128 (2018): 2062.
[6] Leeson and Russ, "Witch Trials," 2062.

of witch trials and the grounds to which many of them are placed. A lot of witch trials are based on deaths of others in the community, sometimes the cause of death was not always explainable, so it was presumed that bewitching and witchcraft were playing a hand in the deaths.

Like in the primary document, there are other cases of supposed witchcraft that are based on a lack of understanding of medical problems. In other trials from this period and from around the world in general there are accounts of medically misunderstood deaths that have led to a surge in witch trials, and to many deaths of people believed to be witches. In another set of very important and prominent witch trials in North America were the Salem witch trials. The Salem witch trials show resemblance to Jone Peterson's trial as many women were to be charged with witchcraft on the account of misunderstood deaths of girls who had been poisoned.[7] It is also mentioned at the end of the document that the medical examination after the death of Lady Powel showed that she had swollen limbs, abdomen, yellow tinge and liquid in her lungs.

When all of these sources and the things that they highlight are put together it can be seen that they all share a common theme; in many articles of witch trials, whether they be actual accounts or an analysis, they are all connected. The trial of Jone Peterson and her death were based on little evidence of her actually being a witch, rather of prejudice, lack of knowledge and hearsay, as supported by the physician's report of the real cause of death of Lady Powel and the concerns of the Justices of the Peace.

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[7] Leela S. Mundra, and others, "The Salem Witch Trials- Bewitchment or Ergotism," *JAMA Dermatology* (2016): 540.

"A declaration in answer to several lying pamphlets concerning the witch of Wapping. Being a more perfect relation of the arraignment, condemnation, and suffering of Jone Peterson, who was put to death on Munday the 12 of April, 1652. Shewing the bloudy plot and wicked conspiracy of one Abraham Vandenbemde, Thomas Cromption, Thomas Collet, and others" *n.p. London* (1652): 1-12. Accessed via *Archives Unbound*.

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The Safety Bicycle: The Victorian Woman's Expedition into a New Public Space
by Alyssa Reedy, HTST 303

> A gentleman recently bought his wife and two daughters a bicycle apiece. It was not very long before he had occasion to regret his generosity. Returning home late one night he was annoyed to find the house deserted, Mary Jane out and no supper prepared.[1]

This excerpt from Katrina Jungnickel's book, *Bikes and Bloomers*, demonstrates the stress and tension that was placed on society with the popularity of the bicycle among women. The nineteenth century saw the emergence of the bicycle craze in tandem with a dress reform movement and the complicated "woman question." Women's nature and role in society were under debate and the "New Woman," Diane Thompson writes, was an ideological threat to a male perceived harmony.[2] Victorian women were actively seeking change in their lives through legislation and the suffragette movement, challenging ideologies held at that time and in tandem, exploring a wider world outside the home. The "New Woman" in the Victorian age became an explorer in her own urban and rural environment, and the safety bicycle enabled her to access new professions and financial independence. The bicycle facilitated the "New Woman" to be more self-sustainable, more active in her public space and less dependent upon the men around her. This was a fundamental shift in perception of time and space for the Victorian Woman because it hastened the pace to the modern woman today through destabilizing gender stereotypes, creating a new identity and expanding her geography all in a society that was prime for change.

Spurred by the enlightenment ideal of scientific thinking, the mid nineteenth century experienced a restructuring of household harmony regarding law, religion and literature.[3] With a revival of biblical

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[1] Katrina Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers: Victorian Women Investors and Their Extraordinary Cycle Wear.* (Cambridge, MA: Goldsmiths Press, 2020), 37.
[2] Diane Thompson, *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question. (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3.
[3] Ben Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights. (*1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 38.

criticism, Ben Griffin pointed out that the Bible began to be interpreted by some as a historical resource rather than a set of rules to strictly follow.[4] This new wave of religious thinking combined with changing laws regarding women's legal identities and advancing medical knowledge, led to the erosion of the Victorian domestic ideology.[5] Griffin explains that gender stereotypes held at the time were structured as marital unity through male authority.[6] This authority though, was on unstable ground as women actively sought changes to law. Women were eligible to vote in local elections in 1869 and married women got the right to own property in 1870.[7] These changes in women's legal and domestic spheres began to threaten masculine stability. With male dominated spaces becoming occupied by women, and with the introduction of the safety bicycle, these fears were further agitated. In previous centuries, arguments that kept women in the domestic sphere, mostly regarding their health, began to be dismantled, Margaret Guroff noted that the switch to scientific thinking led to a transformation of thought. With masses of women cycling, the benefits began to be undeniable, with Guroff asserting that physicians began to accept that what was healthy for one body, would be good for another.[8] Women riding bicycles and experiencing none of the expected negative effects, mostly centred around reproductive health, was evidence that began to crumble preconceived gender roles.[9] Sarah Hallenbeck emphasized that the bicycle changed how women viewed themselves and their new found physical capabilities.[10] Doubt regarding gender sowed the seeds for women to actively create a new identity, and the bicycle was central to that change.

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[4] Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain,* 113,115.
[5] Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain,* 113,115.
[6] Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain,* 51.
[7] Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain,* 13.
[8] Margaret Guroff, *The Mechanical Horse, How the Bicycle Reshaped American Life*. (First edition. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2016), 49.
[9] Lena Wanggren: Gender, Technology and the New Woman. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 67.
[10] Sarah Hallebeck, *Claiming the Bicycle: Women, Rhetoric, and Technology in the Nineteenth-Century America.* (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 2016), 32.

In the work of Glen Norcliffe, the bicycle's visibility is emphasized. Riding is done in a public space, compared to other technologies of the nineteenth century like the sewing machine, which was in the domestic sphere.[11] The way women chose to present themselves in the public space drastically changed with the bicycle. Women began to create new identities for themselves and the independence they sought out and experienced evolved to include their dress. The Dress Reform Movement of the 1830s was furthered along with the introduction of the safety bicycle. The light frame and pneumatic tires made it the optimal vehicle for a woman to use solo, and so, women actively modified their outfits for the ride and cyclist Francis Willard posed that regarding clothing, "reason [would] gain upon precedent."[12] Women were re-designing their own wardrobe and switching out irrational fashion for rational dress, often at the shock of an agitated public.[13] Women contributed to the bicycle form itself, acting as a "silent partner" in the development of the bike; many patents were issued to women who had improved the design of the bicycle.[14] A shift in fashion along with items that women brought along with them, created a new heterotopia on their travels. Maria Ward's handbook suggests bringing a lantern for late rides, keeping a small notebook and a compass for noting interests along the way, and maintaining her desired direction.[15] The newly expanded public space that included social activities, further places to travel, and new professions, such as journalism, created a heterotopia for women that resembled one of a man's. The establishment of women's clubs revolving around cycling created new bonds of common interest and created a new space for women to interact with one another. The Lady's Cycling Association, established in 1892, and magazines such as the "Lady Cyclist" represented a shift in what women chose to do socially.[16] Previously women's social lives were heavily dictated by domestic life

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[11] Glen Norcliffe, *Critical Geographies of Cycling: History, Political Economy and Culture.* (London: Routledge, 2016), 4.
[12] Francis Willard: *A Wheel within a Wheel: How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle, with Some Reflections by the Way.* (Fleming H. Revell Company, 1895).
[13] Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers*, 4.
[14] Hallenbeck, *Claiming the Bicycle,* 33, 35.
[15] Maria A. Ward,*The Common Sense of Bicycling*. (New York; Paris; Chicago; Washington: Brentano's, 1896),78.
[16] Wanggren, *Gender, Technology and the New Woman,* 65.

and morality, leaving few acceptable options compared to men. Bicycling was seen as a morally acceptable social outing that could be done alone by women and girls.[17] The bicycle was also affordable, compared to golf or horse riding, expanding the population who could buy one from the rich to the working class, with Guroff stating that the bicycle was the "great leveller."[18] With more women riding bicycles, there was an increase in cycling-related literature. This created a new space of media and camaraderie. Women such as Frances Willard and Maria Ward wrote books about their experiences of learning to ride and their books taught other women how to ride. Women were educating themselves on riding the bicycle, and as Maria Ward writes in her book, women could become "at all times independent."[19]

Independence for the Victorian woman, meant that they had the freedom to expand their geography. The previous small space of the home grew farther out and this was especially true in rural areas. Offices, markets, schools, hospitals and shops were suddenly a short pedal away with the bicycle. Norcliffe notes that by 1900, most places had a bicycle shed that was full during the day and empty at night.[20] The speed and distance the bicycle gave women both shortened and expanded time for them. Getting to her destination took less time resulting in more time to spend there, also opening the possibility of going to multiple places in a day. Cyclist Maria Ward wrote about cycling, "the country all about soon becomes your domain. Instead of a few squares, you know several towns."[21] A pioneer of women's distance cycling was Annie Londonderry. Born Annie Cohen Kopchovsky, Londonderry cycled thousands of miles across the globe beginning and ending in Boston with stops in Egypt and

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[17] Patricia Marks: *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press.* (Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 184.
[18] Guroff, *The Mechanical Horse*, 49.
[19] Ward, *The Common Sense of Bicycling, 4.*
[20] Norcliffe, *Critical Geographies of Cycling,*13.
[21] Ward, *The Common Sense of Bicycling,* 20.

France.[22] Hallenbeck mentions that there was limited evidence of Londonderry being paid for her journey, concluding her sponsorship may have been used as a guise for her liberation from her domestic life.[23] Author Lena Wanggren explains that women, real and literary, also viewed the bicycle as a means of mental and physical escape.[24] On a "steed that never tires" Frances Willard encouraged other women to explore a wider world in a more informal manner.[25] The bicycle was compared to the railway in Ward's book, where she concluded that the bike is linked with the rail, driving travel further. Ward wrote that the railway and bicycle required less effort in transportation, but the bicycle had the added benefit of the ability to stop and enjoy moments along the trip.[26]

"What more delightful than to mount and speed away, the whirr of the wheels, the soft grit of the tire, an occasional chain-clank the only sounds added to the chorus of the morning, as, the pace attained, the road stretches away before you!"[27] Written by Maria Ward in 1896, this excerpt is an excellent example of the joy the bicycle brought women. Joy in new fashion, exploration, friendships and the freedom achieved with it. Women had been actively championing for an equal place in male dominated spaces before the Victorian Era and the invention of the safety bicycle. However, the bicycle accelerated the time it took for women to reach that physical and long imagined space. A chain reaction began when women saw their peers cycling and took to the sport as well, and the joy and freedom found with the bicycle was a catalyst that drove change at a much faster pace.

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[22] Bruce Webber, "Annie Londonderry: A Pioneering Bicyclist's Epic Journey Came to Symbolize Women's Independence." *The New York Times*. November 2019.
[23] Hallenbeck, *Claiming the Bicycle,* xii.
[24] Wanggren, *Gender, Technology and the New Woman*, 75.
[25] Francis Willard, *A Wheel Within A Wheel,* conclusion.
[26] Ward, *The Common Sense of Bicycling*, 19.
[27] Ward, *The Common Sense of Bicycling*, 7.

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The Significance of the Bills of Mortality in Understanding Response to the Plagues in Early Seventeenth-Century London
by Sophie Robitaille, HTST 330

Beginning in 1603, Bills of Mortality were first documented as a way to record deaths and burials regarding the plagues terrorizing London.[1] The Seventeenth-century was a historically momentous period in early modern London, England, as plagues brought great death and despair for the English people. In this period, the Bills of Mortality became pivotal documents as they held great significance in understanding life and plague narratives at the time, as "[t]he basic function of the bills was to localize mortality by parish."[2] The information provided through said documents allows researchers to analyze and acquire knowledge on social and political contexts, and the significance of religion and documentation for events at the time. The aim of this essay is to thoroughly examine the profound role the bills played in understanding key aspects of English life, and the immediate and gradual impacts of the plague in early modern England. A vital facet of the bill(s) was the information it provided on the societal and political life of different classes at the time of an outbreak.

Throughout its history, London had several plague outbreaks, the most notably violent were the outbreaks in 1603, 1625, 1630, 1636, and 1665.[3] The bills documented in these periods highlighted the ways in which individuals coped, as well as the steps taken politically to contain the plague outbreaks. The documents were rich in information, especially regarding the responses from the wealthy to the poor, and how the different classes fared. It was a common practice for wealthy mothers to send their babies to be wet nursed in an attempt to save them, as well as the wealthy to flee London or congested

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[1] Spencer J. Weinreich, "Sums Theological: Doing Theology with the London Bills of Mortality, 1603-1666," in *Church History* 90, no.4 (2022): 800.
[2] Weinreich, "Sums Theological," 807.
[3] Viviana Comensoli, ""This Straunge Newes": Plague Writing, Print Culture, and the Invention of News in Thomas Dekker's The Wonderfull Yeare (1603)," in *News in Early Modern Europe* (2014): 200.

spots that were prone to disease transmission.[4] Records also reveal that central parishes where individuals would quarantine, fared better after 1603 than extra-mural ones, indicating that the rich typically fared better than the poor.[5] Subsequently, it becomes clear that when the wealthy had fled London for regions that were less densely populated, the middling sort and the poor were left with less work.[6] This posed an issue for them as the lower classes relied on work to support themselves and their families, and showed that "[s]ickness and death aside, [the] plague's most tangible burden was economic… [and that] those who paid most dearly during times of plague were the lower middling sort."[7] The Bills of Mortality also touched on the implementation of quarantine on individuals residing in London and its surrounding areas, and how it was something the general public struggled with.

The mortality rates that the bills showed throughout parishes allowed political forces to use them as evidence and reinforcement when implementing measures aimed to help the containment of the disease. There was huge potential for "the ammunition the bills might supply against political and confessional opponents."[8] Quarantine in early modern England was something that had been a relatively new strategy, even in 1636, and it had been something that created discourse on its effectiveness and if the measures were warranted or not.[9] There had been arguments, by using the numbers shown in the mortality bills, that the close confinement of individuals in quarantine "increased the death toll during outbreaks," when the goal of them was to reduce risk of infecting those who were not ill.[10] It became clear to many living at the time that "the social and psychological chaos that plague inaugurates is as

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[4] Charles M. Evans, and Angela E. Evans, "Plague – a disease of children and servants? A study of the parish records of St Peter upon Cornhill, London from 1580 to 1605," in *Continuity and Change* 34 no. 2 (2019): 192.
[5] Neil Cummins, and others, "Living standards and plague in London, 1560-1665," in *The Economic History Review* 69, no. 1 (2015): 4.
[6] Christopher J. Duncan, and Susan Scott, "Plagues in London in the 17th century," *Biology of Plagues Evidence from Historical Populations* (2009): 215.
[7] Kira L. S. Newman, "Shutt Up: Bubonic Plague and Quarantine in Early Modern England," in *Journal of Social History* 45, no. 3 (2012): 816.
[8] Weinreich, "Sums Theological," 811.
[9] Newman, "Plague and Quarantine," 809.
[10] Newman, "Plague and Quarantine," 812.

much a direct product of the disease as is the somatic chaos of buboes, fevers, lesions, and death."[11] The quarantine of that period went further than simply instructing individuals to stay in their homes if they or their loved ones were infected. There were documents that had demanded there be two buildings, that were architecturally sound in their construction, to be used for the sick, and for those who had been exposed to the virus but were generally healthy.[12] Although good in thought, quarantine had proved to be a difficult time for several individuals. As previously stated, the lower classes relied on their professions to obtain a living wage, but "[q]uarantine took twice the usual toll on vendors of perishable goods," and so many felt it was an act against the lower classes.[13] Throughout this time of isolation, many also saw it as a punishment as the "plague disproportionately affected people of the middling or lower socioeconomic status, who lacked the financial resources to flee."[14] Many individuals also argued that if the plague had been a punishment by God, then there should be no government intervention as it was seen as a way of the government taking control, instead of letting God have control.[15] This ideology reflects the religious significance the mortality bills played as a response to the plague.

Plague outbreaks in the early seventeenth-century had been perceived by some as a divine intervention by God. Many saw it as a time for religious renewal with some even theorizing that a lack of preaching and thanking God was a potential cause for the outbreaks; that a lack of preaching equated to illness, whereas periods of preaching resulted in fewer infections.[16] The mortality numbers within the bills acted as a support for the religious narratives of the time. The "sermons, homilies, tracts, poems, and pamphlets published during or just after the major epidemics of the seventeenth century," incorporated the statistical numbers of the bills as a way to "rebuke sin, encourage reformation, and

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[11] Ian Munro, "The City and Its Double: Plague Time in Early Modern London," in *English Literary Renaissance* 30, no. 2 (2000): 246.
[12] Newman, "Plague and Quarantine," 813.
[13] Newman, "Plague and Quarantine," 824.
[14] Newman, "Plague and Quarantine," 826.
[15] Newman, "Plague and Quarantine," 825.
[16] Weinreich, "Sums Theological," 814.

score polemical points."[17] Individuals living in and around London, and in quarantine conditions, sought solace in the religious narratives being provided to them as a result of being scared by the statistics in the bills. Many were pushed into moral reflections that urged repentance and shared a common base of exploiting the Bills of Mortality for their own religious purposes.[18]

The records of the Bills of Mortality also played a role in religious narrative and teachings. They situated themselves in the crevices of religion and in what people wanted others to hear, even going as far to say that "[p]lague victims were similarly described as being struck by God's whip."[19] The messages given to individuals were about a dire need for spiritual reformation and was a punishment caused by "mass immorality and corruption among London's inhabitants."[20] Individuals relied on religion as an answer for the horrid events occurring, and in a way relied on religious reform to counteract the plague. Using the Bills of Mortality in religious narratives offered a deeper insight into the roles they played in shaping said narratives and how residents of London coped with the events of the time.

With the introduction of the Bills of Mortality in 1603, there was also a significant impact on record keeping. The consistency throughout the record keeping allowed for future analysis of the numerical data, which in turn allowed for understanding outbreaks, tracing patterns, and the nature of the plague itself. The bills and research alike allowed for conclusions like "[t]he epidemic [being] more deadly in suburbs than the city itself," as well as the identification of trends such as "nurses and infants [being] believed to face a higher risk of infection."[21] Furthermore, the documentation of the mortality and burial rates in parishes throughout London since 1603 allowed for studies in future plague outbreaks

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17 Weinreich, "Sums Theological," 802.
18 Weinreich, "Sums Theological," 822.
19 Claire Turner, "Intersensory Experiences of the Plague in Seventeenth-Century London," in *Social History of Medicine* 36, no. 2 (2023): 45.
20 Turner, "Intersensory Experiences," 45.
21 Duncan, "Plagues in London," 194; Turner, "Intersensory Experiences," 56.

(like that in 1636), and "examining the government system of plague control and regulation in early modern England."[22] The use of textual records and evidence on the plague outbreaks allowed for understanding the implications of the disease in early modern England and allowed for the analysis of the disease's characteristics in both an urban and city setting.

The Bills of Mortality played a significant role in understanding plague narratives and life in early Seventeenth-century London. These records are deeply embedded in the religious societal aspects of the society at the time, and they allow for a deeper understanding of the plague's impact. Not only do the bills pertain to the religious ideologies and narratives, they allowed for the analysis of the plague's impact on important political decisions and in understanding the response of society and London's inhabitants. The numerical data in the bills transcends simple statistics and numbers, it plunges into the motivations behind historical decisions and the ideologies of the time. Documents like the Bills of Mortality are integral in modern day understanding of past and present events, and they serve as a witness to events in London's history.

[22] Newman, "Plague and Quarantine," 810.

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Hitler's Effective Management of Party and State

by Simone Real, HTST 333

During and after the consolidation of power as dictator of Nazi Germany, Adolf Hitler strategically employed different tactics and actions to achieve his goals. Hitler's dictatorship worked to achieve Lebensraum, militarism, and racial purity in Germany to assert Germany as a global power. However, Hitler could not achieve these goals alone, as no dictator can consolidate and use power alone, making management of their parties and government essential to maintaining and using absolute authority. Hitler was an effective dictator as he managed his party with centralized authority, used political repression and selective promotion, controlled the normative and prerogative state, and used his personality to gain support from party members and civilians.

By gaining centralized authority constitutionally, Hitler was effective at achieving absolute power. In response to the Reichstag fire in February 1933 which placed blame on communists for destroying the home of parliament, an emergency decree was written under Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution. This suppressed freedoms such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press, and allowed the arrests of political opposition without trial.[23] This decree demonstrates how Hitler could begin the process of removing political opposition, allowing the Nazi Party to have authority over other parties and obtain federal power over states.[24] Hitler sought to eliminate the *Reichstag*'s remaining powers, which was "legally only achievable through the passing of an enabling act," that could only be passed with a two-thirds majority vote.[25] To achieve this majority, Hitler used two significant means. The first being the use of intimidation with the Sturmabteilung lining the auditorium where the vote was held, and the second being the imprisonment of opposition, mostly communists, under the Reichstag Fire Decree.[26] The Enabling Act became integral to Hitler's success as he was able to rule by decree, allowing him to pass any law he sought without opposition from parliament, and in combination with the Reichstag Fire Decree, was able to put aside any existing law in the face of communist terrorist threat.[27] Hitler's centralized authority gained by the Enabling Act is significant in demonstrating how Hitler was effective at managing his party by growing its authority. When Hitler was appointed Chancellor in January 1933, only two other cabinet members were a part of the Nazi Party; however, after the Enabling Act was passed, Hitler's individual authority became absolute and the cabinet, which consisted of other party members became redundant, allowing the Nazi Party to grow in influence and authority.[28]

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[23] Ian Kershaw, *Hitler*, (2nd ed., Oxford, England: Routledge, 2013), 68.
[24] Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, (1st Vintage Books ed., New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 107.
[25] D.G. Williamson, *The Third Reich*, (Fifth edition., Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018,) 26-7.
[26] Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in History and Memory*, (London: Little, Brown, 2015,) 101.
[27] Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism,* 108
[28] Evans, *The Third Reich in History and Memory*, 92.

Hitler used his centralized authority to meet the ends he sought by passing and enforcing laws that eliminated opposition and began processes of racial purity. With his ability to rule by decree enforced by the Enabling Act, Hitler was able to pass laws to push forward his ideas for making Germany racially pure and ensure Germany was fascist without communist, or other opposing ideological, threat.[29] One of the most prominent laws passed without parliament approval or debate were the Nuremberg Laws of 1935. The Nuremberg Laws added law to already existing anti-semitism, which forbade Jewish and non-Jewish Germans from marriage, sexual relationships, among other restrictions.[30] These laws were of significant importance for Hitler to accomplish his goal of a racially pure Germany. Another significant example of Hitler using his centralized authority to serve his own goals and his party is the Law against the Formation of Parties, which legalized the one-party state when passed in 1933, thus removing any other political influence from the Nazi Party and German government.[31] These laws are significant examples of how Hitler was able to use his rule by decree to continue progressing Germany towards the Nazi ideal without legal opposition.

Hitler used political repression and violence to eliminate and prevent opposition, resulting in fewer obstacles for him to reach his aims. The Night of the Long Knives in June 1934 is the most prominent example of this, as Hitler ordered the Schutzstaffel to kill opponents to his party and the SA as he feared the power they were gaining. It was important for Hitler to eliminate these threats as after the passing of the Enabling Act, the only threats that could stop Hitler came from within the armed forces or within the Nazi Party. Internal threats included the leader of the SA, Ernst Rhöme, who was feared because the SA was becoming too powerful, and because there was a possibility of an attempted

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[29] Evans, *The Third Reich in History and Memory*, 95.
[30] Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution*, (Jerusalem: International Institute for Holocaust Research, Yad Vashem, 2008,) 161.
[31] Robert Gellately, *The Oxford History of the Third Reich*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2023,) 76.

Putsch.[32] Although it was Rhöme's murder that kickstarted the killings, the number of those deemed a threat who were killed reached as high as 150-200, and included members of the SA, those who had formally opposed Hitler such as Kurt von Schleicher, and left wing members of the Nazi Party such as Gregor Strasser.[33] These killings are a profound part of what made Hitler successful in his consolidation of power as they prevented any kind of uprising from within the Nazi Party or SA, which protected Hitler's authority and helped the SS gain strength over the SA. This is important as the SS worked directly under Hitler's orders and were not bound constitutionally. In addition to preventing immediate risks to Hitler's life and rule, these killings acted as a warning to any remaining opposition by demonstrating Hitler's power and willingness to eliminate opposition. This is significant in Hitler's management of his party by removing threats and preventing threats to his authority, allowing him to focus solely on his goals in full force.

Following the Night of the Long Knives, Hitler promoted and replaced party members to gain more loyalty within the Nazi Party. Hitler promoted members who had stronger loyalties and posed no threat of opposition. One of the most prominent members who benefited from the Night of the Long Knives was Heinrich Himmler, whose leadership of the SS in the attacks against the SA was rewarded with the responsibility of administering concentration camps.[34] Himmler's position of *Reichsfürher-SS* gained power with the SS's superiority over the SA, making Himmler the second most powerful man in Germany.[35] This is significant for Hitler as giving the responsibility of concentration camps, which were to be used to remove opposition and later to achieve Hitler's goal of racial purity when the camps were used as an instrument of genocide, was given to someone who had proved his loyalty and who Hitler could trust to carry out these goals of his. Himmler's new responsibility along with other leaders who

[32] Williamson, *The Third Reich,* 37.
[33] Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, 108.
[34] Williamson, *The Third Reich,* 41.
[35] Williamson, *The Third Reich,* 42.

contributed to the Night of the Long Knives, such as Göring, demonstrated how Hitler gained control and security over his party by ensuring he could trust whom he delegated responsibility to, to achieve his goals.

Hitler pursued his goals by controlling and using factions. Factions were right-wing organizations that replaced previously dissolved left-wing organizations, and controlled areas of German lives such as education, propaganda and entertainment.[36] Hitler used factions strategically to spread the Nazi Party's ideology to civilians. One of the most significant factions was the Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda led by Joseph Goebells. Goebells described propaganda as, "not enough to terrorize non-supporters into submission…[but that] the objective must be 'to work on people until they have capitulated to us,'" showing how crucial propaganda was in instilling ideology in civilians, making them submissive and unquestioning to Hitler as the *Führer.*[37] Propaganda was made in multiple mediums including film and radio broadcasts, which showed Nazi speeches and ceremonies. The most prominent broadcast being the *Wunschkonzert für das Winterhilfswerk*, which had around eighty percent of Germans tuning in making civilians 'one big family'.[38] This is an important way the Nazi Party could boost nationalism and boost civilian opinion of the party. Another important faction was the Reich Education Ministry, which served to inculcate German youth with Nazi ideology, by means of radically changing curriculum to instill Nazi values such as teaching anti-semitism in 'racial-science' courses.[39] Plebiscites were held regarding the changes to curriculum and other education policies; however, parents were intimidated and coerced into voting in agreement with the new Education Ministry policies.[40] The control of education and propaganda is integral to Hitler's ability to

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[36] Williamson, *The Third Reich,* 31.
[37] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 96.
[38] Williamson, *The Third Reich,* 62.
[39] Williamson, *The Third Reich,* 64.
[40] Richard J. Evans, *The Hitler Conspiracies*, (Oxford University Press, 2020,) 103.

manage his party as public support of the Nazis was necessary to prevent civilians from opposing Hitler, and the Nazi Party relied on civilians to help accomplish goals by being enthusiastically nationalist and eager to take action.

Parallel organizations were crucial to Hitler's control of the prerogative state, which also helped him to achieve his goals. A prominent parallel organization was the SS, as they were vital to Hitler's steps toward racial purity because they were central to the creation and management of concentration camps. Because the German police was removed by the normative state via the SS, they were under complete control of Hitler without being barred by law or constitution, and were also protected from Hitler's rivals in the Ministry of the Interior, who had traditionally controlled the German police.[41] This allowed the SS to carry out their management of concentration camps without interference from the law and constitution or opposition, as they only needed to respond to Hitler's command. Another important parallel organization was the Hitler Youth, which acted as an educational institution that prepared young Germans to be obedient under Hitler's authority, and to be educated in and trained in military affairs from the age of ten until they reached university.[42] The Hitler Youth was the prominent method, even more so than schools, in which children could be educated and indoctrinated of the Nazi ideology without requiring the same plebiscites that were held by the Reich Education Ministry.[43] This is a notable way Hitler could prepare Germany's future by ensuring youth had already begun military training thus creating new soldiers ready to be integrated in the military, and by ensuring children from a young age were given no ability to form their own ideology but rather forced to accept Nazi ideology. Parallel organizations were an effective method Hitler used to achieve his goals under his direct command without legal or oppositional interference, making his ability to achieve goals such as racial

[41] Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, 108- 33.
[42] Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, 141.
[43] Williamson, *The Third Reich,* 64.

purity, done in part by the SS, and militarism, done in part by the Hitler Youth, more obtainable for Nazi Germany.

Hitler's personality and leadership styles allowed him to be an effective dictator due to the trust and loyalty he obtained from his party. Throughout his political career, Hitler gained the trust of followers as he "never wavered about the certainty of his ideas," demonstrating the strength and conviction his followers admired.[44] Compared with other early Nazi leaders who were either introverted, lacking ideological vision, or had personalities that were too cold or inhuman to gain public appeal; Hitler's charisma and extraversion that had earned him a personality cult made him stand out.[45] Hans Frank, who later became one of Hitler's cabinet members, said that when he joined the SA in 1923, he was "positively spellbound" by Hitler's personality, demonstrating the impact Hitler's leadership had on party members.[46] The way Hitler was perceived by party members was not limited by his charisma and ability to speak, but also in portraying himself as an intellectual with members such as Goebells calling him a "genius". With his own party members as a captivated audience, they were more likely to heed his instructions and follow his ideology, which he communicated with certainty and passion. Party members trusted Hitler due to his conviction and genius, but also with his ability to act as a prophet for an improved Germany. This was profound for Hitler to succeed as a dictator, as he needed unwavering support and shared enthusiasm for improving Germany; he had to delegate to his party members since no dictator can rule alone, especially dictators like Hitler who had extreme and ambitious aims for Germany.

Hitler's influence extended to civilians as he gained their trust and loyalty. In order to achieve Hitler's desire for a unified and nationalistic Germany, he relied on having a mass following. This was

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[44] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 18.
[45] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 31-2.
[46] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 33.

important for certain aims of making Germany a more powerful nation, such as expanding militarism and increasing production, as these require a desire from civilians to serve Germany. That is, civilians who are not enthusiastic about serving Germany are less likely to get involved in military efforts and other efforts that Hitler aimed for. Hitler achieved support from the masses by using his skills as an orator, in which he portrayed himself as a "self-styled" prophet.[47] Even those who were unenthusiastic about the Nazi Party and supported other parties in 1933, "would find something, even a great deal, to admire in the Third Reich" over time.[48] Although this could be true as a result of the elimination and repression of opposition occurring simultaneously, it could have also come from Hitler's speeches that were broadcast, allowing Hitler the ability to change civilians' opinions of him and his party due to his ability to speak passionately about Germany and German nationalism. The gained support as a result of Hitler's ability to pose as a prophet who speaks of the greatness of Germany was vital to Hitler himself, as he relied on civilian support and action to accomplish goals such as militarism and to reduce opposition from the civilian masses.

Through utilizing lawful means of gaining increasing authority, elimination of opposition and inclusion of loyalty, control of factions and parallel organizations, and the use of his prophetic and tenacious style of speaking, Hitler was able to manage his party to achieve his goals. Although the Third Reich fell in 1945, Hitler had succeeded in multiple aims before then. He was able to achieve a degree of Lebensraum and militarism, which was made achievable due to his ability to gain support from and indoctrinate civilians. Hitler was also able to achieve a degree of racial purity due to his ruling by decree, which enabled him to pass laws that instigated measures to achieve racial purity, as well as using parallel organizations and trusting loyal members to carry out the Holocaust. Hitler's complete control

[47] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 34.
[48] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 89.

of party and state allowed him to effectively rule and bring Germany closer to his ideal model of the state.

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Artefact Review: For What?
by Lauren Bouchie, HTST 341

After the First World War, much of Canada generally shared the desire to move forward while keeping the memory of those who fought present in the public conscience. However, many Canadians chose to go about the preservation of memory in different ways. Generally, some of the most popular artistic pieces that emerged from the war were pieces that placed a great emphasis on glory, heroism, and the idea that there had been a purposeful sacrifice made by every man who fought. Frederick Varley however, diverged from this general narrative. During the war, Varley was under the commission of the Canadian Army, who had sent him to document the war through his skills in painting and sketching.[1] Thus, Varley gained a significantly different understanding of the way the war had been fought than what civilians had grown to understand. Where most Canadians saw grandeur and a fight for liberty, Varley returned with the impression that the war had been senseless, cruel, and lacking in any real purpose that would have been worth sowing so much destruction over.[2] What resulted from his experiences were pieces of art unlike most other Canadian work emerging from the period. In his 1918 painting *For What?* Varley pushed against the mythical conception of war that Canadians on the home front had and consequently revealed how attached Canadians had become to avoiding the harsh realities of the conflict overseas.

When the First World War finally concluded, Canada erupted into celebration, one that would not come to an end until more than a decade later.[3] Canadians firmly believed that they had won the war, and in turn, freed the world and defended peace along the way.[4] These ideas are especially present in post-war memorials and paintings. The phrase "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*" was a feature

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[1] Peter Varley, *Frederick H. Varley* (Toronto, ON: Key Porter Books, 1983), 55.
[2] Peter Varley, *Frederick H. Varley,* 56.
[3] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1997), 12.
[4] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble,* 12.

carved into a number of memorials constructed after the achievement of armistice, reminding Canadians and the veterans returning home that what had taken place was not only right, but it was something there was no worth in questioning.[5] The phrase suggests that if anything, it had been the best thing to do to send their men over, despite the insurmountable casualties the war had incurred. Many of these pieces also contained biblical expressions of gratitude, with the belief that these men had fought for God, had been guided by God in combat, and died for God.[6] Numerous paintings and sculptures show angels guiding peaceful, carefully posed, and relatively uninjured looking soldiers off to what is likely heaven, as is depicted in the memorial sculpture *Angel of Victory*.[7] If their depictions were not biblical in nature then they were at the very least incredibly sanitized. Many works did make an effort to capture the actual battlefields of the war, however their depictions were usually not entirely accurate. Richard Jack's paintings were notorious for this. In his painting *The Second Battle of Ypres*, he captured a very tidy image of the war.[8] There is blood on the occasional soldier's face, but never too much. There are dead bodies, but none of them are overly contorted or too injured in a way that would make the piece disturbing. Most notably, not one man in the scene is terrified, all bearing either very stoic or calm expressions as they focus entirely on their duty to defend the line. This was the way many Canadians understood the war to be because it was what most artists were choosing to show them. Civilians had no way of knowing what the war had truly looked like on the front, and thus these were the depictions they grew to expect. The attitude that popular memorials and art developed in the Canadian psyche was that the men who died on the front did not need to be mourned so intensely, as they had died for the purposes

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[5] Alan Livingstone MacLeod, *Remembered in Bronze and Stone: Canada's Great War Memorial Statuary* (Victoria, BC: Heritage House Publishing Company Ltd, 2016), 147.
[6] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble,* 16.
[7] "Historic Monuments – Angel of Victory in Front of Waterfront Station," *Heritage Vancouver*, 2016, https://heritagevancouver.org/top10-watch-list/2009/6-historic-monuments-angel-of-victory/.
[8] "Richard Jack," *Rookleys: Canadian Art*, accessed March 25, 2025, https://rookleys.com/artists/87-richard-jack/.

of freedom and had peaceful deaths knowing they had done so. These attitudes were the context that caused Varley to question the nature of the war when he painted his piece *For What?*.

Unlike most artists creating pieces before and after the Armistice, Varley had seen the war firsthand. His work as a war artist for the Canadian Army had exposed him to many of the same traumas the soldiers had experienced in the front. Many of the pieces he created during his time in France captured a deep sense of foreboding and disgust, but the intensity of this mood is heightened in *For What?*.[9] In the scene, the landscape is destroyed and jagged as a result of constant shelling; a contrast to the clean flat landscape of *The Second Battle of Ypres*. A cart takes up the centre of the image and is Varley's intended focus. Though partially blanketed, the feet of bodies incoherently piled on top of each other stick out of the end of the cart as a man looks on from the background, shovel in hand. Beside him there are already numerous graves marked by white crosses and he is likely preparing to plant more as is suggested by the presence of the overfilled cart.[10] The scene that Varley creates in *For What?* is one where death is relentless and brutal. The bodies of these men are not given any special treatment that they would have been afforded at home, such as a casket or flowers. Instead, they are haphazardly crammed into the cart, waiting for a grave that lacks their name. The bodies in the cart are not the same as the carefully posed, clean, and bloodless figures that were typical of most memorial works. Instead, they are awkwardly bent and suffocating underneath each other. Distinctly, the painting lacks an angel or a saviour despite the Canadian love for such imagery. No one is there for these men other than the individual who will bury them. The piece is tied together with the title *For What?*, as Varley asks Canadians what this image could have possibly been worth.

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[9] Peter Varley, *Frederick H. Varley,* 56.

[10] Laura Brandon, "For What?, 1918," *Art Canada Institute*, accessed March 25, 2025, https://www.aci-iac.ca/art-books/war-art-in-canada/key-works/for-what/.

Varley's depiction of the front is considerably more accurate to the experiences of Canadian soldiers than what most other works had captured. This is where the work finds its meaning: to be true to the Canadian veteran's experience. Death hung heavy over the front, even before one set foot in No Man's Land. The trenches of the First World War are easily defined by the hopelessness they invoked. Often, they were incredibly difficult to leave due to the bombardment of shells and machine gun fire.[11] Lifting one's head above the parapet could be immediately fatal for a number of reasons, largely shelling or the presence of snipers on enemy lines who waited patiently for someone to make the mistake of looking up.[12] The trenches could cave in at any time, whether as a result of flooding or a well shot shell, leading to a highly anxious environment on the front.[13] If the landing of a gas canister was not recognized quickly enough or heard over the sound of constant explosions and gunfire, it could mean death for the entire division camped inside of the trench.[14] When men did leave the trenches, they were defenseless to the shells that rained above and the guns that were trained on them from the opposing trench.[15] With such conditions, encounters with the rapidly increasing amount of dead bodies stranded across the land were unavoidable. Many men fell victim to the effects of shell shock as a result of their experiences.[16] Although Varley does not capture these intense attacks suffered by the Canadian Expeditionary Force, what he does capture is the solemn aftermath. The war was not clean. Those who fought knew that very well. What Varley and many other soldiers witnessed while on the front was the hundreds and if not thousands of bodies that were stranded across the entirety of No Man's Land. Varley's attempt to capture even a fraction of the brutality that the Canadian Expeditionary Force

[11] Trevor Yorke and Roger Davis, *The Trench: Life and Death on the Western Front 1914-1918* (Berkshire, England: Countryside Books, 2014), 49.
[12] Trevor Yorke and Roger Davis, *The Trench*, 39.
[13] Trevor Yorke and Roger Davis, *The Trench*, 39.
[14] Trevor Yorke and Roger Davis, *The Trench*, 39.
[15] Mark Osborne Humphries, *A Weary Road: Shell Shock in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 87.
[16] Mark Osborne Humphries, *A Weary Road,* 87.

suffered every day in the Western Front serves as a sympathy to the men he watched fight. It is out of this sympathy that he asks *For What?*, hoping that this display would help Canadians come to the realization that the war was not a mechanism for glory, but an atrocity that left veterans in need of deep respect, sympathy, and support. However, this meaning was directed at an audience that had no interest in hearing it, including both civilians and veterans alike.

Despite its accuracy to the war's conditions, *For What?* was not an especially successful painting during the period in which it was created. Generally, Canadians could not contend with the image that Varley was presenting to them. Canadians sought art that commemorated the war, not art that criticized it.[17] While work of the honest sort did get its praises, it was often overwhelmingly condemned by those who clung to their ideas about the glory the war had earned for Canada.[18] They desired pieces that invoked more hopefulness and warmth, and Varley's work certainly had not aimed for that.[19] The war was unbearably terrifying, which was incredibly difficult for both veterans and civilians to confront.[20] It was far too much to handle emotionally for the families of veterans to possibly consider that scenes like what Varley had depicted were where their sons, husbands, and brothers had actually been. To imagine one's own kin as one of the bodies piled somewhat carelessly into a cart was a sharp departure from the gentle sculptures and paintings of angels carrying men away. When Varley dared to ask Canadians what the war was for, the response from critics such as the editor of *The Nation* in an article published in 1919 was to suggest that Varley was avoiding an exploration of the deeper meaning to the war, instead choosing to pass it off as aimless.[21] While some soldiers agreed with Varley's adherence to truth, the majority did not.[22] It was much harder for veterans to dwell on what had happened overseas than it was

[17] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble,* 203.
[18] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble,* 103.
[19] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble,* 103.
[20] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble,* 106.
[21] Peter Varley, *Frederick H. Varley,* 58.
[22] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble,* 109.

for them to subscribe to popular Canadian images filled with ease, hope, and the occasional good times they had with the friends they made.[23] Considering the overwhelming presence of shell shock in the CEF, especially closer to the end of the war, few veterans were left who wanted to reminisce over what they had been through.[24] Canadians wanted to remember the war, but not in the way that Varley was presenting it to them.[25] Instead, it was much more comforting to think that every man had been safely delivered away after his death by some greater power and that by their sacrifice a profound peace and freedom to all had been achieved.

Varley's painting *For What?* serves as a challenge to the Canadian collective conscience in the postwar world. The piece positions itself against the most popular works of the period, choosing to emphasize the war's intense brutality rather than presenting a clean and palatable image for its relatively sheltered audience. The idea that the war could have been aimless, as suggested by Varley's title, was a concept that many Canadians were not willing to consider. The disconnect that Varley created between the truth of the war and the way Canadians chose to remember it revealed the relative ignorance that Canadian civilians clung to. Canadians refused to be forced to reckon with a version of the past that did not align with the majority artistic images they had been presented with at the war's end. Thus, the meaning attached to *For What?* was rejected, with many Canadians maintaining a general sense of national pride and a well-earned victory against evil in their collective memory of the war.

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[23] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble,* 109.
[24] Mark Osbourne Humphries, A Weary road, 89.
[25] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble,* 110.

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Labour, Science, and Extermination: The Nazi War Effort in Prisoner of War Camps
by Maryam Khan, HTST 381

Introduction

During the Second World War, preparedness for total war enmeshed every aspect of German life, from the economy and industry to civilian efforts and conscription. Nazi concentration camps were a vital tool in reflecting Germany's war effort and gradual shift towards total war. This was conducted in three ways. First, forced labour was utilised to advance infrastructure projects, as well as contribute to the German war economy. Second, Nazi experimentation on prisoners of war (POWs) sought to develop new ways of helping the army on the frontlines and in the air. And third, extermination of prisoners through innovations in gas and transportation emphasised a systematic industrialized process that required efficiency and speed.

There was a shift in German war aims that influenced the mobilisation and activities of concentration camps. Initially, German war aims focused on military fighting and strategic occupation of territories. This manifested through labour infrastructure projects, the employment of POWs in armament factories, and the construction of 'Retaliation Weapons (*Vergeltung-Waffe*).'[1] Medical experiments also reflected the need to develop new and innovative protective measures for soldiers and fighter pilots.[2] However, after the failures in the Soviet Union, Nazi war aims turned towards the need to develop the Final Solution to the Jewish Question. By the end of 1941, given the relatively slow progress in the Soviet Union, the Nazis sought to prioritise the extermination of Jews as part of their war objectives. To do so, they developed different technologies and infrastructure within the POW camps to

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[1] Michael J. Neufeld, *The Rocket and the Reich: Peenemunde and the Coming of the Ballistic Missile Era,* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 2.
[2] Paul Weindling, *Victims and Survivors of Nazi Human Experiments: Science and Suffering in the Holocaust,* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2015), 82-3.

aid in efficient extermination, as well as utilising railway transport to expedite mass deportations into the camps.[3] Combining all of these elements produced an elaborate system of supporting both military and ideological aims of the Nazi government.

Labour and the German War Economy

Within the Nazi POW camps, there were two main functions of labour. The first was to implement Nazi ideological policies and use labour as a tool for torture, known as "terror labour" or "annihilatory labour." The second was to fulfil the needs of the war economy through various projects and job placements in factories. "Annihilatory labour" was the product of mass deportations and transportations of Jews, Roma people, and Soviet POWs into large concentration camps during the Second World War. Central to the employment of forced labour in the camps was the idea of using work as torture, and eventually, as a tool for killing inmates. This process had several components that ensured a systematic extermination of POWs could take place without camp guards having to use much effort. The first component was overburdening POWs through hours of daily, physically demanding work. The intentional under-mechanisation aspects of the camps provided little to no room for prisoners to complete their tasks with the help of technology and other such equipment. "Primitive manual labour" forced prisoners to use their hands, shovels, and hammers. Such instances were evident in stone quarries, where they cut and ground stones for infrastructure projects, as well as aided in constructing underground tunnels.[4] Prisoners were often on the verge of death due to exhaustion. Supporting the idea of extermination through forced and strenuous labour were the official guidelines set by Nazi officials at the Wannsee Conference on 20 June 1942. In the meeting minutes, it was assured that those inmates,

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[3] Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 52.
[4] Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 186-8.

mostly Jews, who worked in the camps would do so until they were "eliminated by natural causes."[5] Not only did this follow the general trend towards a "final solution" for Jews, but it also highlighted how the war changed in a direction that prompted Nazi leaders to use fewer resources on killing individual POWs.

Within the under-mechanised system of labour was the idea of uncontrolled supervision. Since manual labour did not require any sort of advanced knowledge or understanding, prison guards were able to use brutal methods of violence to ensure prisoners did their work correctly.[6] Thus, de-mechanisation contributed to an increasing trend of violence and supervision in the camps, further emphasising how labour was meant to be a tool of terror and torture.

In contrast to under-mechanisation was standardisation and labour on a "piecework basis." Standardisation was seen mostly in armaments factories and stone masonries. In factories, conveyor belts demanded repetitive tasks from prisoners, from installing cylinder heads and piecing machine guns together, to stitching individual parts of gas masks. By fragmenting labour into smaller, quicker, and repetitive movements, it ensured prisoners would be entirely focused on the task at hand; any error would result in a beating.[7] The persistent threat of violence, coupled with an intense mechanised labour system, put prisoners under overwhelming stress but also allowed for self-regulation.[8] This meant that with prisoners over-analysing their own actions, prison guards did not need to pay too much attention to their labour, only when punishment was needed.

A final component was the nature of the tasks delegated to prisoners. Despite the growing demands of the war economy, camp labour often consisted of menial tasks; cleaning bombed-out

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[5] Adolf Eichmann, "Wannsee Protocol, January 20, 1942," in *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nurenberg Military Tribunals Under Control Council Law, Volume 13,* accessed 25 November 2024. https://www.loc.gov/item/2011525364_NT_war-criminals_Vol-XIII/.
[6] Sofsky, *The Order of Terror,* 188.
[7] Sofsky, *The Order of Terror*, 184.
[8] Sofsky, *The Order of Terror*, 188-9.

factories, pushing carts with stones, and building brick walls, tearing them down, and rebuilding them. Some prisoners were forced to dig trenches and fill them back up again, while others were told to shovel sand from one spot to another.[9] But, as meaningless as these tasks appeared to the prisoners, their underlying intention was to slowly exterminate POWs through exhaustion and free camp guards to focus on more impending tasks.

Fulfilling the needs of the war economy became evident as soon as the war broke out. Various industries required measures to fill the labour gap and keep production as an ongoing process.[10] There were several reasons for recruiting prison labour; some were for infrastructure that predated the war, some were in armaments factories, and others were to construct new weapons for the war. Starachowice became one of the most prominent places where labour camps and factories were built solely for the war economy. In 1939, several steel mills and munition plants were constructed by the Hermann Göring Werke to harvest iron ore and steel for artillery pieces. Following the gradual liquidation of Polish ghettos, mainly Wierzbinek, several Jewish prisoners were transferred to the labour camps in Starachowice and forced to work. This was an interesting development in the war economy, given that in the prewar period, Jews were barred from employment at these factories. However, wartime necessity demanded any and all Jews fill in the labour gaps.[11] Another feature was the weight given to exploitation rather than extermination, in the sense that Jewish labour was valued, even if their lives were not.[12] This compromise in ideology could only be made due to the increasing demands of the war effort. Otherwise, in peacetime, this change would have never been considered.

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[9] Sofsky, *The Order of Terror*, 189-90.
[10] Paul B. Jaskot, "Cultural Policy and Political Oppression: Nazi Architecture and the Development of SS Forced Labor Concentration Camps," in *Forced and Slave Labour in Nazi-Dominated Europe* (Washington: Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, 2004), 24.
[11] Christopher R. Browning, "The Factory Slave Labor Camps in Starachowice, Poland: Survivors' Testimonies," in *Forced and Slave Labour in Nazi-Dominated Europe*, (Washington: Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, 2004), 63-4.
[12] Browning, "The Factory Slave Labor Camps", 72.

Another wartime necessity that forced the Nazis to integrate all POWs into the war economy was the failure of Blitzkrieg. Following the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Germany gained an overwhelming number of prisoners and placed them in concentration camps. At the same time, the need for more weapons and soldiers increased, while workers in armament factories and war industries decreased.[13] Nazi dialectic shifted between adhering to racial ideology and addressing the war's economic concerns. In this case, the Nazis chose the latter, and in November 1941, Göring announced the division of Soviet POWs in six sectors of labour: armaments, infrastructure/ construction, railways and transportation, agriculture and land cultivation, forestry, and mining[14] Overall, the rate of Soviet POW employment rose from forty percent to fifty-seven percent between October and November 1941, while the absolute number rose from 112,400 to 225,000. Significant considerations were given to keeping these prisoners alive, as commanded by Hitler, in order to preserve labour, and consequently, the German war economy.[15]

Weapons manufacturing and the development of wartime infrastructure relied heavily upon forced prison labour. The first POW camps were constructed specifically for infrastructure projects (Kerfeld, Neuss, Wesseling, and Düsseldorf). Labour in these camps was dedicated to the war effort on the home front by clearing rubble, checking and disposing unexploded shells and bombs, and creating air-raid shelters. Strategic construction of camps around major German military districts provided sufficient labour for these tasks.[16] Air raid bunkers also provided facilities for the Nazi's secret aircraft and 'vengeance weapons' production. The largest of these bunkers, "Dora," helped facilitate the manufacturing of V1 and V2 weapons, as well as some jet planes and aircraft parts.[17] In addition to this,

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[13] Rolf Keller, "Racism versus Pragmatism: Forced Labor of Soviet Prisoners of War in Germany (1941–1942)," in *Forced and Slave Labour in Nazi-Dominated Europe*, (Washington: Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, 2004), 114.
[14] Keller, "Racism versus Pragmatism," 114
[15] Keller, "Racism versus Pragmatism," 117.
[16] Karola Fings, "Slaves for the 'Home Front': War Society and Concentration Camps," in *Germany and the Second World War,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), 209-10, 250.
[17] Sofsky, *The Order of Terror,* 178.

the Nazis employed up to 12,000 prisoners to work on A-4 propellant tanks in Dachau as part of Hitler's strategy to retaliate against British aerial bombardment.[18] A common issue throughout the war was labour shortage; to address this, the A-4 Special Committee employed Polish and Soviet prisoners, especially young women, to work on aircrafts and ballistic missiles.[19]

As a whole, forced labour provided sufficient manpower to address economic concerns, as well as produced material for the army and the air force. The struggle between choosing to follow Nazi ideology or using 'undesirables' to contribute to the war effort was somewhat intertwined and created a systematic camp process that imported Jewish and Soviet POWs, organised their torture through labour, and exported manpower for the war industry.

For Science and our Men: Nazi Experiments on POWs

Throughout the entirety of the Nazi's experimentation campaign, one thing always remained central; that experiments were vital in helping the soldiers in the front lines. At this point, the German side of the war called for innovative protective measures against disease and the natural elements. Racial ideology also played a part in driving the experiments in the prison camps.

One of the most significant experiments was the Dachau Freezing Experiment. This was said to replicate conditions of German Luftwaffe pilots when they crash landed in the ocean.[20] The experiment involved 220-240 POWs, mostly from Eastern Europe, who were submerged in freezing water, often three to eight degrees Celsius, for eighty minutes to three hours. Special attention was given to replicate the clothing of German pilots, from helmets and fur lined boots, to their uniform and flotation devices.[21] Post-war testimony revealed the need for new clothing that could withstand the freezing conditions of

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[18] Michael J. Neufeld, *The Rocket and the Reich: Peenemunde and the Coming of the Ballistic Missile Era,* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 170, 188.
[19] Neufeld, *The Rocket and the Reich*, 184.
[20] "Excerpt from the Protocol of the Tribunal II against E. Milch," *HLS Nuremberg Trials Project,* 7 February 1947, 6.
[21] Paul Weindling, *Victims and Survivors of Nazi Human Experiments: Science and Suffering in the Holocaust, (*London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2015), 82-5.

the Soviet Union. Dr. Rascher, the scientist in charge, claimed that improvements in the clothing were of immense importance and gave way to the manufacturing of the "foam suit with suitable neck protector," by the German Institute for Textile Research.[22] Similarly, concerns about frostbite led to "dry cold" experiments that looked for preventing frostbitten feet in German field soldiers in the Soviet Union.[23]

Another concern was the treatment of wounds at the front lines. Medical debates about the efficacy of surgical, chemotherapeutic, and homeopathic treatments encouraged Heinrich Himmler to approve a series of medical trials in Dachau, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrück. A significant factor behind this approval was also the recent death of Reinhard Heydrich, who had suffered from infected injuries after being shot.[24] The growing urgency to develop new treatments forced prisoners to act as guinea pigs in the wound infection trials. Parallel to this was the Dachau Malaria Experiment designed to improve immunity for those fighters stationed in North Africa, as well as design potential biological weapons.[25] What was significant about the possibility of producing biological weapons was its connection to both military aims and ideological aims. Militarily, Germany would be at an advantage with a biological weapon. Ideologically, these weapons would serve to exterminate the 'weaker' population and ensure German survival. Some evidence points to collaboration with the Japanese, whose Unit 731 conducted biological experiments against prisoners in Manchuria and Nanking, in a similar racial ideological fashion.[26] In this case, biological weaponry would fulfil the ideological needs of the war, rather than military ones.

Post-war justification for these experiments cited the threat of total war on the "possibility of German survival." In saying this, the Nazi defendants excused their actions as products of wartime

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[22] Sigmund Rascher, "Intermediate report on intense chilling experiments in the Dachau Camp, started on 15 August 1942," 15 August 1942, in *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*.
[23] Weindling, *Victims and Survivors,* 85.
[24] Weindling, *Victims and Survivors*, 87-8.
[25] Weindling, *Victims and Survivors*, 102-3.
[26] Weindling, *Victims and Survivors*, 108.

necessity, and that they would never have done so in peacetime conditions.[27] This holds some truth given the lack of strategic developments following Operation Barbarossa and the drastic effects of the Russian winter on German soldiers. Some argued that these experiments were German doctors' way of contributing to the war effort. Others linked soldierly sacrifice and total war to the mobilisation of prisoners to sacrifice themselves for science, the men in the front lines, and the war effort as a whole.[28]

That was the crossroads between strategic aims of the war versus ideological plans for the Final Solution. Forced labour addressed serving the war economy through arms manufacturing, mobilising the maximum number of prisoners in factories, and to some extent, creating a relatively self-sufficient labour force that was not dependent on expert supervision. There were some ideological underpinnings; however, racial ideology was somewhat abandoned when the Nazis decided to exploit non-Aryan prisoners for the war effort. On the other hand, medical experiments revealed the interconnectivity of using POWs for military and ideological purposes. Whereas experiments sought to find answers to military problems, they also acted as torture methods against Jewish and Soviet prisoners. As 1942 came about, there was a shift in the demands of the war effort. Given the failures in the Soviet Union, the Nazi regime turned towards expediting the Final Solution through industrialised killing that manifested in the form of efficient railways and innovative gas chambers.

Constructing Extermination: The Final Solution

There were two major developments that led to the Final Solution. The was the preparation of military and Nazi personnel for carrying out the eventual exterminations in concentration camps, and the second was the murderous phase where mass extermination of Jews, Roma people, and POWs ensued.[29] The gradual shift from procuring labour and equipment for war aims to this ideological need to

[27] Daan De Leeuw, "'In the Name of Humanity': Nazi Doctors and Human Experiments in German Concentration Camps," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 34 (2020): 226.
[28] Leeuw, "In the Name of Humanity," 235.
[29] Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, (New York: Random House, Inc, 2004), 161-2.

exterminate all Jews and non-Aryans led to innovations in infrastructure and logistics in conducting what was called "industrial extermination."[30]

In the beginning stages of the war, and even before 1 September 1939, Nazis experimented with euthanasia injections. The T-4 euthanasia programme targeted the mentally unwell, killing over seventy thousand people in the years 1939-1941. While this was in conjunction with Nazi ideology about exterminating the "undesirables" of Germany, it had not yet reached the camps until 1941.[31] After the invasion of the Soviet Union and the influx of Soviet prisoners, the *Einsatzgruppen* and local collaborators would conduct mass shootings of Jewish men, women, and children. Although this produced enormous results, its toll on ammunition and the army's psychological well-being meant that new ways of extermination had to be implemented.[32] The T-4 programme initially began with carbon monoxide injections against sick POWs in the summer of 1940, however, it quickly stopped in August 1941. New innovations in gas production and scientific research led to experimental trials in Auschwitz with the Zyklon B gas against Soviet prisoners.[33] At this point, Nazi party ministers and camp guards were still not satisfied with the low number of deaths with gas, leading to the construction of specialised infrastructure that would aid in the quick and efficient killing of prisoners.

The first of these was gas vans (*gaswagen*) which were used by the *Einsatzgruppen* B on mentally ill patients. The overall structure consisted of a normal car with a concealed cabin in the back. Carbon monoxide gas would be channelled from the exhaust into the cabin through a single pipe. With the basic structure outlined, production for two variants began; the larger van could hold 130-150 prisoners, while the smaller van could hold 80-100 prisoners. In total, thirty *gaswagen* were produced and were given to the *Einsatzgruppen* in the Chelmno Concentration Camp, where extermination began

[30] Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, 161.
[31] Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, 163.
[32] Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka,* 7-8.
[33] Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, 9.

in December 1941.[34] Now, armoured mobile extermination devices could move around the occupied territories, exterminate prisoners, and head to their next destination without needing any outside help with equipment. However, there were logistical issues with disposing of the corpses. The difficulty of driving the vans, loading prisoners in the van, gassing them, and then disposing of them was not an efficient or quick process. To solve this, plans to construct permanent, self-contained gas chambers in the camps were underway.

The construction of these permanent gas chambers involved the same elements of the *gaswagen*, but with additional components to ensure its self-sufficient structure. This included gasoline to replace bottled gas, which would need to be replenished frequently, the internal combustion system of a car, and armoured padding as walls.[35] Most camps installed these bath-like gas chambers and intentionally concealed their purpose once prisoners arrived en masse in the camps. Barbed wire and fences would funnel prisoners into the gas chambers, resembling a 'killing/ annihilating ground.' Once the gas did its work, disposal of the corpses was conducted, and the next batch of prisoners would be lined up.[36] The escalation of systematic extermination reflected the new war directives in the post-Barbarossa war years. Now, all emphasis was on achieving a means to an end, implementing the Final Solution.

Increasing efficiency in ethe extermination process gave way to slight infrastructural adjustments. First, gas baths increased in both size and capacity. Whereas the first chambers, only three in each camp, could only absorb up to 600 prisoners, the new chambers, now six in each camp, could hold double, and sometimes, triple the amount.[37] Another innovation was the deliberate lowering of the chamber ceilings to ensure less gas usage, efficiency in the gas' effect on children who were closer to the

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[34] Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, 10-11.
[35] Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, 24-5.
[36] Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, 68-70.
[37] Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, 73-4.

ground, and a lower asphyxiation time.[38] With the extermination infrastructure in place and adjusted to the Nazi's needs, they turned to the next important aspect of this entire process: transportation.

The movement of prisoners as a result of deportations depended on an efficient railway system, however, the German railways were occupied with transporting soldiers and equipment to the front lines. Coordination was required in order to schedule train departures and arrivals of prisoners to all of the camps across the country and occupied territories. Timetabling and scheduling became a significant factor in organising transportation. In some way, an efficient schedule allowed prisoners to be funnelled into the camps, where they would be funnelled further into the gas chambers. This entire system of efficiency came to be on 26 and 28 September 1942, where an official 'schedule' was established.[39] Additionally, freight cars were intentionally overcrowded to speed up transportation to avoid any delays caused by the overburdened military transportation system.[40] The combination of an efficient and scheduled transportation system, with a systematic process of leading prisoners into the gas chambers, manifested an overall speedy and effective method of industrialised killing. Innovations in both areas allowed for Nazi camp guards, the SS, and the army to fulfil their new objectives and to finally carry out the Final Solution on a massive, total scale.

Conclusion

With all three elements put together, (labour, experiments, and extermination), there was a clear trend that highlighted what the German war looked like. In the initial stages, when mass mobilisation and conscription created a labour gap, POWs served as the solution and sources of production. While economic aims were of utmost importance, labour as torture was still employed to keep some remnant of Nazi ideological objectives. As the war progressed, and the failures in the Soviet Union arose,

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[38] Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, 119.

[39] 2 daily trains from Warsaw to Treblinka, 1 daily train from Radom to Treblinka, 1 daily train from Cracow to Belzec, and 1 daily train from Lvov to Belzec. Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, 52.

[40] Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, 67.

experiments helped to develop new ways of thinking about the war. There, the needs of the army and the needs of ideology mixed in various experimental trials, and produced a system in which soldiers, doctors, and prisoners contributed to the war effort. And finally, industrialised killing reflected a new priority towards winning the ideological and racial war, the Final Solution, which in many respects, was Germany's end goal of total war.

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The Professional Nurses Emergence Through Total War
by Alyssa Reedy, HTST 381

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the term nurse was used interchangeably with maid and seen as a domestic servant rather than a medical professional. This simplistic servant view of the nurse led society to view them as "disreputable." In addition, early nineteenth century English hospitals did not treat severely ill patients and nurses primarily cleaned under the supervision of a Matron. Nurses did not require special training for care that revolved around cleaning, meals and bathing. British society's view of nursing as an inferior role made attempts to form professional nursing schools difficult. Within the Catholic Church, Nursing Sisters were regarded with respect and effectively trained in nursing. Nursing Sisters had stayed within the institution of the church and had been unable to penetrate the English Hospital. Philanthropist, Elizabeth Fry, tried to encourage respectable protestant gentlewomen to train as nurses. Elizabeth Fry wrote, "[n]ursing reform in England had to be a Protestant endeavor."[1] A simplistic reason for their lack of acknowledgement was that Catholic Nursing Sisters were working within a Protestant country. As ideal "Victorian Women," like Fry and Florence Nightingale worked to revise nursing, British society's view of nurses started to shift.

More importantly were the actions of nurses during the Crimean war (1853-1856), The First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939-1945). The performance of women nurses in these conflicts brought nursing into the modern profession it is today. The Crimean War was a key moment in British military nursing, as it is where the perception of nursing changed, and modern nursing took root. World War I proved lessons of Crimean nursing worked and ushered in modern nursing. Due to the combination of medical advancements, known failures of previous wars, and the

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* For this paper the term nurse and nursing sister will be used interchangeably. When referring to a Catholic Sister, it will be capitalized.
[1] Carol Helmstadter and Judith Godden, *Nursing before Nightingale, 1815-1899* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 8, 11, 67, 68, 84.

unprecedented scale of soldier deployment on a global scale, the First World War witnessed the medical field, particularly nursing, grow to match its military counterparts. Nursing proved to be critical to military medicine and nursing advanced closer to battle. Sixty-five nurses were awarded medals for their work in the First World War, but it was also the first time that war came to the unarmed; 200 women lost their lives in service. The actions of nurses and the military in World War II was the acknowledgement of military nurses as a profession. Nurses were trained like soldiers and received full rank, equal to men. Since the entrance of Florence Nightingale and Mary Seacole in the Crimean War, women began to enter the masculine space of the warzone and with this the nurse, like the soldier, moved into the public sphere as a necessary and valued member in war. Evolving from a position for sanitation and morality during the Crimean War, nursing became a heroic and respected military position by World War II. The importance of well trained and loyal medical care came to the forefront in wartime, and nursing was at the core of a social, political and economic change. This evolution of nursing into a profession was an essential component to the mobilization toward total war.

Respect toward nurses changed with the Crimean War, where an unorganized medical system, new technology such as the Minie Bullet and poor sanitation created mass casualties and the need for improvement was essential. Public outcry was growing as war correspondents such as William Howard Russel, reported directly from the warzone, highlighting the conditions of soldiers in Crimea. Under pressure, the British government announced that thirty-eight nurses under the charge of Florence Nightingale would be sent to Scutari (now Uskudar) in November of 1854. Nightingale fit the “political bill.” She was from a white, upper-class Protestant family, the ideal Victorian woman. From the age of sixteen, Nightingale had felt a “calling” toward nursing, but because nineteenth century society viewed nursing as lower-class, her aspirations were not achieved until the age of thirty. Nightingale arrived in Scutari on 5 November 1854, after the battles of Alma (September 1854), Balaclava (October 1854) and the start of the Battle of Inkerman.[2] Nightingale herself was less hands-on care and set her focus on structural changes and reform in the Scutari hospital. She had a firm understanding of disease transmission and while the nurses who accompanied her undertook the care of soldiers, Nightingale worked with officers at reorganization. Writing on the flawed structure of hospitals, Florence Nightingale wrote,

> I should state at once that to the original defects in the sites and plans of hospitals, and the deficient ventilation and overcrowding accompanying such defects, is to be attributed a [very] large proportions of the evil I have mentioned.

The "evils" Nightingale spoke of were the suffering and mortality of patients.[3]

Another woman who started waves of change for nursing in the Crimean War was Mary Seacole. Seacole was a self-defined "doctress," never without her medicine chest and had a "love to be of service to those who need a woman's help." Upon hearing of Britian's declaration of war on Russia, she "longed to witness it." Unlike Nightingale, Seacole, a Black woman from Jamaica, was repeatedly dismissed by members of the War Office and staff under Nightingale. Of her attempts to enlist in the war effort, Seacole wrote in her autobiography, "if the authorities had allowed me, I would willingly have given them my services as a nurse; but as they declines them, should I not open an hotel for invalids in the Crimea in my own way?"[4]

Seacole followed through with her statement and boarded the *Medora,* a ship headed for Crimea. Along with a businessman, Seacole, the self-proclaimed camp doctress, nurse and mother

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[2] Florence Nightingale, *Collected Works of Florence Nightingale, Volume 16, ed.,* Lynn McDonald (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), 50; Lynn McDonald, *Florence Nightingale and the Medical Men: Working Together for Health Care Reform,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022), 54.
[3] Nightingale, *Collected Works*, 50.
[4] Mary Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands, ed.,* W. J. S. (1857), 25, 77-80.

built the “British Hotel.” Here Seacole sold medicines and other necessities and provided front line care.[5] In Scutari, Florence Nightingale played a pivotal role expanding health care by proving the necessity of sanitation, but it was Mary Seacole, who performed the role that nurses of the first and second world wars would be doing, more than fifty years later.

The Crimean War was the beginning of professional nursing. Physicians’ understanding of the body was changing through scientific medicine and this changed medicine in war zones. New wounds required new treatments, and this was a space where women’s learning and skills grew. The Crimean War shifted the view of nurses and subsequently changed the social structure in war zone hospitals. The director-general of the Army Medical Department, Dr. Andrew Smith, was not opposed to the idea of women in war as “no military reason exists against their introduction,” but thought the idea of women in the field with the army would be impossible.[6] Nightingale and Seacole’s presence in the Crimean War changed how women in medicine and the military were viewed. Prior to the Crimean War there were no formal nursing schools. Due to the work of Florence Nightingale, twelve medical schools in London were established, each with a nursing school.[7] The scope of practice for nurses had expanded within three years from sanitation to active medical intervention.

Learning from the Crimean War, there was an awareness among military and medical officers that organized medical care was essential. Organized medicine brought a sense of order to the chaos of war and nurses were recognized as an essential member of medical care. In 1902, Queen Alexandra’s Imperial Nursing Service (QAIMNS) was established because of the British government’s recognition of medical failures in the Crimean and South African Wars. This brought formality to military nursing.

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[5] Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures,* 103, 124, 125, 156.
[6] McDonald, *Nightingale,* 52.
[7] Helmstadter and Godden, *Nursing before Nightingale,* 3.

Women who wanted to join had to meet strict criteria in age, training and work experience.[8] This was followed by the establishment of the Canadian Army Medical Corp (CAMC) in 1904, which included a nursing division. By 1911, medical military staff were keenly aware that early deployment of medical units in future conflicts would be necessary.[9] Early and fast mobilization was a key component in military strategy, and medical units were deployed alongside infantry at the onset of World War I. Britian's declaration of war on Germany in August of 1914 resulted in the deployment of nearly 900 Medical Officers, 10,000 ranked men in the Royal Army Medical Corp (RAMC) and 600 military nurses, in what Mark Harrison referred to this as "the largest complement of any expeditionary force that had left the United Kingdom."[10] The number of British nurses deployed in World War I was nearly sixteen times the number of nurses that went into Crimea with Florence Nightingale. Untried and seasoned nurses faced great challenges in the First World War, as new weaponry proved devastating.

This large deployment of medical staff quickly became overwhelmed with the unprecedented number of casualties caused by new weaponry in World War I. New highly explosive shells inflicted multiple wounds on soldiers and the surrounding mud seeped into their wounds, causing infections. The new use of gas in warfare would burn a soldier's skin and lungs and was known as "gas-gangrene." These wounds led nurses to develop new care techniques in real time to help soldiers.[11] Nurses in the military had to adapt to war time management as casualties arrived at an alarming speed. No longer following a patient though their illness, the war-time nurse worked at a rapid pace in assembly-line

[8] "Nursing In the Army. Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service," *British Medical Journal* 1:2305 (1905): 504–5. (accessed September 26, 2024); Nicola Tryer, *Sisters in Arms; British Army Nurses Tell Their Story,* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 2008), 15.
[9] Mark Harrison, *The Medical War: British Military Medicine in the First World War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 16.
[10] Harrison, *Medical War,* 18.
[11] Harrison, *Medical War,* 17, 18; Christine Hallett, *Veiled Warriors: Allied Nurses of the First World War,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 183.

fashion.[12] Overwhelmed and underestimated from the beginning, evacuation systems were slow to form, forcing nurses and other medical staff to improvise care for several weeks.[13] War nurse, Helen Boylston wrote "already we hold the record for British hospitals on the Western front. In ten days we have admitted four thousand eight hundred and fifty-three wounded, sent four thousand to Blighty, have done nine hundred and thirty-five operations, and only twelve patients have died."[14]

Along with improvisation, the static nature of trench warfare common in the First World War changed how and where medical care was administered. Casualty Clearing Stations (CCS) were placed within six miles of the front and their close location to battle was to combat death from infection and perform immediate operations.[15] Faster and effective treatment increased the chance of a soldier returning to the front. Trench warfare made previously mobile CCSs more permanent. This permanency created the need for more staff and resulted in an increased number of nurses stationed in them. Nurses were also placed in CCSs in part because of Matron-in-Chief, Maud McCarthy (CAMC). McCarthy noted the mass casualties and trend of overwhelmed medical staff in CCSs and urged medical officers to move nurses into CCSs. The result was nurses were first stationed in a Casualty Clearing Station at the Battle of Ypres in October 1915.[16] Pragmatism brought nurses closer to war where they were less "protected." This was a literal and figurative advancement of the practice and scope of nurses. What was once deemed too close to the front for women, became their main station and brought them adjacent to battle. The Battle of Somme (1916) was another pivotal moment for nursing in World War I. Urgent need on a mass scale led to nurses performing more procedures unsupervised. Nurses followed the

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[12] Cynthia Toman, *Sister Soldiers of the Great War: The Nurses of the Canadian Army Medical Corps*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016), 14.
[13] Hallett, *Veiled Warriors,* 47.
[14] Helen Bore Boylston, *Sister: The War Diary of a Nurse*, (New York: Washburn, 1927), 61. "Blighty" used to describe England.
[15] Harrison, *Medical War*, 32, 33.
[16] Hallett, *Veiled Warriors*, 47-49; Harrison, *Medical War,* 33.

surgeon, suturing large wounds which enabled the surgeon to move to the next casualty quicker. This spurred change after the Somme, nurses were now providing "total patient care to men."[17]

A new normal was formed with the battles of Ypres and Somme. Nurses now worked in CCSs under the sound of constant shelling alongside male doctors and orderlies. The teamwork in the CCS tents also evolved into the creation of "surgical teams." Consisting of a surgeon, anaesthetist, nurse and an orderly, this team moved together from base to base or CCS to CCS. The new mobile unit sustained the war at the front by having a more medically complex team at the ready and placed nurses alongside soldiers in battle.[18] The medical system was mirroring military tactics by the creation of small, fully prepared medical units, and nurses held an integral role. Furthering the mobility of nurses was their role on hospital trains. First implemented in the Crimean War to take wounded soldiers away, by World War I, trains were known as the "Great White Hospital Trains" and medical staff were performing medical procedures in the train cars in transport. The presence of nurses on hospital trains made them what historian Alexandra Kitty called a, "mobilized global force." Hospital or ambulance trains were fully stocked mobile units, that bore the Red Cross. Radically improved in design by the second World War, hospital trains were critical units where nurses provided hands-on-care while moving across countries, domestic and abroad.[19] As nurses gained a larger scope of practice and worked closely alongside men, gender conflicts arose and orderlies increasingly took orders from women. The role of the orderly had begun to shift during the Crimean War, but in World War I orderlies were no longer the soldier's primary caregiver and had shifted to the more domestic role of feeding and bathing. Nurses were moving into a traditionally masculine space.[20]

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[17] Hallett, *Veiled Warriors*, 183, 187.
[18] *ibid,* 49; Harrison, *Medical War*, 35.
[19] Alexandra, Kitty. *A Different Track: Hospital Trains of the Second World War,* (Toronto: Heritage House, 2023), 19, 22, 46-48.
[20] Helmstadter and Godden, *Nursing before Nightingale,* 116; Tryer, *Sisters,* 1; Harrison, *Medical War,* 47; Christine E. Hallett, *Nurses of Passchendaele: Caring for the Wounded of the Ypres Campaigns 1914-1918*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword

World War I brought nursing closer toward a military role and a profession on its own. QAIMNS women deployed in World War I were professional military nurses, expected to have a “medical-military discipline” parallel to their male counterparts. [21] In 1918, Matron-in-Chief Margaret Macdonald, a Canadian nurse, was the first woman in the British Empire given the rank of Major.[22] In 1926, nurses in QAIMNS were entitled to an equivalent rank as officers, solidifying their place in the military. In further acceptance of the military nurse as a profession, CAMC and QAIMNS recruited nurses through a full military recruitment procedure. This required nurses to first apply in their military district and after they were hired, the women were placed into active service or reserves. Enlisting through the military meant behaviour and deployment locations were controlled by the military. At the end of the First World War not all nurses in QAIMNS went back to civilian nursing and homelife. In peacetime, QAIMNS stationed nurses at garrisons where there was a standing army.[23] This was a representation of a full-time military nurse as a profession.

As World War II approached the prevalent idea was that women “lifted the lonely soldiers morale.”[24] Nurses expansion into a masculine zone and scope of practice were still idealized to resemble the values of Florence Nightingale, “the arbiter of order, cleanliness and morality.”[25] The realities of the Second World War quickly shifted this perception. In the summer of 1940, 1,300 nurses were evacuated with the British Expeditionary Force. These women were placed near the front, alongside RAMC members in hostile warzones. This placement was a direct consequence of World War I, where the actions of military nurses in an active warzone were recognized as valuable. With nurses’ placements continuing further into the field, their military training also increased. World War II nurse, Doris Carter,

History, 2017), 2; Jane Brooks, *Negotiating Nursing: British Army Sisters and Soldiers in the Second World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 9.

[21]Fiona Reid, *Medicine in the first world war Europe; Soldiers, medics and pacifists.* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 12

[22] Susan Mann, *Margaret Macdonald: Imperial Daughter*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press. 2005), 73.

[23] Tyrer, *Sisters in Arms*, 15.

[24] Brooks, *Negotiating Nursing*, 8, 9, 93.

[25] Hallett, *Nurses of Passchendaele*, 2.

wrote of the mandatory defense training they completed. Led by multiple sergeants, the women marched every day and crawled through rugged open courses while always wearing a gas mask.[26] Also in the Second World War, historian Nicole Tryer recounted a RAMC's story of working in Anzio, Italy 1944. "[A]ll the medical staff at the Casualty Clearing Station at Anzio 'dug in' for safety. The motto was dig or die…We all became expert divers. Before I left, everyone and everything had been dug in, personnel, operating tents, ward tents and even ambulances."[27]

Nurses and soldiers alike trained and dug trenches to save their lives. As the military increased control over medicine, there was further movement to total war. As women's prevalence on "forward teams" increased and nurses oversaw complex treatment regimes, the boundary between gender and profession blurred.[28] A hallmark of this blurred sphere was noted in 1943, when nurses in QAIMNS were granted wartime commissions with full military rank.[29] Women of the British Empire had mobilized through military nursing toward the same full rank eligibility as men.

The entire medical-military system was altered during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century warfare. The mobilization toward total war for states led to unprecedented numbers of casualties and the urgent need for a larger medical staff. This brought nurses to the forefront of war and their role drastically changed with each conflict. Mobilization to total war changed social structures in the medical tent. The spheres of authority shifted as nurses gained rank and began to have authority over men. Changes in weaponry and medical advancements meant women and men, nurses and physicians were learning alongside one another. War caused the literal mobilization of nurses around the world and these women met people of all nationalities.[30] Women's sphere of influence had expanded on a global scale

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[26] Doris V. Carter, *Never Leave Your Head Uncovered: A Canadian Nursing Sister in World War Two,* (Waterdown: Potlach Publications Limited, 1999), 45.
[27] Tryer, *Sisters in Arms*, 197.
[28] Brooks, *Negotiating Nursing*, 82, 130, 131.
[29] Tryer, *Sisters in Arms*, 15; National Army Museum. https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/queen-alexandras-royal-army-nursing-corps. (accessed September17, 2024) states QAIMNS in-line with British army rank structure in 1941.
[30] Tryer, *Sisters in Arms*, 218.

through nursing. This was the full emancipation of women from the previously constrained domestic nursing role. Military nursing in the Crimean and early World War I, provided women with a symbolic part in national service and by 1945 this role was no longer symbolic. When total war was realized in the Second World War, military nursing had been restructured into a fully professional and respected role like the soldier, on the battlefield and at home.

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A Review of Alon Confino's A World Without Jews: The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide

by Sophie Robitaille, HTST 427

When the Second World War ended, the discussions around anti-Semitism and the treatment of Jews persisted, arguably more than ever. The persecution of Jews throughout the war was something so horrific and incomprehensible that many individuals today will never grasp the magnitude and effect it had on Jews and the world. A vast amount of scholarly writing on the events of the Holocaust and the impacts have been written since the war ended, though most seem to focus solely on the extermination/genocide of Jews, instead of examining and analyzing how the events fundamentally changed Jewish memory and the people as a whole. Alon Confino's novel, *A World Without Jews: The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide*, does a commendable job in tackling the intricate and highly emotional topics within the Second World War, as well as its impact on Jewish people as a whole. The idea of the novel is to follow the imagined way in which Germans viewed a world without Jews, however, Confino's central argument is that the Holocaust was not solely racially motivated (though it was definitely an important factor), but that the Jews represented time and a people that prevented Nazism from becoming dominant and bringing the Nazi imagination to life.

Confino's argument shows that Nazis did not invent anything new, but that they capitalized off pre-existing anti-Semitic views established throughout Europe, and did so by using fictional positions on race to completely remove the fundamental role Jews played in the foundations of Europe.[1] There was a main goal of eradicating the Jewish population in Europe, not just in Germany, by erasing them physically and culturally. In the novel Confino greatly stresses the fact that the Nazi ideology regarding Jews was entirely fictional, imagined, and to do something like that, one would need sufficient evidence, and Confino provides just that. He covers a lot of content in the book, though he largely focuses on the

[1] Alon Confino, *A World Without Jews: The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014, 26.

significance of memory and imagination concerning time, due to the prominence of Jews in Europe's history, legitimacy, and their origins to support his claims, that a world without Jews was the only way that the Nazis would rise to power.

Memory plays a vital role in creating a world without Jews, and to Confino's argument. The European memory of Jews was and has been long-standing, with their history going as far back as the origins of the Bible.[2] For the Nazis to arise as a dominant power they needed to eliminate the power that had been held by the Jews because for "an enemy [to be] worth total annihilation [they] must possess tremendous power, real or imagined."[3] The thing that the Jews had that the Nazi's did not was the memory of their past and history, and with that came legitimacy, because without legitimacy one does not have power and the cycle will continue. The Nazis worked hard to change the collective memory of Jews, and because human memory is not something that is necessarily reliable, to change their history and eradicate them entirely would not prove difficult. As Confino uses primary sources to prove and justify his stance, he shows that in "obliterating the memory [of a] local Jewish community," the Nazis were able to create their own foundation on the ideas that Jews were immoral beings, not humans. There is an idea, that comes from reading this novel, of compartmentalization, and it becomes apparent in the erasure of memory. With being able to control the public's minds (as the Nazis were able to) to separate memory and fact, from what they wanted their followers to believe, an idea of an imagined community.

The imagination of a world without Jews was a driving factor for the Germans to carry out the slaughter against them. An imagined community of like human beings, with complementary beliefs, politics, and ways of life is what Confino makes readers understand to be a driving force for what the Nazis did.[4] He uses expressions similar to Primo Levi, in that the events of the Holocaust were not

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[2] Confino, *Without Jews*, 26.
[3] Confino, *Without Jews*, 26.
[4] Confino, *Without Jews*, 22.

unimaginable; they had "links to context, past, and present," and thus the Nazi ideology was able to imagine what a world would be like if Jews and Judaism were terminated.[5] Yet, everything went beyond politics, ideologies, and economic factors, it went further to the imagined community, the nationalistic view of a united people, and Hitler and his government worked to make their followers and the German people feel it.[6] They had to link that imagined world with "everyday occurrences on the ground," implementing the ideas of race and racial extermination into the minds of the people through already present anti-Jewish violence.[7] Once again, with the German politicians ability to compartmentalize, they were able to separate Germans and Europeans based on what they knew about Jews and what the powerful people wanted them to know. So not only was there the desire and need to remove the Jews on a physical level, there was the need to remove them on a cultural level, as without origins there were no people. Therefore, a connection between cultural and physical genocide was important to the Germans for living a life without Jews.

Cultural power of the Jews is heavily connected and interlinked with their origins, their stories as "stories give life, and stories kill as well."[8] The cultural origins of the Jews in the story provided a foundation for the people and culture that would hold more power than the Nazis ever would simply because they (the Nazis) did not have legitimacy or roots. Origins were believed, as Confino argues, to be the centre of evil of Jews in the eyes of the Nazi regime.[9] They felt threatened by Jewish origins as they "held a key to German identity and empire."[10] Thus without removing Jews both physically and culturally, the Nazi's could not establish themselves fully in German society as a dominant power, and

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[5] Confino, *Without Jews*, 22.
[6] Confino, *Without Jews*, 66, 86.
[7] Confino, *Without Jews*, 90-1.
[8] Confino, *Without Jews*, 246.
[9] Confino, *Without Jews*, 23.
[10] Confino, *Without Jews*, 27.

so came the Holocaust. Origins, ironically, are at the root and causation of Nazi struggles with power, and their desire/need to eradicate Jews from the world.

Anti-Semitism, and more specifically the Holocaust and Nazi ideologies, made Jews out to be evil. As a people, they were to be erased from memory both culturally and physically, though they were simultaneously to be blamed for everything wrong in Germany and the world. An imagined community amongst Germans was fundamental to the rise of Nazi power, and so too was the erasure of Jewish history, legitimacy and origins. Nazis provided people with an outlook on the world that established the Jewish people and their origins as being evil, while simultaneously giving them a solution to their 'problem'.[11] Alon Confino ultimately argues that a world without Jews was highly imagined, that time, history, legitimacy, and origins, were things that the Jews had and that the Nazis sought; without it the Nazis would never rise to power to bring their own imagination to life.

[11] Confino, *Without Jews*, 246, 248.

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Women, War, and Propaganda: Redefining Gender Roles in Canada During World War I
by Caeley Buss, HTST 431

World War I was a transformative event that redefined Canada's national identity, not only through its military contributions, but also through profound societal shifts driven by propaganda. Beyond mobilizing soldiers and resources, Canadian propaganda campaigns reshaped the lives and roles of women on the homefront. These campaigns, emphasizing themes such as food conservation, enlistment, and women's labor, positioned women as indispensable to the war effort, reinforcing their patriotic duty while simultaneously challenging traditional gender norms. Propaganda targeted women as moral and practical leaders of the domestic sphere, urging them to conserve resources, maintain households, and assume responsibilities in public and industrial domains. By intertwining national service with feminine duty, wartime propaganda elevated women's societal roles, framing their contributions as essential to victory. However, these messages also created a paradox, celebrating women's expanded participation while tethering their identities to domestic and patriotic ideals. Canadian wartime propaganda shaped women's roles during the First World War, emphasizing its dual effects: empowering women to step beyond traditional boundaries while reaffirming expectations of sacrifice and loyalty to the nation. Ultimately, these campaigns not only facilitated the war effort but also redefined Canadian societal norms, leaving a lasting legacy on gender roles and the nation's collective identity.

Food Conservation: A Patriotic Duty

Food conservation was a cornerstone of wartime propaganda in Canada, aimed at reducing waste, increasing agricultural output, and encouraging citizens to donate resources for the war effort. Posters such as *"Waste Not—Want Not: Prepare for Winter"* (Figure 1) served as powerful tools in this campaign.[1] The imagery of two women surrounded by preserved goods and fresh produce reinforced the message that conservation was essential to the collective war effort. The elder woman's gesture, holding up a jar of preserved food, symbolized wisdom and foresight, while the younger woman's attentive stance highlighted the intergenerational transfer of responsibility.

Figure 1

These posters linked food conservation to patriotism by framing it as an act of national service. The language of such propaganda was both instructive and moralistic, urging Canadians to preserve perishable foods and minimize waste for the greater good.[2] Peter Buitenhuis, in *The Great War of Words*, notes that propaganda campaigns often aimed to foster "a reality embraced and accepted," reflecting citizens' internalization of wartime sacrifices.[3] By framing food conservation as an individual's contribution to national success, these campaigns reinforced the idea that every citizen had a role to play in achieving victory.

As Joachim Neander and Randal Marlin emphasize, wartime propaganda was often constructed around vivid and emotionally charged imagery to ensure its believability. They note, "Believability of the stories, and the extent to which they reverberate in the imagination and stimulate horror and revulsion, are what matter for influencing targets."[4] This tactic applied not only to atrocity narratives, but also to messages aimed at fostering unity and self-sacrifice, such as food conservation campaigns.

The message of food conservation extended beyond Canada, with similar campaigns appearing across Allied nations. For example, the United States Food Administration poster, *"Food—Don't Waste*

[1] The Government of Canada. "Waste Not - Want Not Prepare for Winter: Canada Food Board Sensitive Campaign."
[2] The Government of Canada. "Waste Not - Want Not Prepare for Winter: Canada Food Board Sensitive Campaign."
[3] Peter Buitenhuis, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 152.
[4] Joachim Neander and Randal Marlin, "Media and Propaganda: The Northcliffe Press and the Corpse Factory Story of World War I, "*Global Media Journal Canadian Edition* 3 (2010): 69.

It" (Figure 2), outlined four practical steps to reduce food waste: using less wheat and meat, buying local foods, serving only necessary portions, and utilizing leftovers.[5] The straightforward design and direct language emphasized the importance of individual action in supporting the war effort.[6] Although American, this poster reflects themes that resonate with Canadian propaganda, highlighting the interconnectedness of Allied strategies. As Troy Paddock observes, Canadian food conservation policies were not responding to shortages at home but were directed toward supporting Allied populations and soldiers overseas, emphasizing the importance of economizing food for the war effort.[7] By encouraging citizens to adopt frugal practices, such messages tied everyday habits to broader wartime goals, reinforcing the idea that collective sacrifice was essential to victory.[8] This approach aligns with Canadian efforts, such as posters advocating food preservation, which similarly framed resourcefulness and patriotism as inseparable.[9] The shared focus on food conservation underscores how Allied nations worked in tandem to address global challenges and foster a unified wartime identity.[10]

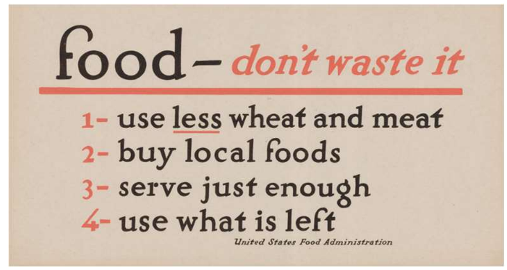

Figure 2

Figure 3 illustrates how wartime propaganda used visual simplicity to amplify its message. The poster's clear directive "Save Food for Victory" underscored the urgency of conservation efforts.[11] The stark contrast between wasted food and its alternative use for supporting soldiers or allied nations highlighted the moral stakes of these actions. By visually linking domestic habits to global

[5] The United States Food Administration. "Food - Don't Waste It."
[6] The United States Food Administration. "Food - Don't Waste It."
[7] Troy R. E. Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 88.
[8] Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, 88.
[9] The Government of Canada. "Waste Not - Want Not Prepare for Winter: Canada Food Board Sensitive Campaign."
[10] Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, 90.
[11] The United States Food Administration. "Why Is It Necessary to Eat Less Meat."

consequences, such materials reinforced a sense of individual accountability in Canada's contribution to the war effort.[12]

Additionally, Celia Malone Kingsbury's *For Home and Country* contextualizes food conservation within broader wartime narratives, demonstrating how these efforts were vital to sustaining both the military and the civilian population.[13] Kingsbury argues that the First World War, while a global conflict, also catalyzed a transformation in the domestic sphere, especially for women. Propaganda campaigns targeted women as essential figures in managing food supplies, shaping their role as both moral and practical pillars of the home front. Women were called upon to preserve food, maintain household resources, and contribute to national well-being through domestic efficiency. This ideological framework positioned women's domestic roles as vital to the war effort and imbued food conservation with a sense of duty and patriotism.[14]

Figure 3

The wartime discourse around food conservation was not merely about reducing waste or increasing output, but also about reinforcing the idea that the home was the first line of defense in a time of national crisis. Kingsbury highlights that during the war, food conservation became a "moral" duty for women—emphasized as a way to contribute to the "greater good" without direct participation in combat.[15] This narrative dovetailed with broader wartime propaganda, which presented women as the moral custodians of the nation's values, urging them to demonstrate selflessness and sacrifice for the

[12] The United States Food Administration. "Why Is It Necessary to Eat Less Meat."
[13] Ceilia Malone Kingsbury, *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 27.
[14] Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 27.
[15] Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 27.

collective. By participating in conservation efforts, women not only supported the immediate needs of the war but also fostered a sense of Canadian identity rooted in resourcefulness, frugality, and communal sacrifice.

Moreover, Kingsbury details how the U.S. Food Administration, under Herbert Hoover, championed voluntary compliance in food conservation and enlisted women in its efforts. Hoover's campaign stressed the importance of women in both urban and rural areas, stating that they were "called upon for this service," and were essential to implementing food conservation strategies across the nation.[16] A network of committees, often led by women, was established to facilitate this, resulting in millions of families pledging to reduce food waste, conserve resources, and avoid overconsumption.[17] These campaigns were not just about direct actions like rationing or reducing waste, but also about changing cultural norms surrounding consumption. Through this propaganda, women were depicted as the moral agents who could steer the nation through scarcity and shortage, positioning them as indispensable to the war effort.

Kingsbury also notes that the campaign's success relied on both grassroots involvement and the support of the food industry. Women, through their work in the home, became the "enforcers" of national food policy, reflecting a deep intertwining of domestic duty with national service.[18] Propaganda materials like food rationing advertisements and cookbooks made it clear that reducing food waste was not just a domestic task but a patriotic one. Kingsbury points out that the U.S. Food Administration's partnership with corporations like Crisco and Campbell's Soup helped promote products that aligned with conservation efforts, further embedding the idea of resourcefulness within consumer culture.[19]

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[16] Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 28.
[17] Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 28.
[18] Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 28.
[19] Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 29.

Through these combined efforts, food conservation became not only a practical solution to wartime scarcity, but also a powerful means of reinforcing women's roles in supporting the nation's victory. It solidified the idea that a united home front, led by the moral and practical contributions of women, was central to the success of the war.

Women's Redefined Roles on the Home Front

World War I marked a significant turning point in the societal roles of women, as propaganda campaigns encouraged them to take on responsibilities traditionally held by men. Posters and pamphlets targeted at women emphasized their importance in maintaining the home front, from working in factories to volunteering for war-related causes. The role of women as both producers and preservers of food, as seen in Figure 1, extended to broader responsibilities in the workforce and community.

Propaganda materials often framed women's contributions as essential to national progress and victory. For instance, slogans like *"To the Women of Canada"* (Figure 4) explicitly appealed to women's sense of duty and emotional ties to family and nation.[20] This particular poster invoked fear and moral responsibility, suggesting that the safety of their homes and children depended on the success of the war effort.[21] By linking women's actions to the well-being of the nation, these campaigns elevated their societal roles and underscored their indispensability in wartime Canada.

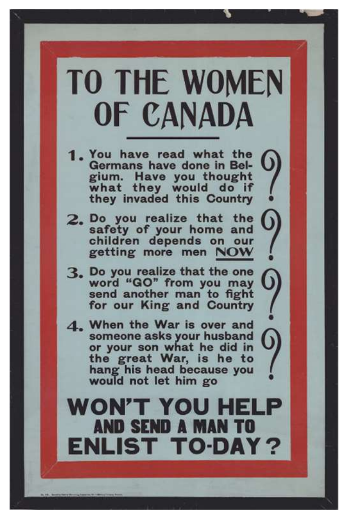

Figure 4

Neander and Marlin provide a relevant critique of how gender roles were manipulated through propaganda, noting that "propaganda often served to create exaggerated narratives or symbols that aligned with the interests of those in power, shaping public perceptions while concealing the complexity

[20] The Government of Canada. "To the Women of Canada, Enlist Today."
[21] The Government of Canada. "To the Women of Canada, Enlist Today."

of reality."[22] This insight highlights how women's contributions were framed to suit the overarching wartime narrative while maintaining traditional gender expectations.

Eliza Riedi's article *Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire* provides an insightful analysis of the wartime portrayal of women as symbols of both moral authority and national strength.[23] Riedi notes, "Women's domestic efforts were not only vital to the war but also represented their unwavering loyalty to empire and nation."[24] This framework reinforced the idea that women's roles, though evolving during the war, were inherently tied to their responsibility to uphold and promote imperial ideals.

The redefinition of gender roles was further reinforced by materials that depicted women in uniform or performing industrial labor, challenging traditional notions of femininity. For example, Riedi argues that women's involvement in wartime efforts "broadened the scope of acceptable female behavior while simultaneously reaffirming traditional values of sacrifice and duty."[25] This dual narrative allowed women to take on new roles without completely disrupting pre-war gender expectations.

As the war progressed, women's role in wartime activities expanded. The Women's Patriotic League, for instance, organized a variety of relief efforts to support soldiers and civilians alike. The league's headquarters became "a ceaseless hive of activity," with volunteers engaging in activities such as sewing garments, packing supplies, and recording names of women in need of work.[26] Their work extended beyond domestic spaces, with women in all walks of life participating in knitting campaigns and relief efforts. One volunteer noted, "Not alone are white-haired grandmas at it. Stern ladies with

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[22] Neander and Marlin, "Media and Propaganda," 72.
[23] Eliza Riedi, "Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire: The Victoria League, 1901–1914,"*The Historical Journal* 45 (2002): 582.
[24] Riedi, "Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire," 584.
[25] Riedi, "Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire," 585.
[26] Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War*(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 106.

college degrees who scorned such elemental things are hard at work."[27] These efforts demonstrated the growing role of women in sustaining the war effort, not just as passive supporters but as active agents contributing to the national cause.

Herbert Hoover, director of the United States Food Administration, orchestrated a massive voluntary food conservation campaign, targeting middle-class women to adopt measures of food control. His strategy emphasized “voluntary action” as a means of depriving those who could afford it, rather than those who had “no margin for sacrifice.”[28] Women were encouraged to replace wheat with potatoes, a crop more abundant during shortages, leading to the "avoidance of the complete loss of millions of bushels" of potatoes.[29] This campaign was so effective that it enlisted over thirteen million homes across the United States.[30] The success of this voluntary compliance further illustrates how women’s domestic roles were instrumental to wartime efforts.

By positioning women as active participants in the war effort, propaganda campaigns helped to redefine societal expectations and fostered a sense of national pride rooted in shared responsibility. These shifts in gender roles not only supported the immediate needs of the war but also laid the groundwork for future movements toward gender equality in Canada and the United States.

Enlistment Propaganda and the Call to Arms

The recruitment of soldiers was another critical focus of wartime propaganda. Enlistment campaigns relied on emotional appeals and nationalistic rhetoric to persuade men to join the military.

[27] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 107.
[28] Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 27.
[29] Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 28.
[30] Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 29.

Posters such as *"Here You Are! Take Your Choice"* (Figure 5)[31] and *"Won't You Help and Send a Man to Enlist To-day?"* (Figure 4)[32] exemplify the diverse strategies used to encourage enlistment.

In Figure 5, the language is direct and confrontational, presenting enlistment as a moral obligation.[33] By listing various military roles, the poster appealed to men of different backgrounds and skills, leaving "no excuse for not enlisting." This tactic created social pressure, suggesting that failure to join the military was a dereliction of duty.[34] Similarly, Figure 4 appealed to women, urging them to encourage their husbands, brothers, and sons to enlist.[35] This approach placed the responsibility for recruitment not only on men but also on their families, particularly women, who were seen as gatekeepers of moral influence.

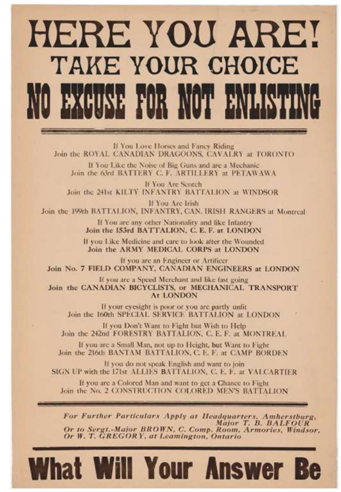

Figure 5

Visual media, including photographs and films, also played a crucial role in recruitment propaganda. Film was embraced as a tool for bringing a message to the masses. With "going to the pictures" becoming widely popular across all levels of society, it was seen as a unique vehicle for mass communication. As the Canadian War Records Office (CWRO) noted in a memorandum, film "might indeed almost have been invented for the purpose" of propaganda.[36] This sentiment underscores the growing significance of film in shaping public opinion during the war, particularly in terms of recruitment. The CWRO capitalized on the power of cinema to reach diverse audiences, disseminating

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[31] The Government of Canada. "To the Women of Canada, Enlist Today."
[32] The Government of Canada. "Here You Are! Take Your Choice / No Excuse For Not Enlisting... What Will Your Answer Be."
[33] The Government of Canada. "Here You Are! Take Your Choice / No Excuse For Not Enlisting... What Will Your Answer Be."
[34] The Government of Canada. "Here You Are! Take Your Choice / No Excuse For Not Enlisting... What Will Your Answer Be."
[35] The Government of Canada. "To the Women of Canada, Enlist Today."
[36] Busch, *Canada and the Great War: Western Front Association Papers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 57.

films that depicted Canadian soldiers' bravery and victories, thus helping to distinguish Canada's contribution to the war effort from that of other nations. Through cinema, Canadians were able to witness firsthand the valor and sacrifice of their fellow countrymen, further deepening their connection to the war effort.[37]

Neander and Marlin's article Media and Propaganda provides valuable context for understanding how enlistment campaigns harnessed the power of fear, pride, and moral obligation.[38] Peter Buitenhuis also highlights the influence of Theodore Roosevelt and other prominent figures in shaping public opinion during World War I. Roosevelt's use of "apocalyptic language" in his speeches and writings, as well as his advocacy for intervention, mirrors how enlistment propaganda tapped into shared fears and aspirations.[39] These campaigns portrayed military service as both a privilege and a responsibility, contributing to a Canadian identity centered on bravery, sacrifice, and loyalty to the British Empire.

The Broader Impact of Wartime Propaganda

Wartime propaganda in Canada was not limited to posters and pamphlets; it permeated all aspects of public life, from newspaper editorials to community events. The Canadian government, military recruiters, women's organizations, and civic groups worked together to disseminate these messages across urban and rural areas, ensuring their widespread impact. These efforts were instrumental in unifying the nation and fostering a collective identity during a time of unprecedented change.

The campaigns surrounding food conservation, women's roles, and enlistment were not only vital to the war effort but also reshaped Canadian societal norms and values. By emphasizing shared sacrifice, national pride, and collective responsibility, wartime propaganda helped to forge a new sense

[37] Busch, *Canada and the Great War*, 57.
[38] Neander and Marlin, "Media and Propaganda,"72.
[39] Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words*, 157.

of Canadian identity. This identity was characterized by resilience, resourcefulness, and a commitment to the greater good—values that continued to shape Canada in the post-war period.

Conclusion

World War I marked a defining moment in Canadian history, with propaganda playing an instrumental role in shaping the nation's identity during and after the conflict. Through targeted campaigns on food conservation, the redefined roles of women, and enlistment, the Canadian government and various civic organizations were able to galvanize the population, creating a collective sense of purpose and national duty. By appealing to citizens' sense of personal responsibility and patriotic duty, these propaganda efforts blurred the lines between the home front and the front lines, emphasizing that every individual had a role to play in the larger war effort. Women, in particular, were positioned as key figures not just in the domestic sphere but as active contributors to the national cause, supporting both the military effort and the broader societal structure through food conservation, factory work, and volunteering.

By linking individual actions—whether saving food, volunteering, or encouraging enlistment—to national success, wartime propaganda connected the domestic with the global, positioning Canada as a key player on the world stage. This collective sense of duty, fostered through emotional and visual appeals, helped define the Canadian identity that emerged from the war—one marked by resilience, resourcefulness, and national pride. The redefined roles of women specifically were not just a temporary wartime shift but laid the foundation for future changes in gender expectations and women's rights.

The legacy of these wartime propaganda campaigns extends far beyond the immediate context of the First World War. By shaping national identity and reinforcing values of collective responsibility, unity, and sacrifice, the propaganda of this era continued to influence the post-war development of Canadian society. Moreover, the changes in gender roles, especially the increased participation of women in the workforce and public life, would have lasting effects on Canadian culture, politics, and social structures. In conclusion, World War I propaganda played a pivotal role in transforming Canada's national identity. By fostering a sense of shared responsibility through targeted campaigns, the government and civic organizations successfully united the population, reinforcing values of unity, duty, and pride. The war's impact on women's roles, in particular, not only contributed to the immediate war effort but also laid the groundwork for long-term social change. The messages of World War I propaganda remain a powerful testament to how media and imagery can reshape societal norms and influence a nation's identity for generations to come.

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Mobilising Manpower, Minds, and Money: Thematic Messages in the Four Minute Men Speeches
by Maryam Khan, HTST 483

Introduction

Following the decision to take the United States to war, President Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (CPI) on 14 April 1917 and appointed George Creel as director. The CPI launched a grand propaganda programme that used posters, motion pictures, pamphlets, university talks, the most prominent of these mediums being speeches by the Four Minute Men.[1] The division of the Four Minute Men was initially a separate entity that operated outside the framework of the CPI, with Donald Ryerson having started the group before President Wilson's declaration of war. Shortly after the inception of the CPI, on 20 April, 1917, the Four Minute Men was placed as an official division under the CPI which was tasked with relaying government ideas and information.[2] The Four Minute Men delivered speeches from 1917 until the end of the war and revolved around the need to mobilize American manpower, minds, and money. The Division of the Four Minute Men reinforced American attitudes and perceptions about the First World War through public speeches posted in their bulletins. They did so by highlighting three distinct themes: the need for military enlistment; the moral justification of fighting the Germans; and the duty of ordinary Americans to financially endorse the war. These speeches acted as a medium of relaying and reinforcing government policies about the war, as well as served a propagandist purpose by selling the war to Americans through specifically curated images and ideas. Images exploited people's fears about Prussianism and German atrocities, while ideas about patriotism and national duty underlined urgency in taking action in the war effort.

Mobilizing Manpower: Washington's Enlistment

[1] Nick Fischer, "The Committee on Public Information and the Birth of US State Propaganda," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 35 (2016): 54-5.
[2] The History Committee, "The Four Minute Men of Chicago," *History Committee of the Four Minute Men of Chicago*, 1919, 9-13.

In order to promote enlistment, the Four Minute Men directed their speeches towards men of fighting age, immigrants, and labourers, and coincided with Washington's conscription mandate. Not only did this act as a powerful persuasive tool, but it also legitimised the speech's main message; enlistment was every man's national obligation.

In the initial days of the Four Minute Men, before joining the CPI, Ryerson aimed at using public speeches to promote military enlistment. He urged his orators to use images and ideas that targeted their audience's desire to help their country and support the war effort. This was especially prominent during early 1917 amidst the U.S. Senate's debates over the Chamberlain Bill, a piece of legislation that would create a munitions ministry and ensure military and naval training for American citizens in preparation for war.[3] Despite the imperativeness of this bill, it was left undecided and replaced with a greater ambition to conscript men instead of relying on volunteers.

President Wilson wanted to raise a three-million-man army to fight in Europe. To do so, he introduced the Selective Service Act, initiated on May 18, 1917. This act required men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty to register for military enlistment. Four Minute Men speeches focused on the draft in their 1918 bulletin titled, "Register!" It is important to note that by the time of this bulletin, published on August 21, 1918, the government had amended the Selective Service Act to expand its mandate and incorporate a larger age bracket. Now, the government required men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to register for the military, raising the quota of conscripts from nine million to thirteen million.[4] President Wilson entrusted the Four Minute Men to reach out to every man possible and convince him to register and fulfil the government's needs.

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[3] 54. U.S. Congress, Senate, Military Affairs Committee. *Universal Military Training*, 64th Cong., 2d sess., 1917. S. Rep, 2980 https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/GPO-CRECB-1917-pt3-v54/GPO-CRECB-1917-pt3-v54-14-1; Frederic L. Paxson, "The American War Government, 1917-1918," *The American Historical Review* 26 (1920): 69-70.

[4] Susan A. Brewer, "Crusade for Democracy: Over There in the Great War," in *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 55.

In the bulletin, before the main text of the speeches were displayed, the text instructed speakers to address "the men between 32 and 45 rather than to the boys." According to the bulletin, older men were in need of a more rigorous and extensive persuasive effort because they "weigh the facts and consider the evidence before arriving at judgement."[5] They were also more likely to think about their families and their financial situation if they, the breadwinner, were shipped off to fight. Although this detail was minute, it was quite relevant in examining the extent to which the CPI went to in ensuring their message would be specially curated. In this case, the speeches that followed emphasised the importance of manly duty and national service, traits that resonated with older men as opposed to young boys who did not need any convincing on "why they should fight their country's foes."[6]

The first speech, titled "The Fiery Cross," appealed to a specific demographic; male, middle-aged, and of Gaelic ancestry. The speech's opening line was as followed, "If I had come before you carrying crossed sticks, soaked in seed oil and blazing brightly in the form of a fiery cross; those of you who are of Gaelic birth or ancestry might have guessed my mission in a moment. I come to summon you to the service of your Nation."[7] Although Gaelic ancestry was not exclusive to older men, it held more significance to them in terms of heritage and honour. This recurring theme of Gaelic imagery was intertwined with the obligation for national service, and was reemphasised at the end of the speech when the speaker addressed the men in the audience as privileged to pledge themselves in the service of their country and follow the "fiery cross of freedom."[8] The specificity of this speech also pointed to the reluctance of certain ethnic monitories in regards to enlistment. Irish-Americans were vehemently opposed to supporting Britain in the war due to the colonial experience.[9] Therefore, the "Fiery Cross"

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[5] Committee on Public Information, "Register!," *Division of the Four Minute Men* 37, 21 August 1918, 11.
[6] Committee on Public Information, "Register!," 11.
[7] Committee on Public Information, "Register!," 11.
[8] Committee on Public Information, "Register!,"
[9] John Whiteclay Chambers, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 108, 163.

speech, in hindsight, had two major objectives; convince older men to enlist, and persuade Irish-Americans that the war was worth fighting for.

"The War Message" speech relayed facts from the government to the audiences about changes in the Selective Service Act. Although the orators anticipated some hesitation from certain members, as mentioned previously, they countered this by ensuring that the government would only need "about one in five" men for immediate military service. The rest would wait and stay ready for Washington's call.[10] Central to the effort of recruiting was the reiteration of phrases such as "patriotism," "national duty," and "service" in order to elicit a deep-rooted obligation in every man. There is an area of inconsistency in the speech where the orator talks about the government's proposal to raise the number of conscripts. The government proposed to either cancel military deferments/exemptions or to enlarge the draft in terms of age range, with the latter coinciding with the Selective Service Act.[11] However, cancelling or violating military deferments actually took place when conscripting labourers and non-essential workers under the "Work or Fight" order.[12] The illusion of choice presented in the speech reflected the government's overarching wartime control and restrictions on freedoms.

Amidst the nation-wide conscription process was a concern about enlisting immigrants into the army. Before the United States' entry into the war, President Wilson relied on volunteerism for supplying manpower and troops for military training. However, when he pledged a three-million-man army, mass mobilization was the only route available to achieve such a feat. And while the Selective Service Act managed to conscript Americans, immigrants and foreign nationals needed more convincing. The Four Minute Men spent most time addressing their speeches to a generic audience,

[10] Committee on Public Information, "Register!," 11.
[11] Committee on Public Information, "Register!," 11.
[12] Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 193-5.

never really singling out immigrants, but one speech stood out. This was Franklin K. Lane's "The Answer to the Foreign Born," a speech written for the Four Minute Men for their bulletins.

In his speech, Lane described American values, such as democracy, justice, liberty, and equal chance as being worth fighting for. His words directly acknowledged immigrants who left their homelands behind to live the American dream and stated that "we, the foreign born, are here now to do our part, our full part, in the making of America."[13] The speech even went as far as denouncing certain aspects of one's homeland, such as the lack of opportunity for public service and the military system wherein a soldier "had no part in choosing, under a flag that gave him bounty, not opportunity."[14] However, this speech downplayed the role that immigrants had to play in the war. Where it was portrayed, that military service offered choices and opportunities, in reality, immigrants were just as obliged to serve as American citizens.

The speech was published just two months before President Wilson announced the expansion of the Selective Service Act in August 1918. Months before the act was introduced in 1917, there were concerns from both the government and the people about immigrants, their loyalty, and their position on military enlistment. Irish Americans had reservations about the United States' support of Britain due to the Empire's colonial crimes. The Jewish population, almost two million in 1917, were not eager to join the fight alongside Russia, with memories of Pogroms and persecution still fresh in their minds. Some immigrants fled their homelands to escape mandatory military service only to end up in the same system under the Selective Service Act.[15] Despite opposition to the draft, the guidelines set by the government

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[13] Franklin K. Lane, "The Answer of the Foreign Born," in *The Meaning of America*, Division of the Four Minute Men 33, 29 June 1918, 16.
[14] Lane, "The Answer," 16.
[15] John Whiteclay Chambers, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 108, 163.

were clear; immigrants, what they called “aliens”, would be classified in four categories in regards to military service.

Firstly, immigrants who were diplomats or held similar positions would be exempt from military service on the basis that they represent a foreign country and work towards the United States’ relations with said country. Second, declarant immigrants, who were permanent residents and professed their intentions of becoming citizens, were obliged to serve. Anyone who refused to do so were seen as reaping the benefits of the government without “sharing the burdens.”[16] Lane’s speech implied that his audience were declarant immigrants given the fact he listed out all of the benefits America has to offer. Next, non-declarant immigrants were straightforwardly exempt from military service. Lastly, “alien enemies” were given special consideration and exempt from service because otherwise, they would be forced to fight against their own country.[17] A notable example were German-Americans whose loyalty was called into question, exacerbated by the fact that the government passed the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act in 1917 and 1918 respectively. Some Four Minute Men speeches followed Washington’s general rhetoric about Germans and employed racist stereotypes which further solidified people’s perceptions about any foreign-born individual. As a whole, the Four Minute Men linked together government policy and preconceived notions about immigrants, consequently producing speeches that re-affirmed the importance of enlistment, both for Americans and non-Americans.

Bridging the gaps in labour and the workforce during mass mobilization was a top priority for the government and businesses. The strains put on the agricultural and industrial sectors prompted President Wilson to introduce the “Work or Fight” order on May 17 1918. Anyone who requested an exemption from the military and refused to work would immediately lose their deferment and be forced

[16] “Second Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War on the Operations of the Selective Service System to December 20, 1918”. *United States of America War Office*, 88.
[17] “Second Report of the Provost Marshal,” *88.*

to enlist.[18] Although this order was introduced months before the August 1918 conscription changes, its obligatory nature and inherent 'authoritarian' undertones paved the way for the government to comfortably expand conscription without a severe reaction from the public. To ease the people into this new labour shift, the Four Minute Men emphasised the significance of American work in helping the troops overseas.

The "Mobilizing America's Man Power" bulletin addressed concerns about mandatory work in the service of supporting the war effort. The convincing argument used was that all of America's mines, farms, factories, and businesses were at war with the enemy. One of the speeches stated, "the men in the trenches are as dependent upon our assistance as their rifles and their cannon are dependent upon the supplies of ammunition that are brought to them from the rear."[19] Not only did the Four Minute Men credit weapons manufacturers, but they also acknowledged ordinary labourers who saw their work as mediocre and insignificant. They conveyed a sense of national duty that Americans have a much bigger role to play, whether they were aware of it or not. Connecting the home front to the front lines created a direct link between workers and their products (artillery, machine guns, helmets, and mortars); "It's work that digs trenched and it's work that makes shovels to dig those trenches."[20] Not only did this instil a sense of pride in working Americans, but it also ensured people that their hard work was being recognised by the government.

After addressing workers' concerns, the Four Minute Men shifted the focus to what the government intended to do in terms of organising the workforce. The United States Employment Service was credited as being the solution to the sudden labour shortage in the country.[21] The service centralised

[18] Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 193-5.
[19] Committee on Public Information, "Mobilizing America's Man Power," *Division of the Four Minute Men* 34, 29 July 1918, 22.
[20] Committee on Public Information, "Mobilizing America's Man Power," 22.
[21] Henry P. Guzda, "The US Employment Service at 50: It Too Had to Wait Its Turn," *Monthly Labor Review* 106 (1983): 15.

employment by setting up offices to coordinate job placement efforts, created sub-divisions to address infrastructure issues, and coordinated efforts with military personnel. Some of the sub-divisions focused on providing employment for women under the Women in Industry Division, incorporating the youth in agriculture (The Boys Working Reserve), and created the Division of Negro Economics in which employers placed Black Americans in jobs, found housing for them, and tackled workplace racial discrimination.[22] Combining the efforts of the Employment Service and the requirements under the Work or Fight order, the Four Minute Men cultivated a concrete message that labour in the name of national duty was the ultimate display of patriotism. In reality, several organisations expressed their opposition to the forced labour order, the most prominent being the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People who called on the President to condemn the selective mobilization of black women only into the workforce.[23] However, speeches either ignored these concerns or reiterated the same government-fed information, further proving that the Four Minute Men were simply mediums of propaganda.

Overall, throughout their speeches in convincing people to mobilize, whether for the military or the workforce, the Four Minute Men employed ideas of loyalty and patriotism to cement their arguments in people's heads. This ensured that all of their speeches were connected by a common idea, as well as provided a concrete justification for the government's policies. Despite the somewhat 'authoritarian' appearance of conscription, the Four Minute Men managed to downplay the extent to which it hindered personal liberties by focusing on the benefits it would bring to the war effort.

Mobilising Minds: Propagandising the Enemy

[22] Guzda, "The US Employment Service at 50," 16.
[23] Shillady, John R, "Telegram Regarding forced labour of Women," National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 26 September 1918.

Convincing people through ideas and images were as important as conscripting them, maybe even more so. Through government rhetoric, the Four Minute Men were able to convince Americans that the ultimate enemy were the Germans, that Prussianism had to be stopped, and that America's allies and democracy were in need of saving.

Throughout the CPI's existence, exploiting the fears and anxieties of Americans was the fundamental basis for their propaganda posters, speeches, and movies. Men were told to fight for their country's honour and freedom, children were encouraged to tell their parents to buy war bonds, industrialists and businessmen were ordered to provide manpower and munitions, and so on. Women in particular were the subjects of numerous propaganda campaigns when the focus landed on German atrocities and crimes. Horrors of the Belgian invasion and the killing of American women on the Lusitania paved the way for the Four Minute Men to do two things; dehumanise the enemy and make emotional appeals to continue the war effort.

The dehumanisation of Germans began with their infamous nickname, "the Hun." Speeches referencing Germans or the German Army would almost always use "the Hun" in lieu of their country's name, evident in "America Will Remember." Coupled with this were verbs that described Germany's actions against victim nations such as Belgium. These included, "ravished [Romania]" and "ravaged and burned."[24] Language such as this was intentionally chosen to elicit strong emotions from the audience which would then lead up to the speakers convincing them to 'do something about it.' Atrocity propaganda by the CPI was one of the most striking aspects of selling the war to Americans, alongside the Four Minute Men speeches. Images of violence waged upon women and children motivated Americans to take revenge or to defend the innocent. Racist depictions of German soldiers as apes or

[24] Committee on Public Information, "America Will Remember," In *A Tribute to the Allies*, Division of the Four Minute Men 46, 24 December 1918, 19.

brutes manifested in several posters, the most famous one being Harry Hopps' "Destroy this Mad Brute!"[25]

One of the most peculiar details of American atrocity propaganda during the war was the decision to speak about the 1914 invasion of Belgium in propaganda posters, speeches, and films, despite the incident having taken place almost three to four years ago. There were several reasons for this. The first was prolonged American isolationism and neutrality from the beginning of the war up until April 1917. Despite witnessing the horrors unfolding in Belgium, President Wilson declared that the country would remain neutral "in fact as well as in name."[26] This sentiment was coupled by the overwhelming anti-war stance that most Americans subscribed to. However, by 1917, the government had to initiate a pro-war movement in order to support the fight in Europe. Thus, propaganda revived the memories of the "Rape of Belgium" and kickstarted a wave of pro-interventionist rhetoric that allowed for an easier transition from peacetime to wartime.

The second reason was to fuel an already xenophobic and anti-immigrant society into making Germans the scapegoat for past, present, and future crimes. In 1915 President Wilson engaged in heavy anti-immigrant speech, even publicly announcing in Congress that foreign-born Americans were "the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life."[27] The Four Minute Men used these ideas in their speeches to warn Americans about lurking German spies and to treat every single one of them as suspicious. Even government policy hinted at suspecting anti-American activity, coded as 'foreigner' activity, in the Espionage and Sedition Acts.[28] Both the government and propaganda divisions worked in

[25] See Appendix A.
[26] Barnet, Richard J., *The Rockets' Red Glare: When America Goes to War, The Presidents and the People* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 140, 144.
[27] Barnet, *The Rockets' Red Glare*, 146.
[28] Committee on Public Information. "The Second Liberty Loan of 1917." *Division of the Four Minute Men* 17, 8 October 1917, 11.

tandem to curate the perfect blend of Washington-sponsored xenophobia and disseminated it in posters and speeches.

On a similar note, but a separate idea, was the battle between Americanism and Prussianism. The government encouraged the CPI and the Four Minute Men to fearmonger the public into ushering behind the war effort. This tactic was used extensively when producing anti-German propaganda, as mentioned previously, and was used again when comparing democratic America to autocratic Germany. The Four Minute Men used two key arguments that highlighted President Wilson's ultimate objective; to put an end to Prussianism. The first was that Prussianism was dominating Europe through conquest and aggression. The second was that Prussianism allowed fierce propaganda to spread anti-American messages.[29]

Linked to the first argument was Germany's aggression towards Belgium, Romania, and other conquered territories. In their speech, the Four Minute Men list out attributes of what the Germans think of themselves, mainly pertaining to strength and the idea of "might makes right." They state, "she [Germany] tells us and the world that the weak have no rights against the strong… between states, there is only one force of right, the right of the strongest. The weak is always the prey of the stronger."[30] This kind of imagery fed into people's pre-existing conceptions of Germany's pre-disposition to autocratic rule, aggression, and disregard for the sovereignty of smaller states. These ideas stemmed from decades of witnessing Prussianism in Europe, now spilling over into the twentieth century. To support this view, the speech included quotes from Kaiser Wilhelm from his "Proclamation to his Eastern Army" in 1914.[31]

While describing Germany's overarching control within Europe, the Four Minute men exploited people's fears and suspicions of Germans, a consequence of a culmination of factors; the rape of

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[29] Committee on Public Information. "The Danger to Democracy." *Division of the Four Minute Men* 24, 18 February 1918, 11.
[30] Committee on Public Information, "The Danger to Democracy," 11.
[31] Kaiser Wilhelm II, "Proclamation to his Eastern Army," In *Thus Spake Germany*, 1941.

Belgium, the sinking of the Lusitania, President Wilson's anti-foreigner comments, and anti-German sentiments across the country. They stated, "already the Kaiser has overrun Middle Europe, Mittel-Europa he calls it. You see he has a German name for it, as if it were already a German province."[32] This only reinforced Americans' existing distrust for anything that sounded remotely German, whether that be words, people, or ideas. An attack on German 'aliens' manifested in different ways, but almost all of them cited the Espionage and Sedition Acts in some way, shape, or form. State surveillance targeted 250,000 Germans and Americans of German descent under the auspices of 'protecting America.' Censorship of German newspapers, editors, and even teachers were put in place to protect "clean and pure American boys and girls."[33] This also tied in with the juxtaposition in propaganda posters between the innocent American woman or child and the brutish Prussian.

The claim of anti-American propaganda disseminating in German society did much to portray Germans as easily manipulated by state rhetoric. In their "What Our Enemy Really Is" speech, the Four Minute Men convey the idea that false admiration for Germany is rooted in the Kaiser's intense propaganda scheme.[34] This is an ironic point considering Washington's approval of the CPI, the Four Minute Men, and their propaganda programme. The contrast between America's justified propaganda and the Germans' unreliable one lies in the belief that Americanism was superior to Prussianism. Coupled with the anti-German movement was the '100% Americanism' movement, fuelled by government propaganda and encouragement. Americans felt compelled to publicly display their loyalty, whether this entailed putting up an American flag in their house or more extreme measures, such as lynching Germans.[35] Americanism was regarded as an idea sans ethnicity, race, nationality, religion, and

[32] Committee on Public Information, "The Danger to Democracy," 11.
[33] Charles Johanningsmeier, "World War I, Anti-German Hysteria, the 'Spanish' Flu, and My Ántonia, 1917-1919," *Willa Cather Newsletter & Review* 59 (2017): 34.
[34] Committee on Public Information, "What Our Enemy Really Is," *Division of the Four Minute Men* 14, 27 August 1917.
[35] Johanningsmeier, "World War I, Anti-German Hysteria," 33-35.

culture. Instead, it revolved around social (personal rights, freedom) and political ideas (national unity, strength).[36] This was yet another piece of irony or inconsistency within government and CPI policy; to claim Americanism did not bear allegiance to a single nationality, but at the same time, single out Germans and immigrants who professed their loyalty to the United States.

The Four Minute Men made appeals to the people in their support for America's European allies who had been fighting the war much longer than they had been. And while most speeches up until this point referred to threats to American society, the "A Tribute to the Allies" bulletin emphasised the efforts of Russia, Britain, and France in hopes of mobilizing more Americans into supporting the war.

By framing the efforts of the allied powers in a sympathetic way, the Four Minute Men were able to convince the public that the struggles of America were the struggles of France and Britain, in the sense that each country was in a war to save the sanctity of democracy and freedom. One of the speeches, "America Will Remember," showed the collective efforts of all of the allied powers in fighting against the "Hun." It recognised Britain's naval efforts, France's fight at Verdun, Russia's victories, and Italy's prompt declaration of war, and in doing so, implied that Americans were indebted to these nations.[37] The idea that America had to honour their 'debt' and fight in Europe tried to reverse some of the anti-war and isolationist perspectives that still resonated with some people. The "Things to be Remembered" speech follows similar ideas and reiterates the importance of understanding that America's fight was nothing compared to Europe's fight: "We do well to be proud of America's achievement- but what of those who endured four years what we were only beginning to experience!"[38]

One interesting element in the first speech is the inclusion of Russia in the list of trusted and loyal allies, despite the events of the Russian Revolution having taken place alongside the civil war. The

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[36] Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 94.
[37] Committee on Public Information, "A Tribute to the Allies," *Division of the Four Minute Men 46*, 24 December 1918.
[38] Committee on Public Information, "A Tribute to the Allies."

speech states, "we owe a debt to Russia which her present plight invites us to discharge."[39] Sympathies for a communist Russia were hard to come by during the first Red Scare, however, the Four Minute Men's attempt to portray Russia as a victim of Prussianism alludes to Wilson's joint address to Congress, just days leading up to his declaration of war. In his speech, he linked the ongoing political unrest in Russia as the product of Prussian autocratic influence.[40] This connected with some of the other speeches by the Four Minute Men that condemned Germany's overreliance and overproduction of false propaganda.

"Whenever you hear any argument that is contrary to the avowed policy and military program of the United States Government you can rest assured that it serves no purpose to spread it."[41] In essence, this was the underlying message of every speech that aimed at justifying the war through supporting anti-German concern, reinforcing American ideas in opposition to Prussianism, and creating a sense of obligation in defending the allies who helped ward off Germany until this point. There was simply no room for questioning government directives.

Mobilizing Money: The Financial Homefront

Financial endorsements and investments were a crucial aspect of the government's wartime policies. War saving stamps, the Liberty Bond, and the Red Cross served as the gateway to direct involvement in the war without having to serve or fight. Ordinary Americans, especially women and children, were encouraged to give their money to the government under the guise of 'defending democracy.'

The strongest selling point for the Liberty Loan was the connection between buying a loan and saving an American soldier in the front lines. The Four Minute Men acted like a "life insurance agent"

[39] Committee on Public Information, "A Tribute to the Allies."
[40] Woodrow Wilson, "Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Germany," *Records of the United States Senate*, 2 April 1917.
[41] Committee on Public Information, "What Our Enemy Really Is," 7.

who was tasked with getting their audience to purchase government bonds and loans to ensure a soldier had 'life' insurance.[42] The play on words was intended to convey the severity of the situation but not scare or put the audience on edge. Similarly, some speeches made the same connections between an American individual and the front lines by advocating for the material benefits the loans brought. Just as speakers encouraged workers to keep manufacturing equipment for soldiers, in this case, the speakers encouraged every American to fight against the "barbed-wire entanglements… that waste the precious minutes in the crisis of the attack… the hidden machine guns that open point blank on our charging lines."[43] Making a personal connection with the war helped incentivise Americans to happily give away their money to the government in hopes of saving more American troops. The creation of a "financial front" resulted in a total of $21.4 billion being raised through the loan campaigns.[44] As evident, the strategy pressed by the CPI and the Four Minute Men managed to yield success.

Continuing this cycle of gathering investments were war bond posters. There were two broad themes/images that promoted government bond schemes. The first was using Germans as motivators for investing and the second was using children to encourage parents to buy into these schemes. In relation to beating the Germans, it was implied that the act of buying a single bond or war stamp could ultimately push America closer to victory.[45] While there were no official statistics in the speeches that supported this point, it was the moral encouragement that mattered the most in ensuring investments would increase. The need to invest was not exclusive to a single class; all working and earning members of society were informed to set aside some money and give it to the government. In return, they were promised their fair share plus interest. Most speeches about government schemes focused on

[42] Committee on Public Information, "Fourth Liberty Loan," *Division of the Four Minute Men* 39, 12 September 1918, 26.
[43] Committee on Public Information, "Fourth Liberty Loan," 26.
[44] Jennifer D. Keene, "Mobilization: New Powers for the Government," in *The United States and the First World War* (New York: Routledge, 2022), 34.
[45] Keene, "Mobilization," 34-5.

encouraging adults to contribute, while posters depicted innocent children as the propagators of financial support. The War Savings Stamps were introduced to encourage children to earn money, as well as understand why giving away their money was important.[46] In addition to this, parents felt obligated to protect their innocent children from the terror of the Prussians, thus, incentivising them further into investing in bonds.

Similar to connecting Americans to the front lines was the idea of national duty and patriotism. Although this was a common theme throughout the various speeches of the Four Minute Men, it was most frequently employed in speeches regarding the Liberty Loans, the Red Cross, and government bonds. Here, patriotism was at odds with Prussian support for the Kaiser and his aims. Americans were told to "look at the Prussian peasant who gives his all… as he has been taught, that means self-sacrifice for the common good." and asked, "will you let that Prussian peasant prove himself more loyal to the Kaiser than you are to your flag?"[47] The explicit comparison questioned people's dedication towards the war effort, in a way that invertedly questioned their loyalty to their country as well. With the Espionage Act still fresh in its inception, no American wanted their loyalty under suspicion, especially in regards to anything related to the Germans. Fears such as these were obviously exploited, one notable example being, "Do not let that German spy hear and report that you are a slacker. Don't let him tell the Berlin Government that there is no need to worry about the people… that they are not patriots."[48]

There is also an element of conformity within the speeches that address the Liberty loans and bonds. The main message delivered was that if someone did not buy a loan, they were not an American; they were not like the rest of the "good loyal patriotic" Americans who did give away their money.[49] Additionally, in connection with the notion that buying a bond would bring the country closer to victory,

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[46] Celia Malone Kingsbury, *For Home and Country,* 174-6.
[47] Committee on Public Information, "The Second Liberty Loan of 1917," 11.
[48] Committee on Public Information, "The Second Liberty Loan of 1917," 11.
[49] Committee on Public Information, "The Second Liberty Loan of 1917," 11.

the Four Minute Men brought together memories of Lusitania, images of American women and children being killed and pushed for a stronger endorsement of the war.[50] The threat of working for a "German master later on" ensured that people would be united under a common cause that aimed at protecting Americans, safeguarding democracy, and defeating the Germans.

Ultimately, what tied all of the speeches about the Liberty loans and bonds, apart from fulfilling a patriotic service, was the idea that the government was the most trustworthy institution in the entire war. From financial schemes to conscription and propaganda, the government wanted to ensure that Americans placed their trust in the President, which in turn would make mobilization for the war much easier and more efficient. The close functions of the CPI, the Four Minute Men, and the government meant that speeches and public material would paint President Wilson and his administration in a positive light. No where else is this more prevalent than in the Four Minute Men speeches.

Some speeches reiterated the guarantees set by the government in regards to people's money, reassuring the audience, "we all should save- and then put our money in the safest place: and what other place is as safe as the Treasury of the United States?" Another speech states that "[Liberty Bonds] are the safest security in which you can invest in today." This message resonated well with lower class Americans, especially when considering the fact that they would not have thought about giving away any leftover money if it meant buying additional food or resources. Official tax revenue numbers show that more than seventy percent of Americans whose incomes were just over $2,000 annually made a purchase for a government bond.[51]

With the Espionage and Sedition Acts in the background, Americans were steered to believe that the government had their best interests at heart. And given the degree to which President Wilson restricted civil liberties through the CPI's censorship campaign, the introduction of propaganda schemes,

[50] Committee on Public Information, "The Second Liberty Loan of 1917," 11.
[51] Keene, "Mobilization," 35.

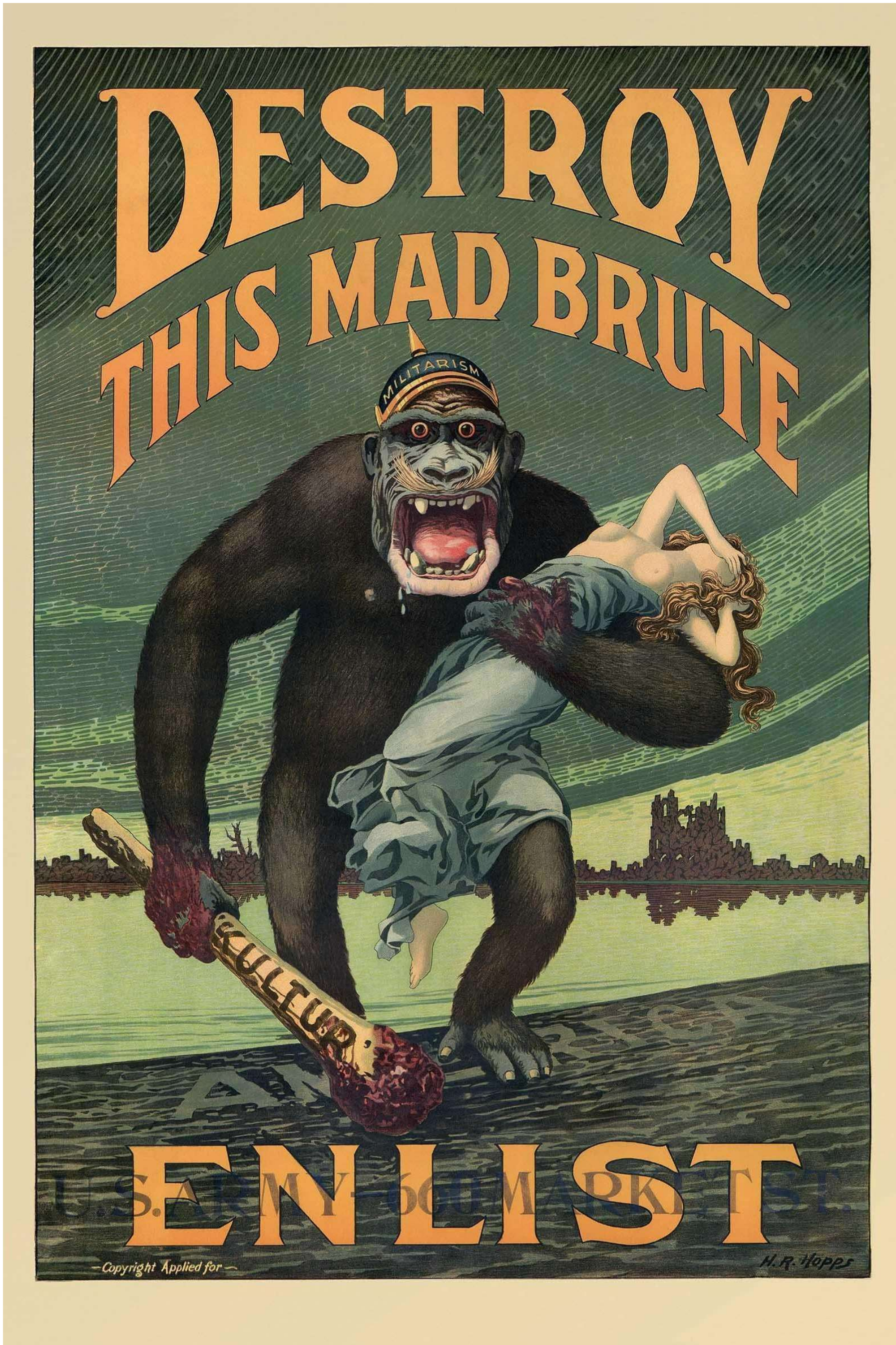
and mandatory conscription, it was evident that the government needed a friendly face. Otherwise, they could not have managed to convince people to give them their money on top of their boys and men, their labour, and their loyalty.

Conclusion

Overall, the Four Minute Men, to a larger extent, did relay government information, set the national tone, and supported whatever rhetoric was introduced. During policy implementations, speeches focused on the benefits of supporting the government, as seen during the years of the Selective Service Act and its changes in 1918. On issues that required some restrictions on civil liberties, like the “Work or Fight” order, the Four Minute Men deflected by speaking about the boys and men overseas and the severity of their sacrifice compared to the audience back home. In order to fulfil a propagandist role, speeches reflected pre-existing xenophobic and anti-foreigner rhetoric and coincided these images with the CPI’s poster and film campaigns. What linked all of these themes together was the need to use patriotism and national obligation in the fight against the Germans, as well as follow government directive, regardless of any inconsistencies or ironies. The exploitation of people’s fears by both the government and the Four Minute Men aided in ushering men into the army, women and children into government bond schemes, and everyone else into a fight against Prussianism on domestic land.

Appendix

Appendix A: "Destroy this Mad Brute"



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War Revisualized: The Changing Image of War in Canadian World War I Propaganda Posters
by Julian Del Greco, HTST 483

The Great War of 1914 altered many aspects of Canadian society and is often considered a defining moment in characterising Canada's national identity. Canadians mobilised to support Britain and its allies, achieving crucial victories against the German Empire that established Canada as a global power. Over the course of the First World War, propaganda was an incredibly effective tool in influencing public opinion, often used to garner support for the war effort.[1] In order to impact as many citizens as possible, large posters containing bold texts and simple images became the most effective device in mobilizing society. The Robert Borden government utilized propaganda posters throughout the conflict to present the image of war to Canadians. The image of war was how the conflict was displayed to society, while also having exhibited the means in which it took to defeat the enemy and ultimately win the war. The initial war plan followed traditional wartime strategy, however, due to the enhancement of technologies, casualties began to increase among armies, resulting in longer, more disastrous types of battles than in previous wars.[2] As a result, the Canadian government needed to change its approach in order to mobilize more of its society and resources towards the war effort, thus adapting its propaganda posters and its fundamental image of war. Canadian propaganda of the First World War changed significantly in displaying the image of war to its population due to the altering ways in which war needed to be won.

After the assassination of Austro-Hungarian heir Archduke Franz Ferdinand, relations between European countries began to deteriorate. Nearly a century of imperialistic tensions and technological advancements among European empires had succumbed and war was eventually declared. On August 4,

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[1] Lynette Finch. "Psychological Propaganda: The War of Ideas on Ideas During the First Half of the Twentieth Century." *Armed Forces & Society* 26, no. 3 (2000): 367–86. http://www.jstor.org/stable/45346379.
[2] H.G Wells. "CIVILIZATION AT THE BREAKING POINT: Man's Increasing Power of Destruction, Unchecked, Will Overwhelm Hope, Beauty and Freedom in the World." *New York Times,* May 27, 1915. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fhistorical-newspapers%2Fcivilization-at-breaking-point%2Fdocview%2F97701471%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

1914, German soldiers invaded neutral Belgium to attack France, provoking Britain to declare war on Germany for violating Belgian sovereignty. Although an overly simple explanation in regard to the beginning of the First World War, this was how Canadians viewed the origin of the conflict – Germany as the aggressor.[3] As a British dominion, Canada was also at war with the German Empire. Military historian Terry Copp described the situation, having stated, "Canada's leaders played no part in the decision for war in 1914, and it is literally true that Canada went to war because Britain was at war."[4] Nevertheless, the Canadian government was able to determine the extent in which they would aid the war effort, which consisted mostly of providing soldiers to Britain. As soon as battle began, propaganda posters were being distributed throughout Canada in order to encourage recruitments due to the traditional war tactics being employed. The morale was high and the images reflected the enthusiastic attitudes of many Canadians.

The propaganda posters in 1914 displayed two prominent aspects of Canadian society that encouraged many young men to enlist in the army; the interconnectedness to the British Empire and the masculine glamourization of war. The poster titled, *Your King and Country Need You* (Figure 1) was distributed in 1914 and consisted of a singular message, "Your King and Country Need You: Join the Army Until the War is Over."[5] The message called upon Canadians to serve their King, referring to George V of England, and it was presented in blue, red, and white lettering, symbolising the colours of the British flag. The *Empire Needs Men* poster (Figure 2) also displayed the interdependence between Canada and Britain. Britain being portrayed as the 'Old Lion' and the 'Young Lion' as Canada, demonstrating the unity between the two nations, as if related by blood.[6] Additionally, the poster, *This is Your Flag* (Figure 3) exhibited a commanding officer pointing to the British flag. The message beneath wrote, "This is your

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[3] Terry Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914–1918" In *Canada and the First World War, Second Edition: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* edited by David MacKenzie, 35-61. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018, 36 https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.3138/9781487519681-006.
[4] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 36.
[5] Imperial War Museums. "Your King and Country Need You," n.d. https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/28388.
[6] Imperial War Museums. "The Empire Needs Men!," n.d. (Figure 2) https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/37297.

flag, it stands for liberty, fight for it."[7] All three of these images displayed war as honourable, evoking British national pride sentiments among Canadians that glorified the notion of fighting and possibly dying for one's country.

Furthermore, propaganda posters also revealed the masculinity aspects of war that were extremely prominent.[8] Posters such as *It's Men We Want* (Figure 4) and *Why Don't They Come?* (Figure 5) displayed to Canadians that enlisting in the army was a masculine duty. For instance, the message in *It's Men We Want* stated, "Here's your chance: It's <u>MEN</u> we want."[9] The statement is phrased as if it was offering Canadian boys an opportunity to prove that they were true men. It utilized rhetoric that presented warfare as an inherently masculine event. In *Why Don't They Come*, the message explained that war overseas was a chance to play a man's game, further suggesting that engaging in battle was crucial in achieving masculinity.[10] It is evident that these notions influenced many young Canadian men to join the army in 1914. Prior to the Belgian invasion, the Canadian army was composed of 3,000 soldiers; after the attack, approximately 30,000 men rapidly volunteered to fight in Europe to honour both their British heritage and achieve masculinity.[11] As a result, men were enthusiastic when enlisting due to the heroic image of war presented in early propaganda posters. Each poster in this time period was designed solely to increase recruitment numbers in order to employ a larger army against the Germans. The posters made men believe that by simply joining the army, they would be able to win the war. Unfortunately, the realities of modern warfare were becoming increasingly realized among Canadians and the propaganda posters began to reflect the change in mentality.

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[7] Canada and the First World War. "Recruitment Posters - *This Is Your Flag* | Canada and the First World War," n.d. https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/objects-and-photos/propaganda/recruitment-posters/this-is-your-flag/?back=1580&anchor=2101.
[8] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 38-39.
[9] Ontario, Archives Of. "War Posters - Recruitment: Here's Your Chance - It's Men We Want [Canada]," n.d. (Figure 4) https://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/posters/big/big_27_war_poster.aspx.
[10] Imperial War Museums. "Why Don't They Come?," n.d. https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31015.
[11] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 37.

During the initial campaign of World War I, both the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance followed conventional battle techniques, deploying troops forward and conquering territory as implemented in large-scale battles prior.[12] However, heavy artillery, machine gun fire and attempts to outflank one another forced both sides to excavate trenches along the Western Front. Consequently, military advancements were nearly impossible and a stalemate was formed, causing Canadian soldiers to experience limited combat. However, Canadian military commanders such as Arthur Currie and R.E.W Turner still believed that victory relied on frontal assaults.[13] It was not until 1915 when the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) had begun to engage in large-scale battles with the Germans, particularly during the Second Battle of Ypres. Canadian troops were deployed to the Ypres Salient in April and fought in areas such as St. Julien where they were subjected to the second ever use of chlorine gas in warfare.[14] Amid the barrage, the CEF had sustained severe casualties; nearly 6,000 soldiers were killed, injured or taken prisoner of war.[15] The Canadian casualty rate of the battle was 37% and it would not be exceeded later in the war, not even at the notoriously gruesome Battle of the Somme.[16] Although official casualty reports were not published after the engagement, newspapers in Canada had begun reporting surviving soldiers' narratives of the event, introducing society to the brutal realities of modern warfare.[17] In order to combat the increasing hesitancy of enlistments that resulted from the Second Battle of Ypres, Canadian propaganda posters had shifted from glorifying war and exhibiting symbols of masculinity to instead presenting more somber images, instead focusing on sacrifice.

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[12] Bill Rawling. *Surviving Trench Warfare : Technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918, Second Edition*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014. ProQuest Ebook Central. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?d ocID=4670293.
[13] Rawling. *Surviving Trench Warfare : Technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918, Second Edition*. 43.
[14] L. F. Haber. *The Poisonous Cloud : Chemical Warfare in the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1986. Accessed November 5, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.
[15] "CANADA'S LOSS IS 6,000: MONTREAL HIGHLANDERS SUFFER MOST IN YPRES BATTLE.." *The Washington Post (1877-1922),* May 03, 1915. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login.
[16] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 43.
[17] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 43-44.

It is important to understand that although the image of war did change, the means in which it took to defeat the Germans did not; it was still believed more recruitment in order to outnumber the enemy was the determining factor. Nonetheless, posters in 1915 exhibited the first change in the image of war. For instance, the *Battle of St. Julien and Festubert* poster (Figure 6) displayed a soldier standing in the 'slope arms' position, a calm stance compared to propaganda posters of the previous year that called men to action, such as *This is Your Flag* (Figure 3) and *Why Don't They Come* (Figure 5). In contrast, the *Battle of St. Julien and Festubert* honoured the dead men and posed the question, "Shall We follow their Example?"[18] The question was meant to manifest guilt into Canadians, asking them if they would keep distance and allow the enemy to keep annihilating, or would they follow the bravery of the dead, enlist in the army and ensure the sacrifice made by fallen was not futile. The message was no longer concerned with honouring the British Empire, but rather honouring the Canadians who had lost their lives in battle.

The consequences of modern warfare were continuing to reach the homefront as the German navy torpedoed the passenger ship, *Lusitania*, along the coast of Ireland in May, 1915.[19] Over 1,300 civilians had lost their lives, many of whom were Canadian women and children.[20] Immediately after the tragedy, posters such as *Remember the 'Lusitania'* (Figure 7) and *Take Up the Sword of Justice* (Figure 8) were distributed throughout Canada to display the savage actions of the Germans and encourage further recruitment. The majority of Canadians in 1914 believed that the war would be short-lived and would incur limited casualties.[21] However, when the *Lusitania* sank the war had been active for nearly a year, the Allies had suffered nearly 200,000 losses in May and June alone, and Canadian civilians were caught in gunfire.[22] Propaganda posters were no longer concerned with presenting war as a masculine duty or

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[18] Imperial War Museums. "Heroes of St Julien and Festubert - Shall We Follow Their Example?," n.d. https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31045.
[19] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 43.
[20] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 43.

[21] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 34
[22] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 34.

honouring British heritage. In order to increase recruitments, the image had changed. *Remember the Lusitania* described the event as, “the devil’s work.”[23] *Take Up the Sword of Justice* provided Canadians with a visual of the sinking boat accompanied by the hands of drowning passengers.[24] These two posters focused on the loss of life and the barbaric aspects of the First World War. By doing so, the image of war was fundamentally altered as they encouraged men to enlist in order to prevent the Germans from further committing atrocities, not to fulfil their masculine duty.

Furthermore, 1915 saw an additional change in the image of war in respect to the role of women. Between 1914 and 1915, Canadian propaganda posters primarily targeted men, with very few ever depicting a woman.[25] On the rare occasion that a woman did appear, she would be portrayed in a nurturing role, due to previous societal expectations developed in the Victorian era. The symbol of motherhood was conceptualized during the Victorian period, a time when a woman’s role in society was to raise their children.[26] Historian Susan Zeigler proposed that the image of ‘motherhood’ had been accepted for many years, and as a result, mothers were especially influential in determining the recruitment of soldiers. She wrote, “[that the government felt] mothers could disrupt the war effort and subvert the war by holding their sons back from the army.”[27] However, if mothers alone could deter their sons from volunteering, they could also single-handedly promote enlistments.

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[23] Canada and the First World War. “Recruitment Posters - *Remember the ‘Lusitania’* | Canada and the First World War,” n.d. https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/objects-and-photos/propaganda/recruitment-posters/remember-the-lusitania/.

[24] Canada and the First World War. “Recruitment Posters - *Take up the Sword of Justice* | Canada and the First World War,” n.d. https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/objects-and-photos/propaganda/recruitment-posters/take-up-the-sword-of-justice/.

[25] Karen Ann Reyburn. “Blurring the Boundaries: Images of Women in Canadian Propaganda of World War I.” MA Thesis, University of Guelph, 1998. https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/ftp01/MQ35925.pdf.

[26] Karen Ann Reyburn. “Blurring the Boundaries: Images of Women in Canadian Propaganda of World War I.” 34.

[27] Susan Zeiger. "She Didn't Raise Her Boy to be a Slacker: Motherhood, Conscription, and the Culture of the First World War." *Feminist Studies* 22, no. 1 (Spring, 1996): 7. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fscholarly-journals%2Fshe-didnt-raise-her-boy-be-slacker-motherhood%2Fdocview%2F1295981817%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

As a result, the government utilized the influence of mothers in order to increase recruitments in 1915. The poster, *To the Women of Canada* (Figure 9) asked women, primarily mothers, four questions. The third and fourth questions stated, "Do you realize that the one word 'GO' from you may send another man to fight for our King and Country? When the War is over and someone asks your husband or your son what he did in the great War, is he to hang his head because you would not let him go?"[28] The poster was not only claiming that men would volunteer to fight overseas if their mother encouraged so, but also that if they refrained from enlisting, the mothers were responsible. By placing the blame onto the mothers, it questioned their ability to properly raise their sons. As previously mentioned, war prior to the aftermath of the Battle of Ypres was viewed as an inherently masculine event in order to achieve true manhood. When a son rejected or avoided the opportunity to become a man, it was viewed as the selfish attitude of the mother, ultimately failing to raise her son.[29] In 1915, W.G. Raymond explained to citizens in Brantford, Ontario, "the real source of patriotism comes from the mothers. If we do not have patriotic mothers, we would not have patriotic sons."[30] His statement reflected the societal attitudes displayed in the poster, *To the Women of Canada*. The poster suggested that a woman was powerful enough to influence a man's decision to volunteer in the army. Therefore, it provided mothers and wives the opportunity to join the war effort, as they had a direct impact on Canadian enlistments, presenting a new image of war involving women that was not initially relevant in early distributed propaganda posters.

In addition to mothers being utilized to support enlistments in 1915 from the homefront, propaganda posters expanded to non-married women in order to receive supplementary assistance in Europe. The aforementioned influence that mothers had on their husbands and sons was exploited by the

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[28] Archives Of Ontario, "War Posters - Recruitment: To the Women of Canada [Canada]," n.d., https://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/posters/big/big_30_war_poster.aspx.
[29] Paul Maroney. 'The Great Adventure': The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914–17." *Canadian Historical Review* 77, no. 1 (March 1, 1996): 62–98. https://doi.org/10.3138/chr-077-01-03.
[30] W.G. Raymond to Brantford Audience 1915. Quoted in Paul Maroney, "The Great Adventure", 95.

government in order to deploy more men to the front line. However, due to the increased battle in 1915, more soldiers were wounded and required medical assistance. In order to aid the injured men, nurses were becoming crucial. Propaganda posters such as *V.A.D.* (Figure 10) and *If You Cannot Give a Life, You Can Save a Life* (Figure 11) began promoting organizations such as the Canadian Red Cross and the Voluntary Aid Detachment in order to help treat the increase of wounded soldiers. Together the two organizations were able to deploy young, spouseless women towards the war effort, working in hospitals, medical camps, and other care facilities.[31]

Nurses became a crucial aspect in aiding the front line, as they rehabilitated soldiers who had been struck by shrapnel or bullets, suffered frostbite, contracted influenza, lost limbs, or had endured other gruesome afflictions of war. As a result, the traditional, Victorian role of women as nurturing mothers transcended to un-married, young nurses, and propaganda posters rapidly exhibited the conversion. Posters such as *Help the Red Cross* (Figure 12) and *The Greatest Mother in the World* (Figure 13) depicted women physically aiding the war effort overseas. Both posters displayed a young woman healing a wounded soldier. In T*he Greatest Mother in the World*, the woman was draped in all white and was portrayed in a Madonna-Esque light, occupying most of the frame to further present nurses as the 'eternal mother'. In contrast, the soldier, who had been portrayed as tough, masculine figures in previous posters, was miniscule, posed in the arms of the nurse as she cradled him. Sandra Gilbert expanded on this notion, suggesting that it was essential for young women to equip the Victorian ideals of motherhood to properly attend to the injured soldiers. She stated, "After all, when men are immobilized and dehumanized, it is only these women who possess the old (matriarchal) formulas for survival."[32] It was important that posters such as *Help the Red Cross* and *The Greatest Mother in the World* displayed the nurturing attributes of

[31] Sandra M. Gilbert. "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War." *Signs* 8, no. 3 (1983): 422–50. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173946.
[32] Sandra M. Gilbert. "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War." 435

nurses as vital in ensuring the survival of soldiers because it affirmed female war contribution. More nurses were needed to help re-mobilize injured men due to low recruitments.[33] As a result, the image of war changed, presenting women, in their assigned gender role, as active participants, altering previous notions that war involved men alone.

Propaganda posters had displayed the shift of female participation in the war from being exclusively available to married women and mothers contributing on the home front, to young spouseless women deployed overseas, actively engaging with soldiers. Despite the change, women's role in society was still conventional, embodying Victorian values and traditions.[34] From 1916 to 1918, the image of war in Canadian propaganda posters had completely altered. Women were presented as even more crucial in defeating the Germans than it had in the previous two years due to the Conscription Crisis of 1917. In 1916, the Canadian Expeditionary Force had fought in the Battle of the Somme alongside British troops. Although Canadian soldiers were not present on the first day of combat, the Newfoundland Regiment had deployed 790 men, of which, 710 were wounded or killed.[35] In the aftermath of the battle, the Allies had suffered 600,000 casualties; 24,000 were Canadian soldiers.[36]

As war waged on and large casualties were being incurred, it became evident that better military technology was crucial in both attacking and defending against German forces. Developments such as steel helmets, tanks, and the Stokes mortar were produced and provided to British and Canadian armies in 1916.[37] However, during the same year, enlistments had begun to decrease and those who volunteered selected corps other than infantry.[38] The army lowered their recruitment standards in order to keep the trenches heavily occupied, consequently removing men from factories that supplied the front line with the

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[33] Gilbert, "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War," 439.
[34] Gilbert, "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War," 432.
[35] Copp, "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 49.
[36]Copp, "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 50.
[37] J. L. Granatstein. *Canada at War : Conscription, Diplomacy, and Politics*. Toronto ; University of Toronto Press, 2020.
[38] Granatstein, "*Canada at War,"* 40.

newly implemented technologies. In order to keep the soldiers fighting overseas well equipped, propaganda posters sought to employ women in factories. The most prominent of posters distributed was *These Women Are Doing Their Bit* (Figure 14) between 1916 to 1917. The picture presented a woman preparing to work along an assembly line with other women in work overalls engaged in manufacturing military equipment, primarily ammunition.[39] The reason in which posters such as, *These Women Are Doing Their Bit,* were so significant were that they presented the notion that women were essential in continuing the war effort.

The depictions of female contribution in the war prior to 1916-1917 suggested that women could assist the war effort where deemed necessary, whether it had been encouraging their sons to enlist or medically aiding wounded soldiers. However, supply shortages occurred and women were employed into factories, working what were previously considered male jobs, established their labour as of equal importance in defeating the Germans. Without women producing military equipment, the Canadian Expeditionary Force would have suffered supply shortages, thus weakening the front line. The German government had not employed women in their factories during 1916 as Canada had, instead they divided their men between the front line and production work, ultimately leading to supply shortages that lasted into 1917 and remained until the end of the war.[40] Propaganda posters encouraging women to work in factories became increasingly distributed throughout Canada as they were viewed as vital in continuing the war machine. The image of war had changed significantly since 1914, initially portraying men as the determining factor in defeating the German Empire, to displaying women as crucial in continuing the ongoing fight. For they kept the trenches heavily armed, suggesting that the conflict was becoming a war of attrition, relying on the contributions of both men and women.

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[39] Imperial War Museums. "These Women Are Doing Their Bit," n.d. https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/24058.
[40] Tomas Balkelis. 2022. "Humanitarian Crisis in German Occupied Vilnius, 1916-1917." *First World War Studies* 13 (1): 67–83. doi:10.1080/19475020.2022.2052929.

Canadian propaganda posters had sought to promote both men and women towards the war effort, however, the approach in which the war would be won remained the same – outnumber the enemy and gain territory.[41] However, when women began working in factories, resources along the front line had already been scarce for the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance. In addition to low supplies, the Bolsheviks had exited Russia out of the war, allowing for the Germans to deploy more soldiers to the Western Front in hopes of achieving major success before American troops were sent overseas.[42] Fortunately for the Allies, the blockade of Germany resulted in a depletion of their supplies, weakening the strength of their army. Both the Canadian government and the Canadian Expeditionary Force realized that in order to effectively defeat the German Empire, they had to outresource them.[43] A conventional war became a war of attrition and propaganda posters were beginning to mobilize all of Canadian society towards the war effort to reinforce the front line, exhausting the enemy's supplies.

Resource conservation was incredibly encouraged throughout 1918. However, most of the posters created were in regard to food rationing, which promoted all Canadians, old, young, male or female to be more mindful with their nutrition habits in the interest of saving food for the front line. The Canadian Food Board distributed the poster, *Remember We Must Feed Daddy Too* (Figure 15) in 1918. It depicted a mother with her child sitting at a table, sharing a small meal. Appearing in the background was the father amid battle, shooting his rifle as a shell exploded near his trench. The title of the propaganda piece included quotations, implying that it was a statement the mother said to her child, reminding them to save food for their father.[44] Unlike previous posters, this particular one included a child, suggesting that it targeted Canadian children. The use of the word, 'daddy' and the image of a soldier fighting was to remind children

[41] J. L. Granatstein. *Canada at War : Conscription, Diplomacy, and Politics*.
[42] Copp. "2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918." 55.
[43] J. L. Granatstein. *Canada at War : Conscription, Diplomacy, and Politics*.
[44] McGill University. "Canadian War Poster Collection: Remember We Must Feed Daddy Too." n.d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/warposters/search/searchdetail.php?ID=8717&version=e

to help their fathers on the front line through the conservation of food. The poster demonstrated that Canadian children were also part of aiding the war effort, suggesting the means in which to defeat the Germans relied on the participation of everyone on the home front.

Additionally, the poster titled, *Fight With Food* (Figure 16) was produced in 1918 and expanded on the notion that the Canadian war effort was becoming reliant on the actions of the domestic front. The text urged Canadians to consume less wheat, meat, canned produce, and dairy products in order to adequately supply the soldiers overseas. The first sentence beneath the title read, "The Fate of Europe, so far as food supply, is a vital condition of Victory for the Allies."[45] The poster was explaining to Canadians that they were also essential in winning the war. The slogan, "Fight With Food" drew parallel with the soldiers fighting overseas, emphasizing that civilians had the ability to fight the Germans as well. It provided Canadians who were unable to contribute to the war effort overseas an opportunity to participate. Other posters such as *Boys to the Farm* (Figure 17) also bore comparison to soldiers on the front line. The poster read, "S.O.S: Soldiers of the Soil," comparing the children's efforts on farms to those of soldiers on the battlefield.[46] It displayed young boys dawning uniforms, marching united, and holding harvest tools in the 'slope arms' position, all similar to a soldier and how they were displayed in propaganda posters from the previous four years. The image of war was being presented in an alternative fashion once again, as the sentiment of war among society had changed. The Canadian propaganda posters of 1918 reflected the notion that war was to be won with efforts beyond just outnumbering the enemy and gaining territory. It was won by out-resourcing them, mobilizing all of society to support the front line.

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[45] Canada and the First World War. "Materials for the War Effort - *Fight With Food* | Canada and the First World War," n.d. https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/objects-and-photos/propaganda/materials-for-the-war-effort/fight-with-food/.

[46] Toronto Public Library. "Boys to the Farm Bring Your Chum and Do Your Bit Soldiers of the Soil," n.d. https://digitalarchive.tpl.ca/objects/357289/boys-to-the-farm-bring-your-chum-and-do-your-bit-soldiers-of?ctx=d678f03911a1ebc931a4c28a4fd43138cc131b72&idx=1.

Similarly, War Bonds, later known as Victory Bonds, were also distributed to employ all Canadian citizens towards supplying the Western Front. War Bonds had existed prior to the Conscription Crisis, but became increasingly popular between 1917-1918 when they were promoted as Victory Bonds.[47] Countless posters were produced encouraging Canadians to purchase bonds, certificates, as well as stamps, labelling them as essential in defeating the Germans. Uniquely, Victory Bond posters utilized prominent aspects of previous posters promoted throughout the war. For instance, *Back Him Up!* (Figure 18) and *Be Yours to Hold It High!* (Figure 19) presented conventional notions of war as masculine and honouring the British Flag, but with the statement, "Buy Victory Bonds" prominently displayed at the bottom of the image.[48] Comparably, the poster titled, *If Ye Break Faith – We Shall Not Sleep* (Figure 20) exhibited a calm soldier standing over a grave surrounded by poppies, memorialising the Battle of Flanders, evoking sentiments of sacrifice while also including the large assertion, "Buy Victory Bonds."[49] Additional posters displaying nurses, women in munition factories, and children were produced, also incorporating the Victory Bond statement.

These posters displayed the combination of all the images of war that were presented to Canadian society, but had now included, 'Buy Victory Bonds.' This was to exhibit to Canadians that the soldiers, nurses, munition workers, children, and all the other citizens on the domestic front were contributing to the war and needed financial support. The purchase of Victory Bonds were advertised as having actively contributed to all areas of the war effort; the army, medical camps, munition factories, farms, and more, and were presented as the final stages of achieving victory over the Germans. The image of war had shifted from asserting that victory solely relied on equipping large numbers of masculine, patriotic men

[47] David Roberts. *Boosters and Barkers : Financing Canada's Involvement in the First World War.* 1st ed. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2023. https://doi.org/10.59962/9780774869607.
[48] Archives of Ontario. "Canadian Posters From the First World War - Victory Bonds," n.d. https://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/posters/bonds.aspx.
[49] Imperial War Museums. "If Ye Break Faith – We Shall Not Sleep." https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/20332

conquering territory, to relying on the mobilization of everyone participating in supplying the war effort. The message empowered citizens and presented their contribution as of equal importance in defeating the German Empire. Ultimately, in September of 1918, the Allies were able to outsource the German army and break their final defense, the Hindenburg Line.[50] In the following two months, Germany was completely depleted of resources and negotiated an armistice with the Allies. The propaganda posters had succeeded in deploying its citizens in the war, despite having undergone significant change.

Due to the altering way in which war needed to be won, the image of war in Canadian propaganda posters of the First World War had changed in various ways throughout the conflict. It had reformed in displaying why Canadians should fight the war, as well as the means in which victory could be achieved. Initially posters presented war as an inherently masculine event. The posters focused primarily on enlistments as it was believed in order to achieve victory, Canada and the Allies needed to outnumber the Germans and occupy more land. However, modern war technology inflicted large casualties that deterred men from enlistments. To combat the effects, posters began presenting the image of war in an alternative fashion, displaying calm images accompanied by somber messages. Men were prompted to fight for the fallen soldiers, ensuring that their sacrifice would lead to victory, rather than fighting for personal gain. As casualties increased and recruitments decreased, posters had sought to employ women towards the war effort. Mothers were asked to encourage their sons to enlist and young women were called to assist wounded soldiers overseas. The image of war presented women as essential in aiding the front line in order to re-mobilize more men to fight the Germans. Additionally, as more men were deployed overseas, less were employed in factories, reducing production. Instead, women were mobilized to factories and posters presented their contribution as essential in not just aiding the front line, but crucial in defeating the Germans, altering the image of war as no longer dependent on men alone. Furthermore, conventional

[50] Copp. “2. The Military Effort, 1914-1918.” 55.

war strategy had changed and the means to defeat Germany relied on outsourcing the German army. Posters encouraging food conservation and financial support became prominent, displaying the means of victory as reliant on the contributions of all Canadian citizens, portraying all efforts as of equal importance in defeating the Germans. Canadian propaganda posters of the First World War had exhibited a fundamental change in presenting the image of war to society. For destructive technology led to a longer conflict that no longer relied on the mobilization of soldiers, but rather everyone, altering the way in which war needed to be won.

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The Medical Treatment of Shell Shock
by Ellen Berridge, HTST 483

The document that will be the focus of this analysis is an article titled *A Method of Treatment of "Shell Shock"*, which was written by E. T. C. Milligan, M.D., B.S.Melb., Captain of the Royal Army Medical Corps (R.A.M.C.) in 1916. This article shows one of many methods of treating shell shock during the First World War. This article was published in the British Medical Journal July 15, 1916, and it not only describes the method that was used in cases of shell shock but also the types of cases that the method would be used on. The article provides the reader with a clear insight into how medical professionals were reacting to the growing condition of shell shock and the ways in which surgeons were able to treat soldiers with the resources and knowledge that was available at the time.

Edward Thomas Campbell Milligan was an Australian surgeon who served in the First World War with the Field Ambulance of the Australian Expeditionary Force from 1914 to 1918. He published in the *British Medical Journal* from 1915 onward on various different topics such as the treatment of war wounds by excision, his experience of shell shock and blood transfusions.[1] In the beginning of the article, it clearly states Milligan's reasoning behind why he wanted to publish this piece of information by saying, "A well-known method of treatment of hysteria has been applied at this casualty clearing station to select cases of what is now diagnosed as 'shell shock.' The results of this treatment have been so satisfactory that I desire to give some account of the details…"[2] Although the article does not explicitly state where Milligan worked, it states that he was working at a casualty clearing station which would have usually been located quite close to the front lines. This piece of information is quite

[1] Royal College of Surgeons of England, "Plarr's Lives of the Fellows: Milligan, Edward Thomas Campbell," in *The Royal College of Surgeons of England* (2014), accessed 6 November 2024, https://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/client/en_GB/lives/search/detailnonmodal/ent:$002f$002fSD_ASSET$002f0$002fSD_ASSET:378129/one?qu=%22rcs%3A+E005946%22&rt=false%7C%7C%7CIDENTIFIER%7C%7C%7CResource+Identifier.
[2] E. T. C. Milligan, "A Method of Treatment of "Shell Shock"," *England: British Medical Journal Publishing Group* 2 (1916): 73.

important as it shows that the treatments which he is referring to and experimenting with were truly happening and making an impact. This implies that his writings can be used as a credible source of information because he is seeing and performing the treatment first hand, while clearly and in detail describing the method and results of the treatment on five different cases where shell shock had impacted a soldier in differing ways.

Milligan published his article in the *British Medical Journal* fourteen days into the Battle of the Somme, which saw 57,000 men lost in the British army alone on the first day of the battle.[3] It was also during this battle when shell shock and the men suffering from shell shock became a major problem for casualty clearing stations and hospitals as it started to drastically drain manpower.[4] With this, it is no surprise that medical advancements and treatment of shell shock had to be advanced quite rapidly, and when one method had profound success, it needed to be shared with others. With that being said, the most probable audience for this article, given the title and publication place, would be that of other medical professionals. The easiest way for knowledge of this kind to be shared and administered would be through medical journals that others had access to or would hear about from other doctors or surgeons, which would allow for the methods to be spread and utilized, thus helping more people suffering from shell shock on the front lines.

The article goes over a treatment of shell shock that uses chloroform to slowly make a patient unconscious while making suggestions to the patient; "...during chloroform administration there is a stage before the involuntary struggling stage when a patient is highly susceptible to suggestion. It is while the patient is in this stage that suitable suggestions and stimulation should be used."[5] In this he also describes different cases in which this method has been used as well as the types of things that

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[3] Ben Shephard, *A War of Nerves : Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 39.
[4] Shepard, *A War of Nerves*, 41.
[5] Milligan, "A Method of Treatment," 73.

would be suggested. Milligan specifically focuses on cases who "could not speak, could not hear, could neither speak nor hear, cases of loss of memory, and cases obsessed by the memory picture of recent terrible experience."[6] It is clear that the types of cases which were most commonly treated via this method were those that could be directly linked to visible symptoms; that doctors could see and treat like normal injuries. The article is extremely consistent in the method that Milligan is trying to promote, and carries a very clear organization of information, going from a brief introduction and aim of the article, the nature of cases treated, the cases that are excluded from the treatment, and then the treatment itself.

An interesting note in his article is at the very end when he is describing why chloroform should be used over general anesthetic. He states that "chloroform is better than other general anaesthetics for this purpose, because it produces definite stages of anaesthesia which can be readily prolonged as required."[7] The reason that this could be considered important information is because it shows that during treatment, doctors would not just say one or two things to the patient as they were being put under, but they would prolong the experience and the amount of time that the patient is under the effects of chloroform until they believed that the patient has received and understood the message. Although this method was seen to have success, it raises questions about the after effects of the treatment due to inhaling chloroform for an undocumented amount of time. It is even more peculiar considering that during the First World War, chlorine gas was used as a weapon in the trenches to try and deform, injure, or kill the enemy and yet doctors were using chloroform to try and heal soldiers from mental inflictions. Due to this, it goes to show that although shell shock was beginning to be understood, medical professionals did not fully understand how to help those with shell shock without potential harm.

[6] Milligan, "A Method of Treatment," 73.
[7] Milligan, "A Method of Treatment," 74.

This document can be counted as a credible source as it gives insight into how doctors and medical professionals were viewing shell shock and trying to solve shell shock through the means that they had available. Since Milligan was a practicing doctor before the war, it gave him credibility and knowledge which would have helped shape his decision making and the way in which he chose to help those with shell shock. As well, Milligan was a surgeon and doctor on the front lines in casualty clearing stations. This gave him first hand experience with victims of shell shock and their various cases, thus allowing him to make a diagnosis and discover a treatment which worked well with the resources, conditions, and available facts that would have been present. From what has previously been discussed, the information that is provided in this article would be very exact as it was the knowledge of the time while also being sincere because the aim of the article would be to try and spread information to other surgeons and doctors so that they would be able to help soldiers who have been impacted by shell shock.

The main goal of the article was to spread awareness to the method of using chloroform and suggestions to help cure soldiers of shell shock. From this, it is clear that by analyzing the article, an understanding of how shell shock was viewed and treated with the knowledge and sources available can be had. The article shows that surgeons, such as Milligan, were trying to cure those who were suffering from shell shock but it also shows that they understood this method would only be able to work on certain cases which he makes clear from the start of the article. The impact that an article like this would have had on medical treatment is profound. It would be incredibly helpful and important in the short-term as it allowed for a successful treatment of a rapidly growing ailment that many soldiers faced. In the long-term aspect, this would have created a great impact too in both a positive and negative light. In a positive light, the article provides insight into how the medical field was analyzing, categorizing, and treating shell shock during the First World War which makes it an incredible source for modern day historians. However, it would have created a negative impact because of the exact method of inhaling chloroform. This may have caused negative health problems for the soldiers in the long run especially if the patient had to go under multiple times to be cured, as chloroform causes a variety of health problems. With everything taken into account, E.T.C. Milligan's *A Method of Treatment of "Shell Shock"* is a great source for historians to use when trying to understand what on-the-go medical treatment was available and the creativity that doctors had to use in order to produce different cures and treatments for shell shock.

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Maternalism and Dispossession: The Sixties Scoop and the Colonial Assault on Indigenous Motherhood

by Marcus Vermilya-Mayer, HTST 511

The conflict between Western maternalism and Indigenous motherhood lies at the heart of Canada's colonial efforts to reshape family structures. Rooted in Eurocentric ideals and the first-wave feminist movements of the interwar years, maternalism framed motherhood as a private, nuclear role centered on individual caregiving, domesticity, and conformity to white, middle-class norms.[1] In contrast, Indigenous motherhood emphasized communal caregiving, kinship networks, and cultural teachings that connected children to their ancestors, language, and land.[2] This fundamental difference positioned Indigenous maternal practices as "deficient" in the eyes of colonial authorities, who imposed their own standards of "proper" motherhood to disrupt Indigenous life. By undermining Indigenous women's cultural authority, colonial systems used mothers as a focal point in their broader agenda of assimilation and control.

Residential schools had previously served this colonial pursuit, functioning to forcibly sever Indigenous children from their families and assume the maternal role in their lives. By positioning the state as a surrogate caregiver, residential schools sought to replace Indigenous kinship systems with eurocentric ideals of family and care.[3] This framework continued through the child welfare system, where punitive interventions displaced Indigenous families, disproportionately targeting mothers and justifying ongoing surveillance and child apprehensions. The Sixties Scoop was a continuation of this colonial project, illustrating how child welfare policies rooted in maternalist ideologies dismantled Indigenous

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[1] Erika Dyck, *Facing Eugenics: Reproduction, Sterilization, and the Politics of Choice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 31-32.

[2] Miranda Sophia Leibel, *Reproductive Narratives: Settler-Colonialism and Neoliberalism in Alberta's Child Welfare System,* (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 2017), 22.

[3] Allyson Stevenson, "Vibrations across a Continent: The 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act and the Politicization of First Nations Leaders in Saskatchewan," American Indian Quarterly 37, no. 1 (2013): 223.

families under the guise of care and the "child's best interest."[4] Following amendments to the *Indian Act* in 1951, these systems transferred control to provincial authorities, expanding the removal of Indigenous children from their homes.

Indigenous children placed in white, middle-class homes faced profound cultural alienation and identity loss, severed from their languages, traditions, and familial ties.[5] For Indigenous mothers, the child welfare system's interventions were deeply dehumanizing, stripping them of their autonomy and vilifying them through racialized stereotypes that framed them as "unfit" caregivers.[6] Programs such as Saskatchewan's *Adopt Indian and Métis* (AIM) initiative and Alberta's eugenics-influenced policies reflected the colonial belief that assimilation was not only justified but benevolent and necessary. By presenting removal as an act of urgent care, the state obscured its complicity in perpetuating systemic issues, such as poverty, inadequate housing, and the chronic underfunding of Indigenous communities, while placing blame solely on individual mothers.

Yet, despite the violence and trauma inflicted by these policies, Indigenous women and communities resisted this dispossession with remarkable resilience. Reclaiming motherhood became an act of cultural and political resistance that asserted their sovereignty and affirmed their kinship ties to preserve cultural survival.[7] Through grassroots organizing, women-led advocacy, and cultural revitalization efforts, Indigenous mothers challenged colonial narratives that sought to erase their identities and practices. Organizations such as the Native Women's Association of Canada and local advocacy groups fought to restore autonomy to Indigenous families and to hold colonial institutions

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[4] Raven Sinclair, "Identity Lost and Found: Lessons from the Sixties Scoop," First Peoples Child & Family Review 3, no. 1 (2007): 78; Stevenson, "Vibrations across a Continent," 222.
[5] Margaux Kristjansson, "Refusing Child-Stealing States: Settler Capitalism and the Ends of Canada's Indigenous Child Removal System," Theory & Event 27, no. 3 (2024): 394-395; Sinclair, "Identity Lost and Found," 69.
[6] Stevenson, "Vibrations across a Continent," 222.
[7] Jo-Anne Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation: Aboriginal Women and the Ideology of Motherhood," Culture (Canadian Anthropology Society) 13, no. 1 (1993): 25.

accountable.[8] Resistance also took the form of storytelling, legal challenges, and the reclaiming of cultural teachings that emphasized Indigenous understandings of motherhood as integral to communal survival and identity.[9] This collective resistance highlights the strength of Indigenous communities in the face of systemic erasure and underscores the ongoing struggle to assert sovereignty over family and care. By refusing to accept the colonial framing of their motherhood as "deficient," Indigenous women reclaimed their roles as cultural protectors and nurturers, demonstrating that motherhood itself is a vital foundation of resilience and resistance.[10]

Surveillance and Apprehension: "In the Child's Best Interest"

The maternalist approach to child welfare policies in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba were deeply rooted in eurocentric ideals of caregiving and targeting perceived inadequacies in Indigenous motherhood. Following the 1951 amendment to the *Indian Act*, which transferred jurisdiction over Indigenous child welfare from federal to provincial authorities, these policies expanded definitions of neglect while erasing the cultural context of Indigenous family systems.[11] Rather than addressing systemic factors such as poverty, inadequate housing, and underfunded social services, provincial authorities framed these conditions as parental failures.[12] This framing provided justification for increased intervention and the widespread removal of Indigenous children, marking a significant escalation in the state's efforts to surveil and disrupt Indigenous families.

Infant and mother welfare clinics became central to this colonial framework, serving as sites of surveillance and regulation under the guise of public health initiatives. Indigenous mothers were pressured to conform to Eurocentric parenting standards, such as formula feeding, rigid schedules, and

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[8] Diedre A. Desmarais, "The Native Women's Association of Canada's Struggle to Secure Gender Equality Rights within the Canadian Constitution," (M.A. thesis, The University of Regina, 1998), 8-12.
[9] Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation," 25.
[10] Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation," 28.
[11] Indian Act, 1951, c. 29, s. 1.
[12] Sinclair, "Identity Lost and Found," 72-73.

individualized child-rearing practices. Traditional practices like breastfeeding, communal caregiving, and culturally rooted diets were dismissed as inferior, neglectful, or unsanitary.[13] Dependency on formula in particular created new barriers for Indigenous mothers, requiring regular visits to clinics to access supplies—visits that deepened their entanglement with state systems.[14] These programs not only invalidated Indigenous cultural practices but systematically eroded the autonomy of mothers and their communities. Public health initiatives extended this surveillance beyond the confines of clinics and into the mainstream. Mass media campaigns, pamphlets, and public workshops promoted sanitation, Western nutrition, and the nuclear family model as the hallmarks of "good" motherhood. While these programs were presented as efforts to improve child welfare and public health, they functioned as mechanisms of colonial maternalism, positioning Indigenous mothers under constant scrutiny, invalidating their cultural authority, and reinforcing the state's control over Indigenous family life. And while these initiatives shared common goals across Canada, their implementation varied by province. Public health initiatives extended this surveillance beyond the confines of clinics and into the mainstream. Mass media campaigns, pamphlets, and public workshops promoted sanitation, Western nutrition, and the nuclear family model as the hallmarks of "good" motherhood.[15] While these programs were presented as efforts to improve child welfare and public health, they functioned as mechanisms of colonial maternalism, positioning Indigenous mothers under constant scrutiny, invalidating their cultural authority, and reinforcing the state's control over Indigenous family life. And while these initiatives shared common goals across Canada, their implementation varied by province.

Initially implemented in the early 20th century to regulate immigrant populations, Alberta's eugenics program increasingly turned its focus to Indigenous and Métis communities in the postwar

[13] Leibel, *Reproductive Narratives*, 67-68.
[14] Jeannette Corbiere Lavell and Dawn Memee Lavell-Harvard, *Until Our Hearts Are on the Ground: Aboriginal Mothering, Oppression, Resistance and Rebirth* (Toronto: Demeter Press, 2006), 28.
[15] Lavell and Lavell-Harvard, *Until Our Hearts Are on the Ground*, 41.

period. Indigenous women became disproportionately subjected to forced or coerced sterilizations, justified as measures to prevent "degeneracy" and improve public health.[16] These policies were rooted in racialized assumptions that equated whiteness with social and moral fitness, while Indigenous women were deemed "unfit" for motherhood due to stereotypes of mental and physical inferiority.[17]

The Sixties Scoop intensified this colonial framework by pathologizing Indigenous motherhood and linking child apprehension to ideas of "betterment" and assimilation. This process worked in tandem with eugenic principles, reinforcing the view that Indigenous women and their families required intervention and control. Social workers and government officials, operating with broad authority, engaged in pervasive surveillance of Indigenous mothers, subjecting them to invasive assessments and dismissing their cultural caregiving practices.[18] Structural issues, such as poverty, housing insecurity, and underfunded social services, were ignored or reframed as evidence of maternal failure, further justifying the removal of children and the sterilization of women.[19] Both eugenics and child welfare systems were tools used to undermine Indigenous sovereignty and dismantle familial and kinship structures that stood in opposition to Eurocentric ideals of family and motherhood. By situating Alberta's eugenics practices alongside the child welfare policies of the Sixties Scoop, it becomes clear that these systems were not isolated measures but part of a larger historical project of assimilation and cultural erasure. Alberta's case presents to us the deeply entrenched colonial ideologies that shaped Canadian policy, where Indigenous bodies and families were treated as problems to be solved in service of national progress.

In Saskatchewan, the Adopt Indian and Métis (AIM) program exemplified the colonial priorities embedded within Canada's child welfare system. Launched In 1967, the program was created to address

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[16] Jana Grekul, "Sterilization in Alberta, 1928 to 1972: Gender Matters," The Canadian Review of Sociology 45, no. 3 (2008): 248.
[17] Suzanne C. Robertson, Carey Sinclair, and Andrew R. Hatala, "Indigenous Mothers' Experiences of Power and Control in Child Welfare: Families Being Heard," Journal of Social Work 22, no. 2 (2022): 314.
[18] Leibel, *Reproductive Narratives*, 5; Kristjansson, "Refusing Child-Stealing States," 396.
[19] Karen Stote, "Birthright Denied: The Sterilization of Indigenous Women," *Herizons* 2017, 17-18.

the rising number of Indigenous children in state care, mirroring the U.S. Indian Adoption Project. Framed through "color-blind liberalism," AIM ignored the cultural and historical contexts of Indigenous communities, claiming Indigenous children were "no different" from others except for "the colour of their skin." This rhetoric appealed to white, middle-class families and promoted adoption as a solution to child welfare issues while erasing Indigenous identities and kinship ties.[20] Indigenous children were advertised for adoption in newspapers, particularly in *Regina's Leader-Post*, and even on television.[21] These ads Westernized children's names and placed them alongside unrelated content, as though they were ordinary classifieds, stripping the children of their identities and reducing them to commodities.[22] A *Leader-Post* article from September 15, 1973, written by Joan Deshaye, provides insight into the adoption process described by social workers for both the Department of Social Services and AIM. Prospective parents going through the former system underwent a four-month evaluation period, during which social workers assessed factors such as income and marriage stability. Applicants were required to provide at least six references, one of whom had to be a close relative, and following placement, a six-month probationary period involving home visits ensured further evaluation. A social worker noted: *"We don't look for immaculate, well-furnished homes… We just look for a home where there is enough affection between the couple that some can spill over on the child."*[23]

This methodical approach was not extended to AIM-specific program practices. While the article claims that AIM adoption procedures mirrored those of the Department of Social Services, significant discrepancies even within the article itself reveals a rushed and less thorough process; AIM facilitated

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[20] Margaret D. Jacobs, *A Generation Removed: The Fostering and Adoption of Indigenous Children in the Postwar World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 152.
[21] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Adoption Agency Seeks Homes for Indigenous and Métis Children in 1968, CBC Archives, aired May 30, 1968, reported by Craig Oliver, video, 1:42, accessed December 15, 2024, https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/video/1.3732958.
[22] Some examples of *Leader-Post* publications that these ads can be found in include "Colvin" (August 21, 1973), and "Miles" (June 4, 1974).
[23] Joan Deshaye, "Child Adoption Isn't as Easy as It Once Was," *The Leader-Post* (Regina), September 15, 1973.

single-parent adoptions far more frequently, despite purported priorities to place children with couples.[24] These inconsistencies highlight systemic biases: the urgency to remove Indigenous children often outweighed considerations for their long-term well-being. Rather than prioritizing stability and care, AIM operated as a tool of cultural erasure, reinforcing colonial assumptions that Indigenous families were expendable and incapable of providing for their children. By 1973, the AIM program had further expanded its focus to include children described as having "hindrances," such as physical or mental disabilities. A February 10, 1973, *Leader-Post* article reports on a survey involving 355 participants, which was part of a broader media campaign to promote AIM's expanded mission. While framed as an act of charity (rescuing children deemed harder to adopt) this shift reveals a paternalistic logic consistent with the broader goals of assimilation during the Sixties Scoop. The program presented itself as benevolent, but its practices continued to erase Indigenous identities under the guise of care and progress. By 1973, the AIM program had further expanded its focus to include children described as having "hindrances," such as physical or mental disabilities. A February 10, 1973, *Leader-Post* article reports on a survey involving 355 participants, which was part of a broader media campaign to promote AIM's expanded mission.[25] While framed as an act of charity (rescuing children deemed harder to adopt) this shift reveals a paternalistic logic consistent with the broader goals of assimilation during the Sixties Scoop. The program presented itself as benevolent, but its practices continued to erase Indigenous identities under the guise of care and progress.

The experiences of Indigenous mothers with these programs and social workers reflect the persistence of colonial control. Mothers described exchanges as culturally insensitive and punitive, where any emotional display risked being used against them.[26] Women described living in constant fear as social

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[24] Deshaye, "Child Adoption Isn't as Easy as It Once Was."
[25] "AIM's Adoption Survey Results Please Director," *The Leader-Post* (Regina), February 10, 1973.
[26] Jacobs, *A Generation Removed*, 79.

workers used their children as "pawns" to enforce compliance. They were threatened with child removal if they failed to meet demands like sobriety, ending relationships, or attending mental health and addictions programs. This persistent threat of apprehension maintained a climate of control, intensifying mothers' stress and isolation. To avoid being labeled unfit, women suppressed their grief and anger; every interaction with these systems assumed guilt of these women, forcing them to prove themselves each time.[27]

While these child welfare policies were framed as being "in the best interest of the child," they inflicted profound harm on Indigenous mothers and families, exposing the deep contradictions within this justification.[28] The removals disrupted far more than individual households; they severed the intergenerational bonds that connected children to their families, communities, and cultural identities. For Indigenous mothers, the loss was both deeply personal and collective, as it represented not just the removal of their children but the erasure of their roles as cultural protectors and caregivers.[29] Indigenous mothers were rarely given the opportunity to challenge these removals, as child welfare agents wielded unchecked authority. The removal of children inflicted profound and overwhelming grief, guilt, and powerlessness: for many, the loss of their children mirrored the grief of death but was exacerbated by the uncertainty of not knowing where their children were taken or whether they would ever return.[30] Justified by colonial narratives of Indigenous mothers as "unfit," these actions ignored the systemic poverty and underfunded services caused by colonial dispossession, instead placing blame on the mothers themselves.[31] Many Indigenous families already lived in underfunded and neglected communities, where inadequate infrastructure and limited access to education, healthcare, and employment created cycles of economic

[27] Robertson, Sinclair, and Hatala, "Indigenous Mothers' Experiences," 312-315.
[28] Dale Spencer and Raven Sinclair, "Looping Effects, Settler Colonialism, and the Indigenous Child Removal System," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 48, no. 1 (2025): 198.
[29] Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation," 17.
[30] Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation," 23; Jacobs, *A Generation Removed*, 22-23.
[31] Kristjansson, "Refusing Child-Stealing States," 387.

instability. Instead of addressing these structural inequities, child welfare agents framed poverty as parental neglect, using it to justify child apprehensions.[32] Mothers were left to bear the emotional burden of their children's removal while continuing to struggle with financial insecurity and the lack of institutional support.

In response to this compounded grief and financial instability, many mothers turned to substance abuse as a way to numb their pain or cope with overwhelming feelings of guilt and shame. Alcohol and drug use became mechanisms to endure their trauma, even as these behaviors were further weaponized by colonial systems to reinforce stereotypes of Indigenous inadequacy.[33] This cycle of poverty, grief, and substance abuse created additional barriers for mothers seeking to maintain custody of their children or reunite with those who had been taken.[34] Deep and lasting harm was also inflicted on the children who were forcibly removed from their families and placed in predominantly white, middle-class households. Stripped of their names, languages, and teachings, these children were raised in environments where their Indigeneity was either ignored or erased entirely.[35] Without access to their families, land-based traditions, and kinship systems, these children were denied the foundational knowledge that connected them to their histories and communities.[36]

Indigenous children removed from their families experienced a profound sense of abandonment, made even more devastating by their inability to understand or make sense of why they had been taken. Raised in environments where their cultural roots were denied, many children internalized feelings of shame, inferiority, and displacement.[37] As they grew older, this disconnection often led to profound struggles with belonging, depression, anxiety, and crises of identity. The overt and covert racism they

[32] Allyson Stevenson, "The Adoption of Frances T: Blood, Belonging, and Aboriginal Transracial Adoption in Twentieth-Century Canada," *Canadian Journal of History* 50, no. 3 (2015): 475.
[33] Leibel, *Reproductive Narratives*, 54.
[34] Leibel, *Reproductive Narratives*, 126.
[35] Spencer and Sinclair, "Looping Effects," 198-9.
[36] Kristjansson, "Refusing Child-Stealing States," 395.
[37] Jacobs, *A Generation Removed*, 164; Sinclair, "Identity Lost and Found," 74.

encountered in white households and communities further entrenched this alienation, leaving them socially and emotionally isolated.[38] Survivors describe growing up in what scholars have called "cultural liminality"—caught between two worlds: the Eurocentric world in which they were raised and the Indigenous world to which they belonged but were prevented from accessing. For those adopted internationally, the geographical and cultural distance from Canada made reconnecting with family and community later in life exceptionally difficult or impossible.[39] Yet, all of these children grew up with little understanding of their place in Indigenous histories and often struggled to reconcile their identities with the predominantly white and foreign cultures in which they were raised.[40] This extreme isolation deepened their sense of cultural dislocation, exacerbating the loss of language, traditions, and relationships that are central to Indigenous identity formation.

The trauma inflicted by the scoops reverberated through multiple generations of family, disrupting Indigenous kinship systems and creating cycles of harm. As adults, many survivors struggled to return to their communities, where their loss of culture left them feeling like outsiders. For some, the disconnect was irreparable, preventing them from fully participating in the cultural and familial practices that define Indigenous community life.[41] Others struggled to overcome their own trauma when raising their children, as they lacked the parenting models and communal support systems that had once been central to Indigenous families.[42] This generational harm not only impacted individual survivors but also disrupted the cultural continuity that is fundamental to Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination.

The 1985 Kimelman Report, "No Quiet Place", offered one of the first formal acknowledgments of the profound harm caused by the Sixties Scoop to Indigenous mothers and children. Judge Edwin

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[38] Sinclair, "Identity Lost and Found," 75.
[39] Jacobs, *A Generation Removed*, 148.
[40] Sinclair, "Identity Lost and Found," 69.
[41] Spencer and Sinclair, "Looping Effects," 190.
[42] Jacobs, *A Generation Removed*, 168.

Kimelman's investigation exposed how child welfare policies, under the guise of serving "the best interest of the child," systematically vilified Indigenous mothers, dismantled families, and disregarded cultural caregiving practices.[43] Mothers were excluded from decision-making processes and denied any meaningful opportunity to contest the removal of their children. The report further highlighted the rushed and careless nature of these placements: expedience took precedence over the well-being of the children and their families.[44]

One of the primary reasons for the report's importance is the legal recognition of the damage inflicted by the child welfare systems. By describing the apprehensions as "cultural genocide," Kimelman provided a stark acknowledgment of the state's role in perpetuating systemic harm and forced assimilation. The report validated the lived experiences of Indigenous mothers and children, while critiquing policies that weaponized poverty, inadequate housing, and underfunded services as justification for child apprehension. Calling for urgent systemic change, it exposed the colonial underpinnings of child welfare systems and emphasized the need for policies rooted in respect for Indigenous families' rights, autonomy, and cultural integrity.[45]

The maternalist approach to child welfare policies in the Prairie provinces reveals how colonial systems weaponized Eurocentric ideals of caregiving to justify the disruption of Indigenous families. By framing poverty, inadequate housing, and systemic neglect as failures of Indigenous motherhood, the state ignored its own role in creating these inequities.[46] Programs like infant and mother welfare clinics, eugenics-driven sterilization practices, and initiatives such as the Adopt Indian and Métis (AIM) program exemplify the state's deliberate efforts to surveil, regulate, and dismantle Indigenous kinship systems.[47]

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[43] E. C. Kimelman, *No Quiet Place: Final Report to the Honourable Muriel Smith, Minister of Community Services* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Community Services, 1985), 27; Spencer and Sinclair, "Looping Effects," 198.
[44] Kimelman, *No Quiet Place*, 3, 78.
[45] Kimelman, *No Quiet Place*, 3, 27, 47.
[46] Kimelman, *No Quiet Place*, 3, 62; Leibel, *Reproductive Narratives*, 126.
[47] Leibel, *Reproductive Narratives*, 67-8; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *Adoption Agency Seeks Homes*.

These policies not only vilified Indigenous mothers but also inflicted profound harm on their children, severing them from their languages, traditions, and cultural identities.

Ultimately, the interconnected systems of surveillance, child apprehension, and cultural erasure reflect a larger colonial project aimed at assimilating Indigenous peoples under the guise of care and progress. The rushed nature of adoptions, racialized assumptions of maternal "fitness," and the systemic erasure of Indigenous cultural frameworks highlight the deep contradictions within these policies.[48] Far from improving child welfare, these interventions perpetuated intergenerational trauma, dislocation, and cycles of harm that reverberated across Indigenous families and communities. By situating these practices within the broader history of colonial control, it becomes evident that the maternalist policies enacted in the Prairie provinces were tools of cultural genocide that disrupted Indigenous sovereignty, resilience, and self-determination.

Resistance and Resilience

The role of motherhood in Indigenous resistance is central to how women navigated colonial systems that sought to disenfranchise them, strategically using motherhood as both a symbol of cultural continuity and a means of asserting political autonomy. In their struggle for self-determination, Aboriginal women have reclaimed motherhood as a powerful, sacred symbol that embodies not just biological reproduction, but the transmission of cultural identity, values, and knowledge.[49] This maternal symbolism stands in contrast to the colonial appropriation of motherhood, where the state redefined motherhood according to Eurocentric ideals of domesticity and caregiving. By redefining traditional motherhood within their own cultural framework, Indigenous women have resisted attempts to strip them of their

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[48] Grekul, "Sterilization in Alberta," 251-252; Dyck, *Facing Eugenics*, 61.
[49] Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation," 25.

reproductive autonomy and cultural authority, instead using the maternal role to challenge the state and assert Indigenous sovereignty.[50]

Families also employed various strategies to protect their children, often taking covert actions to prevent social workers from removing them, such as hiding them or relocating them temporarily. Conversely, white foster parents would hide their Indigenous foster children when men from their communities passed through the area for fishing or business to avoid the risk of them being recognized by members of their community and incurring any confrontation. In other instances Indigenous strategies weren't covert but outwardly defensive as they refused to hand over their children to social workers, leading to police intervention.[51] Resistance also grew through organizations like the Métis Foster Home Committee and the Saskatchewan Native Women's Movement (SWNM), which campaigned against the Adopt Indian Métis (AIM) program.[52] Leaders like Howard Adams and Phyllis Trochie advocated for Native-led placements, while the SWNM rallied support from groups like the American Indian Movement (A-I-M). Their efforts culminated in a 1985 ruling that imposed a moratorium on trans-provincial adoptions and acknowledged the "cultural genocide" within child welfare practices, marking a significant victory for Indigenous resistance.[53]

The leaders of the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) worked to reshape the concept of sexual equality by grounding it in Indigenous traditions, aiming to differentiate their stance from white feminist movements that would or could not encompass their demands effectively. They moved traditional motherhood away from being a solely biological role and reframed it as a cultural honor vital to the survival of Indigenous nations. Motherhood, they argued, played a crucial role in sustaining Indigenous

[50] Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation," 24; Leibel, *Reproductive Narratives*, 147.
[51] Kristjansson, "Refusing Child-Stealing States," 399.
[52] Kristjansson, "Refusing Child-Stealing States," 400.
[53] Kristjansson, "Refusing Child-Stealing States," 399.

nationhood by passing down language, culture, and values.[54] By asserting that the future of Indigenous peoples depended on the strength and preservation of motherhood, NWAC leaders positioned themselves at the heart of the struggle for self-determination. Their fight was not for individual rights but for collective responsibility; through this framework, the Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA) redefined the organization's political engagement, connecting their roles as mothers and grandmothers to their leadership, teaching, and healing responsibilities.[55] This new political vision emphasized the spiritual duty to honor and protect the Earth, with NWAC's voice increasingly recognized as a spiritual force in their advocacy.

The Indian Homemakers' Clubs, introduced in the mid-20th century, were programs designed to assimilate Indigenous women into Eurocentric ideals of womanhood and motherhood. Modeled after non-Indigenous women's institutes and overseen by the Department of Indian Affairs, the clubs emphasized domestic skills such as sewing, cooking, and child care, reflecting the colonial belief that Indigenous women were deficient as mothers and homemakers.[56] These programs sought to replace traditional Indigenous gender roles with middle-class Eurocentric domesticity. However, Indigenous women resisted these assimilationist goals by transforming the Homemakers' Clubs into spaces for cultural preservation, leadership, and community care.

Through political travel and regional conventions, Indigenous women built cross-provincial networks to share challenges, activities, and strategies, uniting their socio-political efforts under the larger umbrella of the national Indian Homemakers' Club (IHC). The 1954 Homemakers' Convention at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, for example, brought together delegates from British Columbia, Alberta,

[54]Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation," 30.
[55] Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation," 25.
[56] Sarah A. Nickel and Amanda Fehr, *In Good Relation: History, Gender, and Kinship in Indigenous Feminisms* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2020), 82.

Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, fostering dialogue and collaboration across provincial boundaries.[57] By the 1960s, provincial conventions had become the norm, yet many women continued to attend conferences outside their home regions, strengthening connections and advancing shared causes. This growing network amplified Indigenous women's collective agency, allowing them to challenge colonial structures while supporting their communities.

Frances Decker's fight to maintain the Mount Currie Club's space in 1965 exemplifies this resistance, as she highlighted the club's essential welfare work, such as home repairs and medical support. Similarly, women on the Paul Band in Alberta used the clubs to teach sewing, passing knowledge between generations and fostering cultural continuity.[58] By reclaiming these programs as vessels for community-based familial roles and interprovincial organizing, Indigenous women subverted colonial ideals of motherhood, asserting their agency and preserving their cultural values.

Recognizing the resilience of Indigenous communities—expressed through resistance movements, grassroots advocacy, and cultural revitalization—is essential to fully addressing the impacts of the Sixties Scoop. In recent years, Indigenous-led efforts have been instrumental in advancing healing, justice, and accountability for survivors. Organizations such as the Sixties Scoop Indigenous Society of Alberta (SSISA) and the National Indigenous Survivors of Child Welfare Network have created vital spaces for survivors to share their stories, reclaim cultural identities, and advocate for systemic change that prioritizes Indigenous family unity.[59]

These efforts have led to significant milestones, including landmark legal victories like the 2017 settlement agreement, which provided formal acknowledgment of the harms inflicted and pathways for

[57] Nickel and Fehr, *In Good Relation*, 103.
[58] Nickel and Fehr, *In Good Relation*, 95-96.
[59] Sixties Scoop Indigenous Society of Alberta, *Sixties Scoop Indigenous Society of Alberta*, accessed December 15, 2024, https://www.ssisa.ca/; Sixties Scoop Network, *Sixties Scoop Network*, accessed December 15, 2024, https://sixtiesscoopnetwork.org/.

compensation.[60] These initiatives not only amplify the voices of those directly impacted but also highlight the intergenerational nature of trauma and the systemic roots of these injustices within colonial policies. Indigenous communities continue to challenge and dismantle the structures that sought to erase them. Their advocacy serves as a powerful reminder that healing and justice are inseparable from cultural resurgence and the restoration of Indigenous self-determination.

The history of Canada's child welfare policies reveals a deliberate and sustained colonial effort to dismantle Indigenous families and erode Indigenous cultural identity. Rooted in Eurocentric maternalist ideals, these policies justified the removal of Indigenous children under the guise of benevolence and care, while simultaneously vilifying Indigenous mothers as "unfit" caregivers. By ignoring the systemic poverty, inadequate housing, and underfunded social services created by colonial dispossession, the state reframed these structural inequities as evidence of Indigenous failure, further legitimizing its intrusive interventions.[61] The severed family bonds, cultural dislocation, and generational trauma are woven into the historical record as testaments to the far-reaching impacts of colonial policies.

Despite these systemic assaults, Indigenous mothers and communities demonstrated extraordinary resilience. Motherhood, which colonial powers sought to redefine and control, became a site of resistance and cultural preservation. Through grassroots activism, political mobilization, and cultural revitalization, Indigenous women reclaimed their roles as the carriers of tradition, language, and identity.[62] Initiatives like the Native Women's Association of Canada and the Sixties Scoop Indigenous Society of Alberta illustrate how survivors and advocates worked to hold colonial systems accountable, restore family unity, and rebuild cultural connections that had been disrupted.[63] Legal recognitions such as the *Kimelman*

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[60] First Nations Child Compensation, *First Nations Child Compensation*, accessed December 15, 2024, https://www.fnchildcompensation.ca/.
[61] Leibel, *Reproductive Narratives*, 93.
[62] Fiske, "Child of the State, Mother of the Nation," 19.
[63] Kristjansson, "Refusing Child-Stealing States," 382.

Report provide critical evidence of the harm inflicted, while also acknowledging the state's role in perpetuating cultural genocide.[64]

This history demands that we critically examine Canada's colonial foundations and their enduring consequences. By centering the experiences of Indigenous mothers and children, we not only uncover the systemic injustices that shaped Canada's child welfare policies but also illuminate the strength and resilience that enabled Indigenous communities to endure and resist. The legacy of these policies underscores the need to recognize the historical and ongoing impacts of colonialism while committing to a future shaped by Indigenous autonomy, cultural restoration, and justice. Ultimately, the history of the Sixties Scoop and related policies is not simply a story of loss but also of survival. It reveals the power of Indigenous families and communities to resist erasure and to reclaim their roles as stewards of cultural continuity and identity. In confronting this past, historians must engage with both the systemic nature of colonial violence and the enduring resilience of Indigenous peoples, ensuring that these histories are understood not as isolated events but as part of a broader narrative of struggle, resistance, and survival.

[64] Kimelman, *No Quiet Place*.

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An Economy of Survival: Examining the Trade Relationship between the European Fur Traders and the North American Indigenous Tribes at the Level of Local Exchange
by Margaret Ayriss, HTST 528

The societies of the North American Indigenous tribes contained complex socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic relations within and between the tribes that determined political alliances, hunting and trading grounds, and war. Geo-politics specifically relates to the actions used to exert political power over geographical territory, and geo-political systems among the early Indigenous tribes were created out of an intricate network of relationships that connected tribes politically, culturally, and economically. As European fur traders began to establish trade and trading posts within North America, Indigenous tribes began to incorporate the fur traders into their geo-political systems.[1] Trade between the Indigenous tribes and the fur traders existed on three levels, local trade, middleman trade, and indirect trade. The local trade economy was the everyday relationship between the fur traders and the tribes closest to the trading post. The middle-man economy was the trade that went on between the fur traders, the powerful local tribes, and the inland tribes. Inland tribes were located in the indirect trading zone, which was difficult to reach, and these tribes had no direct contact with the fur traders as travel between this area and the trading posts were limited to only a few months a year.[2]

At the level of the local economy, trade relationships often went beyond a capitalist exchange, rather Indigenous culture and politics were expressed through the local economic relationship between the fur traders and the Indigenous tribes, creating a trade relationship between the two cultures that was based on necessity and reciprocity, and providing a source of subsistence that the traders relied on for their survival in North America's harsh environment. A quantitative research analysis collects numerical data as evidence from primary sources and a qualitative analysis examines textual elements within the

[1]Susan Marsden and Robert Galois, "The Tsimshian, the Hudson Bay Company, and the Geopolitics of the Northwest Coast Fur Trade, 1787–1840," *The Canadian Geographer* 39, no. 2 (June 1995), 169-170.
[2] Arthur J. Ray and Donald B. Freeman, *Give Us Good Measure: An Economic Analysis of the Relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1768* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 48-49.

primary sources; both types of analyses establish patterns that can be used to identify a specific theme within the primary source(s). Applying a combined approach of both quantitative and qualitative analyses from an economic perspective to the early nineteenth century *Lake Winnipeg Journals* of English fur trader, George Nelson (1786-1859), shows the importance of the local economy of exchange to the fur traders by providing examples of the needs of both the fur traders and the Indigenous tribes, and the reciprocation that constituted the basis of the local economic relationship between the Indigenous and the fur traders.

The North American Indigenous geo-political system was based on highly organized kinship structures maintained through familial relationships. Tribes were the larger collective societies of Indigenous people and consisted of smaller collectives known as wintering band assortments. Tribes shared institutions of language, religious beliefs, economy, and politics among all its bands. Wintering bands were related through family ties, and each band was represented by a chief. Although there were exceptions, most tribes had a ruling band whose chief was the tribe leader, and the other chieftains made up his tribal council. Together these men managed the political and economic systems within and outside of the tribe, organizing alliances and trade relationships. Geo-politics was the execution of power to determine the hunting and trading territory of each tribe, and to regulate the regions and resources within the tribal territory that each of the bands had access to.[3]

The access to resources was flexible and was negotiated between bands on a need and reciprocation basis. Most bands hunted in the same general regions every year, however if a portion of that region was not being utilized by the band controlling the area, other bands could obtain permission to access the area if they needed resources. Other bands could also access specific animal species in the region if the controlling band did not trap or hunt that animal. Historians Aurther Ray and Donald

[3] Marsden and Galois, "The Tsimshian," 170 & Ray & Freeman, *Give us Good Measure*, 15.

Freeman indicate that this "system probably evolved out of necessity to provide mutual assistance in times of need."[4] However, hunting rights granted to an outside band did not give that band trading rights within that zone, or the right to cross geo-political regions for trade purposes elsewhere. Trading rights were a separate negotiation between bands and required payment to the controlling band. When the trading companies first began to establish themselves in North America, the companies set trading policies that incorporated Indigenous trading practices into the exchange for furs. Indigenous trade was closely tied to the Indigenous political structure and relationships needed to be established before trade could commence. Thus, the fur traders were inevitably drawn into the politics of the Indigenous trade system to ensure the success of the fur trade.[5] The European fur trade economy in North America was a complex system that was based on the institution of Indigenous economy and adopted many Indigenous trading customs.

The most important Indigenous institution adopted by the trading companies was the trading ceremony that had to take place before every trade negotiation. Smoking rites were an important part of the ceremony and represented a bonding ritual between two parties who were entering into an agreement. The officiator of the ceremony would recall the past relationship between the two parties, focusing on the favors exchanged between them. Smoking a pipe with a sacred stem automatically removed any past disagreements and all grudges had to be relinquished. All participating parties had to undergo purification rituals before partaking of the ceremony, and "all contracts solemnized by this smoking ceremony [were] held inviolable."[6] Importantly, trade was never undertaken between warring tribes, therefore the other fundamental practice within the trading ceremony was gift-giving. Exchanging gifts both created and fortified friendships and alliances between the trading parties. Gift exchanges

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[4] Ray & Freeman, *Give us Good Measure*, 17.
[5] Ray & Freeman, *Give Us Good Measure*, 16-18, 54-56.
[6] John Dunn, *History of the North American Fur Trade: With an Account of the Habits and Customs of the Principal Native Tribes on the Northern Continent* (London: Edwards & Hughes, 1844), 109-110.

were complex and took place over several days in which copious quantities of goods and furs were exchanged as gifts. These ceremonies were a non-negotiable part of the Indigenous trade economy, and without this acknowledgement from European traders and trading companies, the fur trade would not have been successful.[7]

George Nelson's *Lake Winnipeg Journals* is a collection of the English-born trader's experiences in the Hudson Bay area in the early nineteenth century. These journals have become an invaluable historical source that provide a unique perspective on the trade and encounters with the Indigenous tribes of North America. Nelson joined the Montreal-based XYC Trading Company at the age of 16 in 1802. His literary skills made him invaluable as a trading assistant, and it was his job to record the trading activities for the company. In 1804, Nelson was assigned to the Lake Winnipeg district and the winter of 1805-06 was his first winter there. The section titled *The Lac du Bonnet Journal* will be the focus of this analysis, which documents the trade year of August 1805 – March 1806, tracing Nelson's winter at the Lac du Bonnet temporary Fort.[8] This diary is a day-by-day account of life at the fort and recounts the everyday interactions with the local Indigenous tribes. The winter was harsh, and Nelson recorded much cold weather. In the introduction to the diary, editor Harry Duckworth also mentions that this winter was not particularly profitable. All around, it was a tough year for everyone.[9] These circumstances and the focus on Indigenous connections for the purpose of meeting the fur traders' subsistence needs make this diary a solid background for the argument of a local economy between the fur traders and the Indigenous tribes based on an equitable relationship where needs were met through various forms of reciprocation.

[7] Ray & Freeman, *Give us Good Measure*, 55-57.
[8] George Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805–1806," in *Friends, Foes, & Furs: George Nelson's Lake Winnipeg Journals, 1804–1822*, ed. Harry Duckworth, (Montreal & Kingston; London, Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 85-104.
[9] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 14-15 & 85-86.

Nelson's entries begin on August 29, 1805, when he and a group of traders set off from the Lake Winnipeg camp for Lac du Bonnet to set up a winter camp and trade with the tribes in the area. These entries end on March 8, 1806, for a total of one hundred and fifty-four entries. The party included seven men: M. Perignie as trade master, George Nelson as the record keeper, and five men who would do the labour, fishing, and perform other general duties. From the start, Nelson's diary is centered around the survival of the traders and their struggle for subsistence. Out of the one hundred and fifty-four entries, Nelson records seventy-six entries that talk about obtaining or needing food. Forty-eight of these entries discuss the traders' own experiences with hunting or fishing, and forty-two entries record food trade with the Indigenous tribes. It is important to note here that many of these entries about food overlap, and food traded, and food obtained through the traders' own fishing and hunting is sometimes recorded in the same entry. The traders were largely unsuccessful at catching, hunting, or gathering their own food and the amount of food obtained by the traders' attempts was much less than that obtained from trading with the Indigenous tribes. Comparatively, only eleven of Nelson's entries record trading for furs, which was the purpose of the fort, and much of the time these furs were obtained alongside foodstuffs. The difference between entries recording fur trade and food trade is quite notable, with fur trade entries amounting to only fourteen percent of the Lac du Bonnet journal entries, while food trade entries consist of forty-nine percent of the diary, validating the importance of the local economy to the survival of the fur traders. Unfortunately, the diary is also incomplete, missing the large spring trade when the company would have taken in the majority of their furs.

According to Nelson's diary, much of the food that the men relied on for this particular winter was obtained from the local Indigenous tribes. Importantly, the traders and the Indigenous people, mainly the men, had regular contact on an almost day-to-day basis through this food trade. Out of the forty-one entries recording food trade, the diary contains twenty-four entries recording trade for fresh meat, one for trade of dried or pounded meat, seven entries for trade of fish and fowl, and ten entries for trade of wild rice. However, the trade for wild rice was only recorded in early September and the main day-to-day contact occurred through the trade for meat and fish that was hunted and caught by the Indigenous people. It is apparent that the traders preferred fresh meat over dried meat or fish. Nelson's journal does record the traders' own fishing escapades and there is one entry that tells of the traders hunting fowl, when on October 17 Nelson records that he "killed ten ducks", yet there are no records of the traders hunting for any game. All red meat was obtained directly from the Indigenous hunters. [10]

The lack of success in the traders' hunting and fishing expeditions can be explained through the traders' lack of survival skills. The traders were far less competent than the Indigenous at hunting, tracking, and canoeing, making the traders highly dependent on the Indigenous tribes for survival. For example, the traders were not as adept at manning their canoes, particularly through rough waters and rapids. The very first entry in Nelson's diary on August 29 tells of a group of traders who arrived at the main camp before Nelson and his party departed. The trader, William McKay, arrived with thirteen canoes loaded with trade goods, as well as having cached some goods upstream of the main camp, however Nelson informs the reader that McKay had "the misfortune of loosing two of his men in the first rapids of that dangerous river"; the river referred to here is the Winnipeg River and the rapids are in the lower part of the river.[11] It was not uncommon for traders to lose their lives navigating the dangerous waters of turbulent North American rivers in the canoes used by the Indigenous tribes.

In another entry on October 26, Nelson tells his reader about a hunting trip where he set out to track a bear and ended up becoming lost. Nelson began following the bear tracks, but having no luck, he deviated from the trail and headed in the direction he thought the camp was located. However, after two hours he realized this was the wrong direction and turned around. Nelson began following human tracks

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[10] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 86-87, *n*2.
[11] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 92.

he thought to be his own but soon found that this was not the case. He then thought they were Indigenous tracks and continued to follow them in hopes of finding a lodge to stay at for the night. It was not until sometime later that Nelson realized he was actually following the old tracks of his fellow traders who had also previously become lost. Nelson literally continued to walk in circles until by chance he found the bear tracks he had followed out and made his way back to the camp, arriving about 9 pm, exhausted and empty handed.[12] These narratives are excellent examples of the dangers faced by traders and the reliance they had on the Indigenous tribes for basic needs.

The story of Nelson's bear hunt also shows the difficulty of obtaining fresh meat in the wintertime. Food sources were highly seasonal and more difficult to obtain during the winter months. Early in the diary at the beginning of September, Nelson records trading rum for wild rice that was harvested and bagged by the Indigenous women and then exchanged with the traders. The entry on September 1 records that "La Grosse Tete and trading Noir" inform traders where they can obtain wild rice. For this information, "Perignie gives each of them a small bit of tobacco and rum." On September 2, the diary records one large keg of mixed rum was traded for seven small bags of oats, and the Indigenous men were instructed to return with more. On September 9, Nelson's entry states that Perignie gave "half a keg of mixed rum among the whole of the indians rather as an incentive to trade the remainder of their oats [wild rice] than any present gain he has from it."[13] Gift giving throughout the year maintained the traders' and Indigenous ceremonial relationship, and it was vital that the traders did not neglect this important aspect of trade.[14] Not only was this trade relationship important in the trade for furs, it was even more necessary to create a reciprocal relationship with the Indigenous that would generate a continuous source of food during the winter. Although there are only a few records of gift

[12] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 92.
[13] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 89.
[14] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 88-89 *n*10.

giving, there is evidence that the traders and the Indigenous men drank together often at the expense of the traders. On January 24, Nelson remarked that he "gave rum as usual but did no trade", which implies that giving rum to the Indigenous was a frequent practice preceding trade negotiations at the local level. On March 2, the Black Moose visits the fort with his family and a drink is given to them, which reveals that as both guests and friends the Indigenous people were treated generously by the traders.

For the traders, most of the winter of 1805-1806 was spent finding and contacting the local tribes for trading purposes. However, the main interactions were around food trade rather than furs. Establishing food sources was important for the traders, because the trading companies expected the men were expected by the men to sustain themselves throughout the winter months at the fort. Hudson Bay records indicate that food consumption of the traders generated a requirement for quite a large amount of food. These records show that for men, trading companies allotted five pounds of boneless, fresh meat or seven and a half pounds of fish per day, along with two pounds of other food. Men would also often eat more than the allotted pounds of fish per day when possible. Nelson's trading party consisted of seven men. At the allotted rate for food consumption, Nelson and his men would have consumed about two hundred and forty-five pounds of fresh meat or three hundred and sixty-eight pounds of fish per week, and ninety-eight pounds of other food, such as wild rice. This is quite a large quantity of food to maintain when starting quite literally with nothing.[15]

The amount of food required by the traders can help to explain the price difference that was spent on meat in comparison to other food. On September 12, La Grosse Tete traded "the meat of a moose dear and a little bear's meat" for six quarts of mixed rum. On September 23, the Duck and his brother arrive with an undisclosed amount of bear meat and moose meat, however the exchange is recorded as

[15] Arthur Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters and Middlemen in the Lands of the Southwest Hudson's Bay, 1660–1870* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 128-130.; Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 87 *n*5.

one keg of mixed rum. In comparison, the diary records one and a half kegs of rum traded for twenty bags of oats, and approximately half a keg of this rum was given as a gift to promote the exchange. The diary also mentions trading for oats twice after this, however the amounts of oats and exchange goods are undisclosed. Fresh meat was the preferred food, as is evidenced in the higher exchange rate given for this product. There is also a possibility that the traders increased the exchange rate for fresh meat to encourage the continued trade with the Indigenous tribes throughout the winter. However, fish were much easier to obtain on a regular basis and in larger quantities, thus fish were a daily staple.[16]

Fish were usually caught by "seining" or suspending large nets in the lake. Traders fished for and ate whatever could be caught, however their attempts were not very successful, and the majority of fish was obtained through trade. Nelson's journal records just over a handful of food trade for fish, however the only type of fish that is recorded as being traded are sturgeons. Sturgeons are the largest freshwater fish in North America and average a length of six meters and a weight of six hundred kilograms. The largest number of sturgeons traded at one time was twenty-one, exchanged for "as many pints of rum." This is the only record out of all the recorded food trade activities of an equal exchange amount on both sides. Most diary entries that discuss the results of the traders' own fishing attempts record the capture of few fish, usually one or two and most often none. The most successful fishing trip recorded in Nelson's journal was on September 6 when several of the traders were generously guided to a fishing spot by the Indigenous man, Red Stomach, where they caught nine fish, splitting them with their guide. The traders took five fish and Red Stomach took four.[17] This shows the reciprocal relationship between the Europeans and the Indigenous men with whom they traded, as Red Stomach apparently took nothing in exchange for his services and even took the lesser number of fish.

[16] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 87-90.
[17] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 88.

Red Stomach is mentioned quite often in the diary, visiting, travelling, and fishing with Nelson and his men, as well as procuring fresh meat for the traders. It appears from Duckworth's footnotes that Red Stomach was an Ojibwa hunter who resided with the Nepissing tribe at Nipissing Lake, which is east of Lake Superior and was the furthest Indigenous camp from Lac du Bonnet.[18] The journal contains ten entries that record interactions between the traders and the Indigenous man, all concerning obtaining food. Twice the diary mentions Red Stomach guiding the men to fishing spots, and twice the Indigenous man kills an entire moose, which the traders dress and transport to their fort. Red Stomach also accompanied the men on their snowshoe treks to Indigenous camps five times, and two entries record an incident between Red Stomach, his women, and the traders. On September 27, the diary indicates, "Red Stomach's women arrive with half rotten meat, but is refused by Peri." Later, on October 1, Nelson notes that Red Stomach had come on September 28 to "vindicate the lost Character of his women for bringing us rotten meat. He soon makes up again and takes for eighty-six more skins upon debt."[19] These entries are evidence that the relationship based on necessity and reciprocity went both ways and was just as important to the Indigenous people as to the fur traders. Red Stomach both restores his relationship with the traders after being embarrassed by his wives and he takes more goods on credit, to be paid in the spring with furs.

Nelson records credit being given to various Indigenous men or lodges six times in his journal including the exchange with Red Stomach. Five of these entries are recorded in the fall between September 9 and October 3; one of these five entries records the credit directly after a wrong done by the Indigenous was rectified, and one of the five entries records credit given two days after the same man "gives Perignie three geese." The sixth entry recording credit given is on December 20 and occurs after the traders obtain a large quantity of furs and meat from that lodge. The times when credit was

[18] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 88 *n*9.
[19] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*, 91.

given indicates that it was also important to the Indigenous to maintain a proper social and political relationship with the traders.

Besides Red Stomach, seven other men are named frequently in the journal and always with reference to food trade, indicating the traded food was obtained through the same channels repeatedly. Two tribes are also named, the Nipissing, and the "Courtes Oreilles." or Ottawas, however there were possibly more operating in the area. The hunting population in the Lake Winnipeg area at this time was complex. This was a transitional period where, between 1763 and 1821, the number of trading posts heavily increased in the Hudson Bay area, generating a need for consistent food supplies, and creating and extending networks with the local tribes to support this need.[20] Through the frequency of contact between these eight Indigenous men and Nelson's group, we can assume that there was a close relationship between these men, as the traders not only exchanged with them, the Indigenous men and traders travelled, hunted, fished, and drank together.

One final example of the importance and reciprocity of these relationships is found in the poignant story recorded by Nelson on September 14 about the young son of a Chief, The Duck. The boy was the tragic victim of a gunpowder horn accident in the traders' camp while the parents were negotiating with the head of the fort, Perignie, for liquor. Nelson and the other traders learn of death from the chief's brother, who brought "two sturgeon and a goose" to ask for rum so that he could "cry for his nephew." At this time, the chief's brother received four quarts of mixed rum. The same entry tells us that two men from the Nipissing tribe, who did not have as close of a trading relationship with the fort, brought "two geese and seven stock duck," however these men only received three quarts of rum. Although the chief's brother brought a similar quantity of food, the trade obviously went beyond just an exchange of goods. Responsibility and kinship are tied to this trade, which can be seen in the differences

[20] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, & Furs*: 87 *n*7.; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 125-126.

in quantity of rum given to the chief's brother and the Nipissing men. This is further implied and strengthened when at the end of the entry Nelson notes, "The Duck himself comes escorted by a band of indians all in mourning: they bring six bags of oats, for which Perignie gives them half a keg of mixed rum."[21] Here, although the men only bring six bags of oats, they are given a large amount of rum, once again as an acknowledgement of responsibility and kinship, and here, in respect to the status of the chief. We can compare this exchange amount to an entry on September 22 when two bags of oats were exchanged for eight vials of rum, which is approximately two pints.[22] A half a keg is approximately one hundred twenty-four pints, so this is a massive increase in exchange rates, considering this was given in trade for only six bags of oats. Although there is no size given as to the bags of oats, one can assume they were relatively similar. The fact that so much rum was given to The Duck in exchange for such a small amount of food, the circumstances under which his son was injured and died, the accountability given to the traders as well as their acceptance of this responsibility, and the traders' acknowledgement and respect for the chief are all evidence of the necessity and reciprocity that the economy of local exchange was built upon.

Over half of Nelson's diary talks about food obtained either through the traders' own skills or through trade with Indigenous tribes. The quantity of food traded was much greater than that of food obtained by the traders' own hunting and fishing escapades, and more meat was exchanged than any other type of food. Higher amounts of rum were also exchanged for meat and fish than for oats, which can be attributed to the higher value placed on meat by the traders and also identifies this trade as an incentive for the Indigenous tribes to continue the consistent food trade throughout the winter. Credit was also given to the Indigenous people to encourage and assist continuous trade throughout the winter months, and gifts were exchanged to maintain the political trade relationship as well as to signify the

[21] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, and Furs*, 89-90.
[22] Nelson, "Lac du Bonnet Journal, 1805-1806," In *Friends, Foes, and Furs*: 90.

friendship shared by the traders and Indigenous. The exchanges between Indigenous tribes and traders who had close relationships often went beyond mere trade, reflecting reciprocity and kinship. Through the evidence found within the text of George Nelson's diary, it becomes apparent that the local economy was vital to the survival of the traders and was created out of their need for subsistence and the Indigenous' need for trade goods, revealing that reciprocal relationships were the basis of the local exchange economy during the fur trade era in North America.

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Borrowed Guerrilla Tactics: The Seven Years War and The American War of Independence as a Case Study for the History of Applied Guerrilla Tactics
by Hannah Dunne, HTST 545

Introduction

The depth of strategic planning and applied tactics in The American War of Independence is well known. Less well-known is the reason for the applied guerrilla tactics and their origins. Guerrilla tactics often evolve from the experiences of previous wars; thus, the guerrilla tactics witnessed in the American War of Independence can be credited to three key elements, all stemming from the Seven Years' War. First, the importance of allyship and support; second, the tactics of Indigenous peoples; and finally, George Washington's encounter with Fabian tactics. While the American War of Independence involves a vast amount of strategy and fundamental elements such as naval power, the perimeters of this research will remain solely on guerrilla tactics, as taken from the Seven Years' War and applied in the War of Independence. A strict evaluation of guerrilla tactics will allow for a greater understanding of the importance of the lessons taken from the Seven Years' War for the victory of the American rebel forces and further, will expand on the idea of borrowed guerrilla tactics. A brief account of the Seven Years' War will be necessary to fully comprehend the more complex elements of applied guerrilla tactics during the War of Independence.

The Seven Years' War began in 1756 after England declared war on France. Motivated by land claims in America, France went to war against Britain, aided by their Indigenous allies. Indigenous allyship was an essential element not only during the Seven Years' War but also as an explanation for guerrilla tactics during the American War of Independence.[1] Among several other critical American figures, George Washington played a crucial role in fighting against the French and their Indigenous allies. Developing Fort Necessity, George Washington quickly took on new tasks that would later

[1] Patrice L. Higonnet, "The Origins of the Seven Years' War." The Journal of Modern History 40: 1968, 58.

contribute to his success in the War of Independence. He learned from Indigenous close contact fighting and hit-and-run tactics the aspects of successful warfare that would become essential to American success against the British during the American War of Independence. Further, fighting alongside the British gave way to understanding British tactics and counterinsurgency as it was applied to the French and their allies.

Ultimately, the British prevailed against the French during the Seven Years' War primarily by providing outside support to those fighting against the French in combination with winning over the hearts and minds of the American Troops. In the end, the French faced large and unstoppable forces of both Prussia and Britian and its American colonies.[2] The ability to fund and encourage a rise of morale, driven primarily by the boom in overseas trade which not only gained the favour of the British colonies but cushioned Britian's pockets was the major drive in British success against the French. The favour of their people and the American colonies was a factor later forgotten or otherwise impossible to implement due to Britian's falling share in the East India Trading company and in the case of the American War of Independence the faltering trade agreements and loss of American loyalty.[3] Among the ability to raise spirits and numbers against the French, it is essential to acknowledge that the British also led in naval power.[4] It was these very elements of funding and power that the American forces would lack in the American War of Independence thus, they had to turn to other strategies that could benefit them.

The Seven Years' War ended in 1763 with the creation of the Treaty of Paris, which removed any French threat to the British North American Colonies as the French were forced to give them all up.[5] However, peace in the North American Colonies did not last long, considering the start of the American

[2] Higonnet, "The Origins of the Seven Years' War," 89.
[3] Higonnet, "The Origins of the Seven Years' War," 74.
[4] Christian Buchet, *The British Navy, Economy and Society in the Seven Years War*. Translated by Anita Higgie and Michael Duffy. Boydell Press. 2013, 262.
[5] Jeremy Black, "Recasting the New World: Britain and the Treaties of 1713 and 1763." *Historically Speaking* 14 (2013), 29.

War of Independence in 1775. Interestingly, George Washington, who fought on the British side of the Seven Years' War, was appointed to lead the independence movement. Under several frustrations towards the British, including taxation without representation and the Townshend Acts, the desire for freedom from the British quickly rose. The Seven Years' War acted as the gateway for the American War of Independence and as a manual for stratagem regarding guerrilla tactics.

Alliances and Support Systems Essential to Guerrilla Warfare

The Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence are significantly interconnected, primarily because of the commonality of the forces involved, namely France, Britain and the American colonies. The importance of allyship begins to reveal itself, first in the Seven Years' War and again in the War of Independence, in which you see the tides turn as France and the American colonies become allies against the British. Not only are the allyships of these larger forces crucial in developing guerrilla warfare, as first observed in the Seven Years' War, but winning over the hearts and minds of those at home and the Indigenous tribes of America played a crucial part in both wars. As seen in a long history of guerrilla warfare, allyship is critical to the success of a force reliant on material and funding to continue a war; this is especially prudent when it is taken into consideration that both the American War of Independence and the Seven Years' War were wars of attrition. As two of the primary forces in both wars, France and their Allied Indigenous tribes are perhaps one of the most significant examples of the importance of allyship, mainly when observed through the lens of the Seven Years' War.

French allyship with Indigenous forces began long before the Seven Years' War in their first colonial contact. A significant element of this allyship was the consideration for guns and steel and the conversion of Indigenous peoples to Catholicism. Especially regarding the French-Canadian Iroquois allies during the Seven Years War, this tie to Catholicism is one key factor that motivated the allyship between the Indigenous along with trade and land. This situation gave France the upper hand, especially in terms of guerrilla warfare as learned by the Indigenous people.[6] At several points during the Seven Years' War, the alliance almost broke apart between the Iroquois and the French. Still, this element of Catholicism kept them together for a considerable amount of time. The shared practice of baptism tied them together as "one blood,"[7] indicating that they should fight and die together as such. The strength of the Indigenous allyship was crucial to the French during the Seven Years' War; this becomes even more apparent when observing the sheer advantage British troops had in men and artillery.

The French allyship of the Indigenous peoples was most beneficial in terms of manpower and strategy. The British had massive forces of their own men and the allied American colonies. The British firepower also dominated the French in terms of artillery and naval power.[8] The French, therefore, relied heavily on their Indigenous allies, so much so that they enacted "a wide-scale system of diplomacy and gifts [...] to maintain positive relations"[9] with them. This imbalance of numbers of accounts for active fighting forces and the colonial conquests of the Americas. The British colonies consisted of 1.5 million people, while the French-Canadian colony only had an estimated sixty thousand.[10] Thus, the Indigenous allies, both in terms of the balance they brought to the disadvantage of numbers and the unique way of warfare essential to those fighting at a disadvantage, were crucial. The relationship between the French and Indigenous posed a significant threat to Britain, something that Washington would observe at Fort Necessity and no doubt applied during the War of Independence. The French would not have succeeded against Britain if it were it not for their Indigenous allies. In fact, it is the loss of the Indigenous allyship that was detrimental to them in the Seven Years' War.

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[6] D. P. MacLeod, "Catholicism, alliances, and amerindian evangelists during the Seven Years' War." *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association* no. 62 (1996), 1.
[7] MacLeod, "Catholicism, alliances, and amerindian evangelists during the Seven Years' War," 2.
[8] U.S. Army Command and Staff College, U. S. A., and Adam Bancroft. *Savages in a Civilized War: The Native Americans as French Allies in the Seven Years War, 1754-1763*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform. 2014, 2.
[9] Bancroft. *Savages in a Civilized War: The Native Americans as French Allies in the Seven Years War, 1754-1763*, 2.
[10] Matthew C. Ward, "Understanding Native American Alliances." In *The Seven Years' War*, 47-71. Brill. 2012, 48.

The delicate relationship between France and its Indigenous allies could very well change the tides of war if it were to fall apart, which is precisely what would occur in Ohio. In 1758, French troops faced significant losses against Britain in Ohio, so they called for the aid of their Indigenous allies. When a Wampum belt and a message from the French leader were delivered to Indigenous tribe leaders, the Mingos rejected the invitation to fight with them as they believed their loss of life was too great.[11] This turning point in the Indigenous allyship that led to the French loss in Ohio against the British demonstrated just how necessary winning over the hearts and minds of allies is in a guerrilla war. The delicate relationship with Indigenous allies, the American colonies, and the French would be recognized and carried forward into the American War of Independence.

One of the most essential alliances to the American colonies during the War of Independence was with the French, an interesting dynamic considering the fight against them during the Seven Years' War. This alliance, however, offered not only manpower but a greater understanding of irregular forms of warfare as first illustrated by the French and their Indigenous allies during the Seven Years' War.[12] These ways of war, although essential to American success in the War of Independence, sparked conflict between allies as the Americans remained wary of the brutality displayed by the Indigenous and French forces, as illustrated during the Seven Years' War. It would soon become apparent to Washington and other American rebel leaders however that this brutality and irregularity were necessary to win a war against Britain.

The benefits of France's intervention in the War of Independence went beyond those of irregular war tactics, as many of these had already been observed and understood by American rebels during the Seven Years' War. Still, the allies also became a distraction from the American colonies and brought

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[11] Paul Kelton, "The British and Indian War: Cherokee Power and the Fate of Empire in North America." *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 69 (2012), 763.

[12] Anthony J. Joes, *America and Guerrilla Warfare*. University Press of Kentucky. 2004, 22.

Britain into a naval war with France. This change in landscape lifted some of the fire and manpower off of the American colonies but, more importantly, changed the concerns of the British away from the American Colonies and towards India and, more importantly, their own shores.

The lack of British popular support may have been the deciding factor in the British loss of the American colonies, demonstrating just how vital the element of allies, or hearts and minds, was, a weapon wielded by Washington and others who had observed this importance during the Seven Years' War. One of the most significant contributors to widespread support for George Washington in particular was, surprisingly, the British press, which painted him as an honourable man. This may have been because of the notion that the American colonies were no longer the most significant colony to the English empire. Either way, the way in which Washington was portrayed pushed peace times in America.

There was no longer an interest in fighting against a force led by a man who had previously "fought for king and country"[13] during the Seven Years' War. This sentiment was so strong that it appeared in many English newspapers, including the *Critical Review,* and a poem dedicated to Washington called *A Poetical Epistle To His Excellency Georgy Washington*, written in America but spread throughout Britain, which portrayed Washington as a wise and virtuous leader.[14] Washington's image and the lack of support from their own people led to the ultimate British failure when it is taken into consideration that had the desire been there, a war of attrition could have been won by Britain, thus illustrating just how critical the element of support from those funding the war and providing manpower is when fighting a guerrilla war, beyond additional allied countries.

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[13] Troy O. Bickham, "Sympathizing with Sedition? George Washington, the British Press, and British Attitudes during the American War of Independence." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59 (2002), 101.

[14] Charles H. Wharton, "A poetical epistle to His Excellency George Washington, Esq., commander in chief of the armies of the United States of America, from an inhabitant of the state of Maryland. To which is annexed, a short sketch of General Washington's life and character ..." 1779, 12.

Without the allyship of France and the support of the British people, Washington would have inevitably faced defeat. The same can be said for the French when it came to their relationship with Indigenous allies during the Seven Years' War. Despite that relationship failing, its importance was recognized and carried on in the War of Independence. Like Catholicism for the French and Iroquois during the Seven Years' War, American rebels and Indigenous allies were connected by their desire for the autonomy of their land.[15] Although this relationship was complex due to neither Britain nor the rebels consistently meeting the needs of Indigenous tribes, they contributed to both sides where they saw it most beneficial to themselves.[16] The complications of allyship from Indigenous people to the American rebels did not negate the influence they would have on manpower but especially tactical knowledge. The unique tactics of war provided by Indigenous people were essential to the French during the Seven Years' War. That influence would carry over to the American War of Independence.

Colonial contact with Indigenous peoples has been a significant reflection on warfare and the difference in organized, regular forms of military power against irregular warfare. Although initially unsuccessful against the European colonists, Indigenous ways of war prove the usefulness of guerrilla tactics against those European countries unsuspecting of such ways of war. Despite the disadvantage of European disease, starvation and the advantage of firepower, in many instances, the guerrilla tactics of the Indigenous people in the Americas gave them a temporary upper hand in close combat, the knowledge of the terrain and the element of surprise.[17] The elements of ongoing aggression and warfare among Indigenous tribes in the American colonies are not unique to European conquest but rooted in their culture as a way to outwardly diffuse conflict. Warfare was not a unique idea for Indigenous

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[15] Karim M. Tiro, "Ambivalent Allies: Strategy and the Native Americans." In *Strategy in the American War of Independence: A Global Approach*, edited by Donald Stoker, Kenneth J. Hagan, and Michael T. McMaster, 120-140. Routledge. 2011, 120.
[16] Tiro, "Ambivalent Allies: Strategy and the Native Americans," 121.
[17] Philip J. Deloria, and Salisbury, Neal, eds. *A Companion to American Indian History*. Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated. 2002, 31.

people. It was often welcomed; thus, the aggression and brutality described in the Seven Years' War and the War of Independence should not come as a surprise but rather as a lesson in successful approaches to warfare.[18] Aggression is only one element of Indigenous tactics adopted by the American rebels during the War of Independence, many of which would have been seen during the Seven Years' War.

The Role of Indigenous Tactical Application

Although accounts of Indigenous warfare are often accounts of brutality and savagery, these accounts may reflect the historical mindset and narrative of colonists. To understand the flourishing nature of Indigenous warfare, it is essential to look past the so-called savagery of their warfare and analyze it through the lens of guerrilla fighting. The savagery that colonists saw was only a reflection of the irregularity of Indigenous warfare in contrast to the honorific European approach. Specifically odd to colonists was the hit-and-run tactics along with looting, both of which are necessary for combating a more significant force but, compared to regular warfare, are looked down upon.

The French were allied with the Indigenous people of their colonies during the Seven Years' War. The unique tactics displayed by the Indigenous people during the Seven Years' War challenged the British forces fighting against them; however, they became valuable tools when applied later by the Americans during the War of Independence. One such tool, as George Washington learned during the Seven Years' War, was the importance of the local support of the Indigenous people, especially given their allyship to the French.[19] George Washington's appeal to the Indigenous people to change allyship would be seen again in the War of Independence, and Indigenous tribes, alongside Washington himself, would fight against British forces. It can be assumed that the importance of Indigenous allyship became apparent to Washington through close combat and defeat by them during the Seven Years' War.

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[18] Deloria, *A Companion to American Indian History*, 162.
[19] Joseph J. Ellis, *His Excellency: George Washington*. Vintage, 2004, 14.

The best-known and some of the most essential elements of guerrilla warfare are knowledge of the terrain, hit-and-run techniques and small, close-quarter attacks. These irregular forms of warfare were displayed by the Indigenous people during the Seven Years' War, often presenting a lack of formality or following of the rules of battle, taking the British forces by surprise. British casualties were high in instances where Indigenous tribes had the upper hand in terrain and the ability to lay siege on small forts, often looting for supplies as they went.[20] On many occasions, due to the terrain, British forces were forced to engage in personal attacks with Indigenous people who, in some cases, were more suited to hand-to-hand combat.[21] The irregularity of this kind of fighting and lack of training often led to the defeat of the British. The inability to adjust to the irregularities of warfare, as presented by the Indigenous people during the Seven Years' War and adopted by the Rebel forces during the American War of Independence, would be one of the reasons Britain lost to the colonies.

The irregularity observed during the Seven Years' War surprised British forces. The British were accustomed to regular warfare and found honour in following the rules of war. In their encounters with Indigenous allies to the French, the major disadvantage was the element of surprise, not just in the case of close combat and knowledge of terrain but in the overall irregularity of Indigenous warfare. The aspect of irregularity also applied to the British Indigenous allies, the Cherokee. However, this allyship did not come without its disagreements. One such example of the tensions between the British and the Cherokee was at Fort Loudoun during the Cherokee Wars, which occurred in the background of the Seven Years' War. Fort Loudoun was built at the request of the Cherokee people to secure their allyship.[22] Despite the efforts of the British, the Cherokee remained unpredictable and after a series of attacks against white settlers and huge Indigenous loss of life, Cherokee warriors began to lose interest

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[20] Bernd Horn, *Battle Cries in the Wilderness: The Struggle For North America in the Seven Years' War*. Dundurn, 2011, 85.
[21] Horn, *Battle Cries in the Wilderness,* 106.
[22] P. M. Hamer, "FORT LOUDOUN IN THE CHEROKEE WAR 1758-1761." *The North Carolina Historical Review* 2 (1925), 442.

in allyship with the British.[23] The Cherokee and British tensions continued to rise, and the scalping of several Britons occurred, proving the disloyalty and irregularity of Indigenous allies to the British.[24] The inability to maintain relations with Indigenous peoples and the impact their unpredictable nature had on both British and French forces proved the power of irregular tactics.

Not only would the British and American forces observe just how unpredictable guerrilla tactics could be, but the superior use of terrain, especially in hit-and-run scenarios, was a considerable advantage to Indigenous allies practicing guerrilla warfare during the Seven Years' War. The apprehension of land was especially important regarding fort building and utilizing the terrain to the benefit of those fighting. Many of these forts became battlegrounds; thus, the way in which terrain was managed and the understanding of the surrounding area as applied was crucial.[25] One such example was Fort William Henry. Surrounded by a dry moat and placed in an advantageous location, the massacre that occurred there was unusual; however, it is essential to consider the poor conditions of the fort when an attack was mounted and the verbosity of the attack, which included around “2000 Natives,”[26] who breached the fort walls from behind and “killed and scalped wounded British soldiers,”[27] while also looting them for supplies. There is no doubt that the Indigenous knowledge and ability to address the uneasy terrain played an essential role in their success compared to how a regular military approach might have failed given the Forts security. The case of Fort William Henry displays the importance of terrain knowledge during the Seven Years' War and the advantage of surprise, looting, and close contact combat, all practiced by the Indigenous forces. The concerns about terrain, among other benefits of guerrilla tactics, were mirrored during the American War of Independence.

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[23] Hamer, “FORT LOUDOUN IN THE CHEROKEE WAR 1758-1761,” 443.
[24] Hamer, “FORT LOUDOUN IN THE CHEROKEE WAR 1758-1761,” 445.
[25] Horn, *Battle Cries in the Wilderness,* 83.
[26] Horn, *Battle Cries in the Wilderness,* 85.
[27] Horn, *Battle Cries in the Wilderness,* 85.

Like the Seven Years' War, terrain played a vital role in the success of the Americans, primarily the location and co-operation of the colonies use of farmland and the navigation of terrain as weather conditions changed and adaptations were necessary. The advantage to the American rebel forces was, again, their allyship with Indigenous forces, which, as seen through the exploration of the Seven Years' War, was essential in terrain navigation and in enhancing the power of the existent force. It is important to remember that during the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence, regular standing armies were most heavily used, and strategic marches were a primary form of warfare. Some were concerned that weather conditions often affected the strategy of such marches. One letter dated February 10th, 1776, noted the harsh weather conditions under which a march would be necessary in order to reinforce a standing army by the Saint Lawrence River.[28] Scenarios like these required the adaptability learned through the American experience with Indigenous forces during the Seven Years' War and their ability to navigate uneasy terrain.

During the American War of Independence, there is no doubt that the adoption of Indigenous ways of warfare was utilized. Washington, Hamilton, and other American leaders saw and applied Indigenous irregular tactics where regular warfare could not win. The same disregard for the rules of war as displayed by Indigenous forces was shown by Hamilton at the disapproval of Jefferson.[29] Despite the brutality in the approach, the irregularity of such forms of warfare was often successful. The violence and efficiency of the tactics applied to the Frontier during the War of Independence were no doubt defined by those same techniques of brutality as displayed by Indigenous participation in the Seven Years' War. The irregularities of the American approach were often difficult for the British to adjust to. The use of frontal attacks by the Americans and the employment of regular untrained forces by the

[28] "Extract of Minutes from a Meeting of the Continental Congress." 1717. Letter. 2004, 1.
[29] John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607-1814.* Cambridge University Press, 2008, 17.

British, in the sense of irregular infantry, combined to become a significant failure on their part.[30] This unique tactic applied by the Americans, although the result of several factors, was undoubtedly adopted in some form from the Indigenous tactics of the Seven Years' War.

Strategy Beyond Indigenous Guerrilla Tactics, Including Fabian Strategy

The allyship of Indigenous people during the Seven Years' War to the French posed a considerable threat to the British Forces. This same threat was applied again during the War of Independence by those who recognized the success of irregular warfare in a battle where one force ultimately had a disadvantage in manpower and artillery. For the rebels to organize against a force as large as Britain, the irregular techniques adapted from those used by Indigenous people in the Seven Years' War became an essential element of American success. George Washington among other leaders in the rebellion, recognized from their individual experiences that fighting against Indigenous forces was just as successful as irregular warfare could be when facing a superior opponent. Thus, George Washington learned to apply Indigenous tactics and took up a Fabian approach in his stratagem for Independence that would be crucial in defeating the British as it applied irregular elements of guerrilla warfare, as seen in the Seven Years' War.

George Washington's experience during the Seven Years' War was incredibly informative, suggesting that the tactics he saw applied by the French would have been adopted against the British during the War of Independence. George Washington not only encountered Indigenous strategy during this period but other forms of irregular warfare, which he would later apply in the Fabian style during the American War of Independence. The importance of the elements of guerrilla warfare becomes abundantly clear in George Washington's past experiences, particularly in his inability to understand the irregular elements that lead to British success during the Seven Years' War.

[30] Huw J. Davies, *The Wandering Army: The Campaigns that Transformed the British Way of War*. Yale University Press, 2022, 119-120.

Perhaps the most outstanding example of Washington's failure during the Seven Years' War was at Fort Necessity. Washington first failed to clear the forest perimeter, thus leaving him vulnerable to his Indigenous and French enemies who hid in the brush, illustrating a lack of awareness in terms of the importance of terrain.[31] Washington and his troops came under fire for nine hours, showing again his lack of knowledge in terms of irregular warfare, given the little preparation against the firepower of the French enemy. Fort Necessity would become a remarkable loss for Washington; however, Washington proved his understanding of the importance of allyship as he pursued one with the Indigenous people. Later, Washington would adopt other necessary elements of irregular warfare during the War of Independence.

While it is apparent in the practices of both the Seven Years' War and the War of Independence that the natural tendency of any British general at this time, including Washington, was towards regular forms of warfare, as things progressed, it became clear that the stratagem of the British during the Seven Years' War could not be applied against them in the War of Independence.[32] Instead, like France, as the war progressed, Washington was increasingly forced to take on Fabian's strategy, among other irregular strategies to strengthen his forces against one much larger.

Fabian's strategy calls for "incremental victories to increase and retain troop levels; exhaustion of the enemy [and] light, mobile forces"[33] among raiding and other elements less relevant to these case studies. The Fabian Strategy allowed for a combination of regular and irregular forms of warfare, a strategy Washington would have favoured due to the European pride in regular warfare he inherited during his time in the Seven Years' War. Fabian warfare was not a foreign concept to Europeans and was heavily applied by the French during the Seven Years' War. Despite the French loss, Fabian Strategy was

[31] Ellis, *His Excellency: George Washington*, 13.
[32] Andrew Carr and Benjamin Walsh, "The Fabian strategy: How to trade space for time." *Comparative Strategy* 41 (2022), 80.
[33] Walsh, "The Fabian strategy: How to trade space for time," 78.

primarily utilized by a weaker force unable to fight in complete regular form. As the elements of Fabian's tactics listed are explored further, it will become clear that Washington observed this form of irregular warfare during his time in the Seven Years' War. Although the French saw an overall loss during the Seven Years' War, the critical elements of the strategy would be successfully applied during the American War of Independence.

Fabian Strategy is one of attrition and indirect contact with the enemy. The French during the Seven Years' War and the Americans during the War of Independence were the weaker forces; therefore, they were those who would benefit most from the Fabian Strategy. In many ways, this strategy was favoured by Frederick the Great as he would wage small-scale battles[34] departing from the regular frontal attacks with which most European forces were familiar with at this point in military history. Although Frederick despised regular warfare, his issue, like Washington's, was that despite the need for prolonged, small wins, a war of attrition would eventually not be in the favour of a smaller army in the case of the French.

Despite the element of funding, fire, and manpower, which seem to be the primary issues concerning guerrilla tactics, irregular forms of warfare, including Fabian Strategy, seemed in many ways to be the best way to win when faced with a superior force. For some during the Seven Years' War, it was becoming clear that "European armies have become too good at making war the old-fashioned way,"[35] Thus, it was impractical for an inferior force to assume success in this form, hence the taking up of irregular forms of warfare. Frederick's falling away from regular forms of warfare indicated the necessity of guerrilla strategies for an inferior force. Washington witnessed the failures of such a force and went further to implement irregular forms of warfare against the far superior British army.

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[34] David R. Clonts "A DILEMMA OF WAR: DECISIVE FORCE VS. FABIAN STRATEGY." *The Graduate School Of International Studies*. 1999, 13.
[35] Barry R. Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power." *International Security* 18 (1993), 90.

The Seven Years' War consisted not only of large French armies but of forces from the Indigenous allies and the New France colony in Canada. This colony, although weak, was one of the first on the frontier fighting against British forces. Due to their size and lack of manpower, they also turned to elements of Fabian strategy, especially that of raiding and looting.[36] Of course, Indigenous allied forces also played a crucial role in this warfare. Interestingly, it seems as though Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, the last Governor-General of New France, had little rejection to approaching the Seven Years' war in an irregular fashion. Cavagnial, familiar with the ways of war, did not hesitate to "encourage its Indian Allies to raid the frontiers of the British Colonies."[37] Although eventually defeated by the British due to sheer lack of manpower, even with the allied Indigenous forces, the Fabian raiding strategy contributed to a few early wins against the British.

One key example of successful raids is on the British forts, built against such tactics, yet often unsuccessful, or even worse a target for raiding. One such raid occurred on Fort Granville, which the French captured, killing the whole garrison and gaining supplies for future raids.[38] The irregularity of raids was in the ability to act undercover and utilize the element of surprise. Raids also offered the successful force both extra supply and prisoners of war, which were vital in a guerrilla war. While essential in any guerrilla war, these strategies were incredibly successful in a war in which the enemy could not adjust to its irregularity or refused to due to the European sense of honour around regular warfare. Raiding was just one element of Fabian's strategy that was successful during the Seven Years' War, although only for a limited time. The failure of French forces both in the New France colony and from France itself was its ability to fully embrace the irregularity of guerrilla warfare when they considered the brutality of the Indigenous ways of warfare and the dishonour in its irregular form.

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[36] Fred Anderson, *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War*. Viking. 2005, 88.
[37]Anderson, *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War*, 88.
[38]Anderson, *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War*, 89.

George Washington, although embracing Fabian's strategy, would also struggle to fully depart from the more honorific forms of warfare.

By 1778, it was clear to George Washington that the war could not be prolonged much longer due mainly to a lack of funding.[39] Where Britain had the resources to prolong such a war, the American rebel forces did not. This element itself is a significant indicator of why irregular forms of warfare were necessary and why Washington himself would have implemented them to some degree. Beyond his knowledge of the usefulness of Indigenous warfare, it is clear that Washington had observed several irregular tactics during his time in the Seven Years' War that he would apply to the War of Independence. Washington most notably applied tactics reminiscent of Fabian Strategy, in which small attacks were mounted over a long period of time to wear down the enemy. Despite his concerns for “whose finances (theirs or ours) is most likely to fail,”[40] a war of attrition, according to Fabian's strategy, was taken up as the war would continue until 1783. A war of attrition was familiar to those who had fought in the Seven Years' War because of French leader Fredrick; even more familiar would be the pros and cons of such a war.

Washington's implementation of Fabian Strategy during the War of Independence indicates his motivations for long-term American success. Fabian tactics ensured the application of irregular war tactics, which, through the Seven Years’ War, Washington observed to be successful against the British who remained faithful to regular forms of warfare. Fabian's tactics, while a benefit in its irregularity, also ensured the balance of a formal and identifiable body, which would later help unite the colonies to make the United States the long-term win for Washington. Washington, like Fredrick, saw that direct confrontations with the British were deadly; thus, it was essential to draw on the use of a militia alongside the regular army for indirect attacks. These attacks prolonged the war, as is typical with a

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[39] Christine Patrick, and Junius B. Stearns. “The Papers of George Washington.” The Washington Papers. 2007, 7.
[40] Stearns. “The Papers of George Washington,” 7.

Fabian war, which calls for attrition; however, it wore down the British morale before it did the American citizens. Thus, it proved sustainable and successful.[41] Not only did this strategy for war prove successful, but it was essential when facing an enemy as large as the British. This strategy was familiar to Washington only because of his observance of Fredrick in the Seven Years' War. It was more successful in Washington's case because of the home advantage and ongoing support of American Citizens.

Conclusion

When observing guerrilla tactics, there are commonalities among the strategies that are essential to a guerrilla war. These tactics involve elements such as knowledge of the terrain, hit-and-run tactics, looting, and winning over the hearts and minds of those necessary for the overall strategy. While the cause and application of these elements may differ, it becomes clear that they remain the same across The Seven Years' War and the War of Independence. In fact, it can be observed that the significant factors that influenced the use of guerrilla tactics in the War of Independence can all be credited to the American and French experience during the Seven Years' War, mainly in terms of alliances and support, the tactics of Indigenous allies, and the application of Fabian strategy. However, it cannot be said that these elements of guerrilla warfare are unique to the Seven Years' War.

Both the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence displayed the crucial need for alliances and support from those funding the war. A commonality among both wars was the desperate need for funding, manpower, and firepower. When a force is facing one much larger and stronger than itself, such as Britain in both wars, this need becomes even greater and irregular tactics evolve in an otherwise regular war. Such was the case for both the Seven Years' War and the War of Independence;

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[41] Samuel W. Bettwy, "Comparing Uses of the Strategic Defense (Fabian Strategy) by General Washington (1776-78) and Russian Generals (1904-05)." *Thomas Jefferson School of Law*, 2014, 1.

however, it is not a case unique to just these two wars. Prior to both wars, ideas on the strength of alliances permeated war strategy, especially guerrilla strategy.

The idea of the importance of allyship is seen as far back as Sun Tzu's writings on guerrilla warfare in *The Art of War*. He first calls to generals to make powerful alliances and strengthen them with "valuables and silks,"[42] a practice applied by the French to their Indigenous allies during the Seven Years' War.[43] Sun Tzu also acknowledges how difficult it is to defeat an enemy with solid allies.[44] It becomes clear just in the case study of Sun Tzu, one of the earliest writers on guerrilla warfare, how applicable the need for allies is in an irregular war. This same study can be applied to all three elements of this research, most notably Indigenous tribal warfare.

While it is clear how essential Indigenous warfare was to the success of first the French during the Seven Years' War, which was then noticed and carried forward into the American War of Independence by Washington, the tactics of tribal warfare are perhaps the first forms of guerrilla warfare. In fact, "conventional warfare is, by contrast, a relatively recent invention,"[45] Thus, it makes sense that guerrilla tactics were observed and adopted from the Iroquois by the French during the Seven Years' War, considering their considerable expertise. It can be understood that tribal warfare, in its irregular form, is a result of insufficient arms and funding, as was reflected in the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence. The Iroquois have a rich history of guerrilla warfare predating colonial contact.

Mourning wars, as practiced by the Iroquois, are one example of tribal wars that far predate colonialism, existing as an original form of guerrilla warfare. It is important to note that although an example of brutality within guerrilla wars, mourning wars had ritual importance and offered a channel to

[42] Mark McNeilly, Sun *Tzu and the Art of Modern Warfare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 287.
[43] McNeilly, Sun *Tzu and the Art of Modern Warfare*, 231.
[44] McNeilly, Sun *Tzu and the Art of Modern Warfare*, 283.
[45] Max Boot, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to the Present*. Liveright. 2013, 9.

release grief given that the Indigenous belief was that battle was the best way to do so.[46] However, aspects of mourning wars directly reflect those tactics seen in both the Seven Years' War and the War of Independence. First, although these wars were sometimes large-scale battles, they were most often led by small groups, gathered by those women who were mourning their lost sons or husbands.[47] Second, these wars involved raiding.[48] While large-scale wars like the Seven Years' War often entailed raiding for supplies, mourning wars captured men to replace their lost people, thus restoring the manpower lost in previous battles. Although "this sort of instinctual guerrilla warfare remained the commonest kind until recent centuries,"[49] irregular warfare, as established in the study of the Seven Years' War and the War of Independence, took forms beyond the familiar Indigenous tactics.

As established first by Fredrick, fighting for the French during the Seven Years' War and most notably later by Washington during the War of Independence, Fabian strategy was a prevailing form of warfare that balanced both regular and irregular tactics, allowing for a conventional standard army with the advantages of guerrilla warfare such as looting and a lack of frontal attacks. For the French and American Rebels, despite the difficulties of a war of attrition, this war strategy benefited both troops in their irregularity, especially against a force that was so prone to honorific forms of conventional warfare, incapable of adjusting to the irregularity of Fabian Strategy.

Fabian Strategy first appeared during the Second Punic War. The Second Punic War, fought between Carthage and Rome in 3rd c. BCE, had two notable leaders, Hannibal and Fabius. Fabius is noted for his irregular approach to the common elements of Roman warfare, such as frontal attacks in which "the armies occasionally stood facing each other for several days."[50] The critical difference in

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[46] Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 40 (1983), 531-32.
[47] Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," 52.
[48] Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience." 532.
[49] Boot, *Invisible Armies.* 12.
[50] Philip Sabin, "THE MECHANICS OF BATTLE IN THE SECOND PUNIC WAR." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement*, no. 67, 1996. 64.

Fabious's strategy during the Second Punic War, as with Washington's approach in the War of Independence, was his strategy during the more common form of "light infantry and calvary skirmishes"[51] that took place before the more significant battle. During this time, Fabious would encourage the looting of the enemy through indirect attacks, drawing out the war in an attempt to wear down the enemy. The Second Punic War, long before the events of The Seven Years' War and the War of Independence, is a perfect example of the longstanding techniques of guerrilla warfare.

The writings of Sun Tzu, the Mourning Wars of the Iroquois and Fabian strategy during the Second Punic War all serve as examples of the lack of originality when it comes to guerrilla tactics of the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence. There is no question of the borrowed guerrilla techniques of the Seven Years' War as applied to the War of Independence, both because of the shared forces, allies, and known techniques and because of the ongoing trend of borrowed irregular techniques as observed in a long history of guerrilla warfare, applied by the leaders of war when necessary. The common traits of irregular war tactics could be followed throughout the history of guerrilla warfare. The unique element of this research is in the fact that the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence share three precise components of guerrilla warfare because of the mirroring of allies and opponents as well as the shared regions of war; this makes it a clear example of the borrowing of guerrilla tactics from previous wars.

The Seven Years' War in allyship, Indigenous guerrilla tactics, and the application of Fabian Strategy can similarly be seen during the American War of Independence. The observation of these three critical elements of guerrilla warfare as shared between both wars indicate that the tactics and strategies of the American War of Independence were, in fact, observed and borrowed from the events of the Seven Years' War. Beyond the components of the Seven Years' War and the American War of

[51] Sabin, "THE MECHANICS OF BATTLE IN THE SECOND PUNIC WAR." 64.

Independence, the evidence presented indicate that there is a long history of borrowed guerrilla strategies spanning centuries. The American War of Independence following the events of the Seven Years' War is a clear and comprehensible example of the lack of distinctiveness in guerrilla war tactics.

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Remaking Calgary's Chinatown: Ethnic Leadership and the United Calgary Chinese Association, 1979-1989

by Shuyao Katie Qin 覃舒尧, Honours Thesis, Randall Prize Winner

Introduction

In early 1979, the United Calgary Chinese Association's (UCCA) President Sen Mah sent a letter to the city's mayoral office. Ten years after the UCCA's formation, this letter reminded Mayor Ross Alger that, "This association was formed to encompass all the family associations and groups which comprise the Chinese Community in Calgary." The letter listed twenty UCCA member organizations, a range of Chinatown establishments including the National League and Chinese Freemasons, clan associations, and cultural groups. With the association's breadth of membership, Sen Mah could proclaim "that the United Calgary Chinese Association is the only complete representation within Chinatown."[1]

The UCCA's founding objectives were:

1) To promote community spirit and good citizenship
2) To preserve and promote Chinese culture and tradition
3) To consider issues affecting the interest of the community, and
4) To render services to the poor and needy[2]

Their objectives drew on the practices of Chinatown's traditional associations: clan, district, and political groupings that had provided for the welfare of their members since the earliest waves of Chinese settlement in North America. But the UCCA's focus on community, citizenship, and culture also reflected a new era of Canadian society, one that opened doors to new opportunities and challenges for Chinese Canadians. The Chinatown and Chinese

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[1] Correspondence, Sen Mah, President, UCCA, to Ross Alger, Mayor of Calgary, March 16, 1979, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 185, Joe Khu Fonds, Archives and Special Collections (ASC), University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[2] "十五週年銀禧紀念 Silver Jubilee Commemorative Program," 1994, M-9510, Box 13, Folder 255, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

community in Calgary that the UCCA claimed to represent in the late twentieth century was much different than their early twentieth century beginnings: there were more women and children; more dialects of Chinese spoken; and English signs on businesses. Still standing in the neighbourhood were the buildings that housed Chinatown's earliest organizations, the Chinese Masonic Hall, the National League Building, and clan associations.[3]

Across the diaspora in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Chinese migrants organized themselves along patrilineal lines, their surnames, and on a larger scale by their villages and counties of origin. These clan and regional associations, along with groups formed through political affiliations, have ensured the survival of overseas Chinese communities through times of struggle and triumph. In North America, these organizations were sites of mutual aid, friendship and celebration, and nodes in transnational networks of knowledge and opportunity, especially in the early twentieth century when settler-colonial governments, notably the United States and Canada, deemed Chinese migrants alien threats to be restricted from entering the country, discriminated against and segregated from mainstream White society. As the century progressed and nation-building priorities changed; Chinatowns and Chinese communities changed too. The welfare functions of the traditional associations, having operated for decades, were supplanted by state social agencies and policies, their advocacy increasingly took a back seat to the activism of younger, English-speaking, locally-born Chinese. More women and children appeared in Chinatown as successive immigration reforms in both countries slowly ended decades of exclusion. Chinatown reoriented around families in the post-war period and the

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[3] J. Brian Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain: From China to the Canadian Plains* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd, 1991), 100-107. For information about these buildings, visit Heritage Calgary's digital inventory: https://www.heritagecalgary.ca/explore-inventory.

old bachelors looked less to their clans for social support.[4] In the 1960s Chinatowns across North America faced new adversaries: bureaucratic entities promoting demolition and displacement under the banner of urban renewal and inner-city revitalization. Calgary's Chinatown community came together in response to the threat of a multi-lane highway project that would cut through Chinatown. Unlike larger cities, such as Vancouver, San Francisco, and New York, Calgary's Chinatown did not have a Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA)/Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA). The CCBA had operated as the overarching community organization in each of those urban centres since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first overarching organization who claimed to speak for Calgary's Chinatown was the Sien Lok Society, a group of Chinese businessmen and professional who organized to fight the freeway project and succeeded in doing so.[5] Post-war urban renewal threats and the Sien Lok Society's success made clear the need for a collective community voice.

Many of Calgary's Chinese people, including leaders of the traditional organizations, did not see Sien Lok's business-dominated leadership as sufficiently representative, so they sought to form an umbrella organization accountable to all of Chinatown's residents and community. In spring of 1969, the voices of Chinatown's most prominent clans, political groups, and community leaders came together to form the United Calgary Chinese Association (UCCA).[5] From its formation to the present day, the UCCA has endeavored to meet their founding objectives and fulfill their mandate to represent Chinese Canadians through social, cultural, and

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[4] Xiaojian Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America: immigration, family, and community, 1940-1965* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 103-104.

[5] The UCCA's current website and *A Century of the Chinese in Calgary* (Calgary: United Calgary Chinese Association, 1993) states this founding meeting was attended by 19 associations. Dawson records that it was 20 associations, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain,* 157. In a call for membership published in *The Canadian Chinese Times*, November 10, 1983, they state it was 23 founding associations. Sen Mah's letter to the Mayor in 1979 lists 20 member organizations, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 185, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

civic initiatives. This thesis examines the UCCA from 1979 to 1989, a period when the association's claim to being the pre-eminent representative body for Calgary's Chinese community was most strongly backed by their wide-ranging initiatives and advocacy. I argue that throughout this period the UCCA strengthened their claims to being a unifying body and a voice for Chinese Calgarians through local, community-centered initiatives and advocacy that was rooted in a sense of place, culture, and Calgary's Chinese heritage. The UCCA continued traditions of service and representation established by early twentieth century Chinese organizations but also drew on advocacy methods of Asian American activists and Chinese organizations across North America. They built relationships with organizations and elites outside of Chinatown and engaged with state multiculturalism policy. The association represented a new wave of Chinese community leadership that was modern in outlook, but conscious of tradition, that embraced multiculturalism and sought prosperity for Chinese Calgarians in and out of Chinatown's boundaries.

"Overseas Chinese" and the UCCA Leadership

In this thesis I often use the terms "overseas Chinese" 华侨, "ethnic Chinese" 华裔, and "Chinese diaspora" to refer to my historical subjects. All of these terms are used in the scholarship to collectively refer to Chinese migrants and their descendants around the world. UCCA publications and correspondence directed at their members refer to them as "ethnic Chinese," for a non-Chinese audience they used "Chinese community", and to the Chinese (People's Republic of China, PRC) embassy the UCCA referred to their constituency as "Calgarians of Chinese descent."[6] For post-war North American Chinese, "overseas Chinese" ceased to be an appropriate personal identifier when their social status increased and they

[6] Terms drawn from various UCCA correspondences and publications, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

became fully fledged citizens of democratic, multicultural nations.[7] The term is also too broad for the UCCA's context, as the association's focus is ultimately local, and the UCCA presidents primarily discussed in this thesis were not born in China at all.[8] Douglas Tims, president from 1980 to 1985, was born and educated in New Zealand. Joe Khu, president from 1985 to 1988, was born in the Philippines (Figure 1). But both Tims and Khu identified as "ethnic Chinese" and sought community in Calgary's Chinatown. Therefore, I will refer to the UCCA and their members as "ethnic Chinese" or "Chinese Calgarians." This thesis will draw comparisons between UCCA actions and those of other North American Chinese community and activist groups, for which I will use "Chinese diaspora," "overseas Chinese," and "North American Chinese" to be more specific.

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[7] Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce and Evelyn Hu-DeHart. Introduction to *Voluntary Organizations in the Chinese Diaspora*. Edited by Kuah-Pearce, Khun Eng, and Evelyn Hu-DeHart (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 12.

[8] Sen Mah, who would step down as president in 1980, did experience the trajectory that "Overseas Chinese implies", immigrating from Guangdong (Canton), China to Canada. Sen Mah, Obituary, Calgary Herald Obituaries, accessed March 19, 2025, https://calgaryherald.remembering.ca/obituary/sen-mah-1084361752.

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UNITED CALGARY CHINESE ASSOCIATION NEWSLETTER

毋忘故宇精誠團結 永恒為華裔同胞服務

一九八四年一八五年度理事會

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吳清旭 馮 廉
胡沃生 區啓寛
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Figure 1. The UCCA's Board of Directors for 1984-1985, in the UCCA special edition newsletter, 1984. The top photo of the middle row is Doug Tims, his Chinese name being 楊景南. Tims was the UCCA's president at the time of this newsletter's publication. Pictured in the top-right is Joe Khu, whose Chinese name was 邱文祁. M-9510, Box 9, Folder 149, Joe Khu Fonds.

Review of the Literature

A review of scholarship on Chinese migration and overseas Chinese communities in North America reveals two trends that have endured across disciplines, shifts in theory and methodology. Henry Yu identifies the first trend as one of periodization, where the history of Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans are split into two halves of the twentieth century.[9] Around the mid-nineteenth century to the Second World War was a period characterized by restrictive immigration laws, anti-Asian racism, and inward-looking, male-dominated Chinese enclaves. Historical scholarship on this period is most interested in examining social, political, and economic manifestations of anti-Asian racism and their consequences for Chinese migrants. World War II is treated as an interregnum between this first half and the following decades. Histories of post-war North American Chinese examines immigration reforms, integration of Chinese people into the dominant society, and the impact of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism as state policies on ethnic communities. Scholars of this post-war period focus on the factors behind changing immigration policy, how those changes affected Chinatowns, how social orientations between pre-war immigrants, post-war immigrants, and locally-born Chinese differ, and the rise of activist pan-Asian solidarities.

Much of the historiography conflates Chinese communities with Chinatowns. Tying into the periodization, scholarship on overseas Chinese communities in the early twentieth century almost always focus on Chinatowns in urban centers, especially in Vancouver, New York, and Toronto.[10] There is less written about prairie and mid-west Chinese communities, though this

[9] Henry Yu, "Who are we? When are we? A Migration History That Reframes Race, Ethnicity, and Immigrants at Canada's 150," in *Immigration, Racial and Ethnic Studies in 150 Years of Canada: Retrospects and Prospects*, edited by Shibao Guo and Lloyd L. Wong (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 41. In this chapter Henry Yu utilizes a similar periodization to divide the migration history of Canada in general, though he is more specific to split what the pre-immigration reform decades into two separate half-centuries: 1867-1920s, and 1920s-1970s.

[10] Kay J. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); David Chuenyan Lai, *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press,

scholarship is emerging.[11] In scholarship on the post-war period Chinatowns continue to be a central topic, but the emphasis is on their "decline" due to demographic and societal changes, and the struggle to save them by community organizations and activists. Early twentieth-century Chinatowns have been depicted as inward-looking ethnic enclaves operated independently from dominant society, while late century Chinatowns were outward looking and interested in intercultural bridge-building, surviving because of relations with people and organizations outside its boundaries.[12]

Sociologist Paul Siu's 1952 article "The Sojourner" has had a significant impact on the historiography. Siu argues that early Chinese migrants in North America were marked by their sojourn in this foreign land, to "do a job and do it in the shortest possible time." The "sojourner" tended to associate only with people from his own ethnic group and resisted any influence of the dominant society.[13] Siu emphasized common interests and cultural heritage as major factors to community formation and to the sojourner's isolation from dominant society.[14] Philip Q. Yang challenges Sui's depiction of Chinese migrants and argues that they had transnational orientations. While there is a long history of labour-oriented migration from southern China to

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1988); Richard H. Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community* (New York: AMS Press, 1989); Bernard Wong, *Patronage, Brokerage, Entrepreneurship, and the Chinese Community of New York* (New York: AMS Press, 1988).

[11] J. Brian Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain: From China to the Canadian Plains* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991); Alison R. Marshall, *Cultivating Connections: The Making of Chinese Prairie Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014); Alison R. Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor: Early Chinese Settlement in Manitoba* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

[12] Eva Xiaoling Li and Peter S. Li, "Vancouver Chinatown in Transition," *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 7, no. 1 (2011): 15, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1163/179325411X565380. See Hsiang-Shui Chen, *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Ellen D. Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013); Min Zhou, *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); and Xiaojian Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America: immigration, family, and community, 1940-1965* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

[13] Paul C.P. Siu, "The Sojourner", *The American Journal of Sociology* 58, no. 1 (1952): 35, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1086/221070.

[14] Siu, "The Sojourner," 35-36.

Southeast Asia, Chinese migrants to North America often settled permanently and were involved in local affairs. Current scholarship also explains the "sojourning" orientation and Chinese people's formation of ethnic enclaves as a product of the social, economic, and political circumstances Chinese migrants found themselves in as much as it had to do with cultural values.[15]

Chinatowns were born from necessity. Geographer David Lai's posits racism as a primary factor in the creation of Chinatowns, most clear in how white landlords' refusal to lease properties in desirable areas of town pushed Chinese settlements to the fringes of urban societies. Chinese people grouped together and limited their contact with white people as a "self-defence measure used by the Chinese to avoid open discrimination and hostility."[16] In her study of Vancouver's Chinatown, Kay J. Anderson argues that coerced segregation and racialization of Chinese people were mutually enforcing principles. By facilitating Chinese people's voluntary segregation in Vancouver into a defined area, the dominant society drew boundaries between "their" territory and "our" territory, using space and place to legitimize their racist othering.[17] Chinatown's economic, social, and cultural isolation from the dominant society facilitated the development of an independent sub-economy. An absence of Chinese women and children in early communities meant little interaction with acculturating forces, such as schools, and made it necessary for Chinatown's residents to develop new understandings of kinship and family. Early Chinatowns were also homogenous in their ethnic makeup, occupied predominantly by Chinese men from the 四邑 (Siyi, Four Counties region) and 三邑 (Sanyi, Three Counties region) of China's 廣東 (Guangdong) province. As Henry Yu explains in "Rise and Fall of the Cantonese

[15] Philip Q. Yang, "The 'Sojourner Hypothesis' Revisited," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 9, no. 2 (2000): 241, https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.2000.0003.
[16] David Chuenyan Lai, *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), 34.
[17] Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 29-31.

Pacific, 1850-1950," migrants from Siyi accounted for more than half of all Chinese migrants to Canda between 1958-1949.[18] Migration networks linking China and North America were maintained through kinship relations and shared experiences. In North America, Chinese migrants formed associations for mutual aid based on these kinship ties. These clan associations joined continent-wide networks of other clan associations, district associations, and political organizations.

Alison Marshall's scholarship on early Chinese settlement in Manitoba argues for the importance of voluntary organizations, especially the local 國民黨 (Kuomintang, KMT, Chinese Nationalists) branch, to the social survival of Chinese-Manitobans. In addition to providing housing and employment, branch houses encouraged socialization, and KMT leaders organized fundraisers, picnics, and cultural festivities.[19] Through participation in their local KMT branch, Chinese men built networks of business partnership and mutual aid, with each other and with people from other ethnicities and social groups whom they invited to social events.[20] Participation in voluntary organizations, such as the KMT, fostered the homosocial relations vital to the "Way of the Bachelor" that ensured the survival of the Chinese community. Associational life and ethnic leadership was from the start male-dominated and would still be in the UCCA's time.

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[18] Henry Yu, "The Rise and Fall of the Cantonese Pacific," in *The Transcultural Streams of Chinese Canadian Identities,* ed. Jessica Tsui-yan Li (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 35 (Table I.I). For an examination at why the labour-migration tradition was so strong in the Siyi and Sanyi regions, read Madeline Yuan-yin Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China, 1882-1943*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

[19] Alison R. Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor: Early Chinese Settlement in Manitoba* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 35.

[20] Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor*, 39; Also see Alison R. Marshall, "Married Nationalists: Charles Yee and Charlie Foo," in *Cultivating Connections: The Making of Chinese Prairie Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 94-109. The opportunities for social networks through KMT membership are prominent in the life stories of Charles Yee and Charlie Foo, two Manitoban Chinese settlers who became community leaders and intercultural bridge-builders through their dedication to the KMT cause. Both men fostered strong relationships with non-Chinese society, Yee as a businessman and through his Ukrainian wife, Foo in his advocacy against Chinese exclusion and fundraising efforts for the KMT and the Chinese War Relief Fund.

Scholarship on diasporic communities make efforts to identify people and organizations by name to return agency to individuals, but also to emphasize the structured hierarchy of Chinatowns and overseas Chinese communities where one organization or person could acquire influence over the entire group.[21] Introducing Yip On in her study of Chinese power brokers, Lisa Mar makes clear that On's political influence was derived from his leadership in prominent Chinese community organizations. As the leader of the Chinese Empire Reform Association and a prominent member of the Chinese Freemasons, On held sway over British Columbia's rich Chinese merchant class and was highly regarded by the Freemason's province-wide membership.[22] In his struggle for power against Chinese-Canadian lawyer David Lew, both power brokers mobilized Chinese migrants' transnational ties and played on old regional rivalries. Yip On rallied fellow country-men who were Siyi merchants to form a 四邑會館 (Four Counties Benevolent Association) for his cause, while David Lew sought support from Sanyi merchants and their district associations.[23] Mar's power brokers were representative of early twentieth century ethnic leaders in Chinatowns across North America, whose personal power was exercised through, on behalf of, and with the support of community organizations.

Richard H. Thompson and Bernard Wong's anthropological surveys of Toronto's Chinatown and New York's Chinese Community, respectively, emphasize the centrality of

[21] Names, faces, and even personal narratives can be found in correspondence and private documents, i.e. journals, but also documents created and kept by the state. For an examination of community leaders in Manitoba, and their individual stories, see Alison R. Marshall, *Cultivating Connections: The Making of Chinese Prairie Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014). For an example of Chinese migration in the state archives, see Lily Cho, *Mass Capture: Chinese Head Tax and The Making of Non-Citizens* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021). Timothy Stanley's examination of the 1922-1923 Victoria School Strikes highlights the efforts of the Chinese Canadian Club and includes discussion of the most outspoken CCC members against school segregation. Timothy J. Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

[22] Lisa Rose Mar, *Brokering Belonging: Chinese in Canada's Exclusion Era, 1885-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 30.

[23] Mar, *Brokering Belonging,* 37.

associations to the social organization of early Chinese communities in North America.[24] Thompson describes overseas Chinese communities as segmented and into a pyramidal structure with clan associations as the lowest level of affiliation that joined district associations, with an overall city-wide organization as the highest level of authority.[25] This organizational structure functioned as a "government within a government" that "unified all the Chinese in a particular locality, protected them from the outside government, and regulated internal community welfare and recreation."[26] In New York, the overarching body was the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA). In the early twentieth century, the New York CBA's mandate was to promote unity, arbitrate disputes, and maintain peace in the community. Wong posits that the CBA was viewed in its time as an agent of cultural stability in Chinatown and an insulating force hampering intercultural bridgebuilding and maintaining Chinese people's social isolation from the dominant society.[27] The networks formed by associations around North America enabled overseas Chinese to call on each other for support. In his analyses of the Victoria Students Strike of 1922, Timothy J. Stanley describes these transnational networks as an imagined community, "so entrenched by the 1920s that it became a basis for organizing support for the students' strike."[28] Supporters of the strike wrote to overseas Chinese associations in other countries and to media outlets in China.

Patricia Roy's trilogy on anti-Asian politics in British Columbia explores the colony's, and then province's responses to Chinese and Japanese immigrants. The first two books analyze how British Columbian attitudes towards Asian immigrants grew increasingly hostile from the

[24] Bernard Wong, *Patronage, Brokerage, Entrepreneurship, and the Chinese Community of New York* (New York: AMS Press, 1988); Richard H. Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community* (New York: AMS Press, 1989).
[25] Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown*, 11.
[26] Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown,* 54-56.
[27] Wong, *Patronage, Brokerage, Entrepreneurship, and the Chinese Community of New York*, 84-85.
[28] Timothy J. Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 172.

mid-nineteenth century to the start of World War II, and how those sentiments drove policy making.[29] The third book: T*he Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada 1941-67*, brings her comprehensive analysis of anti-Asian attitudes and policies to a close. Roy sees the Second World War as "a real turning point in their relationships with the larger Canadian community" for Chinese Canadians.[30] She identifies how British Columbian Chinese communities encouraged sympathies generated by the Sino-Japanese War and promoted allied solidarity during World War II. Chinese Canadians contributed to the Chinese War Relief Fund, the Red Cross, and Victory Loans, while the Canadian media praised China's efforts against Japanese aggression.[31] As the major Chinese political organization in most Chinatowns, KMT branches reorganized to more strongly emphasize their transnational ties to China. In Toronto the KMT reorganized into the Chinese Protection Federation (CPF), headed by leaders of Toronto's major clan and district associations. The CPF's claims to leadership were legitimized by the KMT banner, the local and transnational influence of its leaders, and rhetorics of patriotism to elicit cooperation from all members.[32] Alison Marshall's *Cultivating Connections* contributes a prairie perspective to war-time community organization. Winnipeg's KMT branch led boycotts on Japanese-made goods and solicited war relief funds from Chinese entrepreneurs across prairie Canada. The KMT in Winnipeg also called for a spirit of unity amongst local Chinese organizations.[33] While they were not called up for military service until the war's end, Chinese Canadians participated in the war effort and some Chinese people volunteered, earning prestige

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[29] Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and the Chinese and Japanese Immigrants 1858-1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989); Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-41* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003).
[30] Patricia E. Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941-1967* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 148.
[31] Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship,* 150-151.
[32] Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown,* 69-70.
[33] Marshall, *Cultivating Connections*, 105.

and further strengthening the community's patriotic image. Roy sees the success of the Chinese-Canadian war effort as leading directly to their enfranchisement and loosening of immigration restrictions in the years after the war.[34]

In *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority,* Madeleine Hsu challenges mainstream understandings of the "exclusion period" in the United States, highlighting instead "selection" of certain Chinese migrants and the political and economic reasons for allowing their entry. The book makes clear how selective immigration as a nation-building policy created Asian-Americans as the "model minority."[35] Laura Madokoro's *Elusive Refuge: Chinese Migrants in the Cold War* also discusses selective entry, by examining how settler-colonial nations handled post-war Chinese refugees from Hong Kong. *Elusive Refuge* highlights the tensions present in discussions of Asian refugeehood that reflected Cold War anxieties and still present notions of racial superiority. Madokoro argues that settler-colonial nations accepted Hong Kong as a means to further their humanitarian images, meet Cold War ideological aims, and as a way to rectify their histories of Asian exclusion that did not fit into their contemporary liberal-democratic ideal.[36] The key takeaways from this scholarship on mid-century immigration reforms for my examination on late twentieth-century Chinese communities is the concept of the "model minority" for Asian Americans, and that the demographics of North American Chinese communities changed drastically as a result of policy changes. In a departure from the early twentieth century waves of male labour migrants, Chinese immigrants after 1967 included women, entire families, and immigrants with higher levels of education.[37] As

[34] Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, 154-168.
[35] Madeline Y. Hsu, *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 8.
[36] Laura Madokoro, *Elusive Refuge: Chinese Migrants in the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 23-25.
[37] Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown*, 153-157.

Chinatown's traditional "bachelor society" re-formed around families and Chinese people integrated into the dominant society, the traditional associations of Chinatown had to adapt.[38]

The post-war decades also saw a general decline of downtown cores in North American cities, as residential and social activity suburbanized, upwardly mobile locally-born Chinese and new immigrants also moved out of Chinatown into suburban neighbourhoods, or established new majority-Chinese neighbourhoods outside of city centers.[39] Chinatowns' activist resistance to urban renewal in the 1960s and 1970s have received attention from Chinese-Canadian scholars, but also in urban histories and histories of activism. Tina Loo's study of the Strathcona Property Owners and Tenants Association (SPOTA) and the fight for Vancouver's working-class neighbourhoods is a detailed case study of grassroots activism grounded in community needs and values. SPOTA's negotiations with the city of Vancouver is instructive in understanding how community organizations worked within existing political structures and hierarchies to meet their goals and empower citizen participation.[40] While the traditional power brokers of the pre-war period, in particular the Chinese Benevolent Association, appear in Loo's study, Loo shines the leadership spotlight on SPOTA executive and public relations secretary Shirley Chan.[41] Chan, who was a young university student well versed in local politics and social justice, was representative of a post-war generation of Chinese community leaders who ignored traditional associational affiliations in favour of orienting the community outwards towards resources and networks in the dominant society.[42] Scholarship on post-war Chinese community building is

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[38] Zhao, "Remaking Chinese America," 103-104.
[39] See Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown*, 188-199. Thompson describes three adjacent majority-Chinese neighbourhoods in downtown Toronto by the 1960s, including the original Chinatown (Chinatown Proper), mix-used Chinatown East, and residential Chinatown West.
[40] Tina Loo, *Moved by the State: Forced Relocation and Making a Good Life in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), 193-194.
[41] Loo, "A Fourth Level of Government?," 167, 178.
[42] Wong, *Patronage, Brokerage, Entrepreneurship, and the Chinese Community of New York*, 270, 279-281.

most concerned with the transformation of Chinese people into fully fledged Canadian and American citizens, the dismantling of exclusionary immigration policies and integration of Chinese North Americans into mainstream society and politics.[43] New groups of ethnic leaders emerged, with locally-born Chinese, war veterans, and young Asian American activists getting the most scholarly attention.

Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce and Evelyn Hu-Dehart's *Voluntary Organizations in the Chinese Diaspora* identify new forms of voluntary organizations established alongside, or to replace, traditional organizations (i.e. the clan and political associations) to meet new needs of the existing population and new migrants in the latter half of the twentieth century.[44] For Kuah-Pearce and Hu-Dehart, these 社團, voluntary organizations, are extensions of traditional organizations in three ways: (1) relationship building with non-Chinese, (2) going beyond mutual aid and protection to "actively promote commercial, cultural, education and related interest to members and the wider communities, and (3) oriented towards the mainstream civil society, with goals to assist the "localization and relocalization processes of the Chinese within the adopted country."[45] The volume's chapters focus more on the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia, but gives valuable insight on how voluntary associations formed and adapted to the challenges and opportunities of their diasporic community. The UCCA's mandate and their actions in the 1980s fit nicely with Kuah-Pearce and Hu-Dehart's characterization of voluntary associations, demanding an examination of its late-century Calgarian context. Wing Chung Ng's *The Chinese*

[43] For an analysis on the invention of the "model minority" situated within the larger framework of the American civil rights era, see Ellen D. Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013). Madeline Yuan-yin Hsu, *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015) offers a comprehensive examination of how Asian Americans became the "model minority" through selective immigration policy.

[44] Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce and Evelyn Hu-DeHart, editors, *Voluntary Organizations in the Chinese Diaspora* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006).

[45] Kuah-Pearce and Hu-DeHart, *Voluntary Organizations in the Chinese Diaspora*, 14.

in Vancouver, 1945-80: the Pursuit of Identity and Power examines identify formation, negotiation, and cultural consciousness through Vancouver's Chinese organizations and ethnic leadership.[46] Ng analyses how different generations of Chinese Canadians' sense of identity was defined and mediated by their transnational ties to the "Old World" and experiences in the "New World"[47] The book sheds light on prominent organizations and Chinese-Vancouverites, how their relationships with each other, Canadian society, and the Chinese state influenced Chinese-Canadian identity formation in Vancouver. In *Rethinking the Asian American Movement*, Darryl Maeda defines Asian-American activism as specifically the kind that came into being in the 1960s and 1970s, whose central framework emphasized "power and self-determination, rather than civil rights," and "global transformations and multiracial, international coalitions even as they acted locally."[48] Maeda introduces prominent Asian-American organizations; most were formed by young people, all were left-aligned, and all sought to provide alternative politics and community-building services in opposition to the traditional Chinatown leadership.[49]

Scholarship on late twentieth century Chinese communities is still emerging in the historiography. The current North American perspective tends to ignore the continued survival of Chinatown's traditional associations in favour of highlighting new forms of community organizing and activism. This examination of the United Calgary Chinese Association aims to situate Calgary's Chinatown alongside that of Vancouver and Toronto, which has dominated previous scholarship, and highlight new forms of ethnic leadership that emerged in the late twentieth century. Calgary Chinatown's successful resistance against urban renewal in the 1960s

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[46] Wing Chung Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80: The Pursuit of Identity and Power* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999).
[47] Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver,* 8.
[48] Daryl J. Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 29.
[49] Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement*, 35-49. See sections on *Red Guard Party/I Work Kuen* and *Asian Community Center/Wei Min She.*

birthed new organizations and showed ethnic leaders the power of a united community. This thesis examines the continuities and discontinuities between the traditional clan and district associations, assumed to be declining throughout the mid-century, and the civic and cultural oriented ethnic organizations of the late-century. Understanding the lasting influences of early Chinatown social structures, especially the associations, helps us bridge the periodization of Chinese North American histories and better understand the resiliency of ethnic enclaves over time. This thesis will also consider the differences and similarities in how Calgary's Chinese community leaders saw themselves, their members, and their organization's mandates, in comparison to those in other North American Chinatowns. When much of the scholarship on post-war Chinese communities focus on locally-born young activists, the UCCA's middle-aged male leadership seems more similar to their early century counterparts than their contemporaries. This work explores the UCCA's claims to representation and community unity, and their efforts to orient Chinatown towards the dominant society through interpersonal relationship building, collaboration, and cultural celebration. At the same time, the UCCA's leaders honoured the legacies of their member associations, taking responsibility for Chinatown's residents and providing social services. To the existing scholarship I contribute a detailed look, using English and Chinese language sources, at the community organization of a Chinatown that has received sparse attention, in a period of Chinese-Canadian history that has received even sparser attention. This work highlights the generational shifts happening in North American Chinese communities in the late twentieth century, emphasizing continuities and change in leadership, values, and senses of belonging. Moreover, my focus on Calgary's Chinatown contributes a place-based analysis that examines these community leaders' heterogenous, hybrid diasporic identities that were constantly being renegotiated in response to local and transnational circumstances.

Discussion of the Sources, Notes on Translation, and Positionality

I analyze the UCCA through their associational documents, which are found in the Joe Khu Fonds, currently held by the University of Calgary Archives and Special Collections. Joe (José) Khu was born to an ethnic Chinese family in Manila and received higher education in the Philippines and in mainland China. In 1973 Khu immigrated to Canada with his immediate family and settled in Calgary. The fonds were donated by Khu himself to the Glenbow Library and Archives in 2017, a collection of documents from the UCCA office, but also the Calgary Chinese School, the Chinese Cultural Centre Association, and the Sino-Canada Culture Association, among many other Chinese community organizations that Joe Khu was an active member of.[50] Covering 1975 to 2004, the fonds include constitutional documents, correspondence and official communications, grant applications, and many meeting notes, minutes, and news clippings. UCCA-related documents fill five boxes and are scattered around the rest.

Language and authorship are two things to consider when analyzing the UCCA through this archival collection. While most of the documents are typed in English, many are handwritten or typed in traditional Chinese script. These include correspondence with other Chinese organizations, clippings from Chinese print media, and meeting notes. As a logographic writing system, Chinese characters each encode pronunciation and meaning which are compounded and joined into sentences to encode more complex meaning.[51] Modern Chinese administrations each undertook language reforms to reduce and simplify Chinese characters, aiming to make the

[50] The physical collections of the Glenbow Archives are now held at Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary. Browse the complete fonds on the University of Calgary Archives and Special Collections website: Fonds F3059 – Joe Khu fonds, https://searcharchives.ucalgary.ca/joe-khu-fonds.
[51] William S-Y. Wang, Chaofen Sun, and Ping Chen, "Language Reform in Modern China," in *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Linguistics*, edited by William S-Y. Wang and Chaofen Sun (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 537.

language more accessible to encourage literacy.[52] China's Nationalist government attempted script simplification as part of their development of a national language 国话 (Guohua, "national language") in the 1930s, developing a list of simplified characters that were never disseminated due to internal government opposition. Six years after the establishment of the PRC in 1955, party officials attempted language reform again to overhaul not just the spoken standard, but also the Chinese script.[53] Language reform was a campaign for national unity and modernization to create a socialist Chinese language of 普通话 (Putonghua, "common language") in opposition to the Nationalist's Guohua.[54] These reforms by the PRC were significant in the mainland, but largely did not affect overseas Chinese communities. Overseas Chinese communities continue to use the traditional script, as do Taiwan and Hong Kong, to the present day. The use of traditional script does not necessarily indicate the UCCA's, or Joe Khu's, allegiance to the Nationalists and Taiwan, but as the literature review showed, many traditional Chinatown establishments were historically KMT-aligned. The bilingualism of the sources shows an increasing use of English in Calgary's Chinatown, especially for official correspondence and record keeping.

I discuss language reforms in mainland China for their significance to how I interact with the sources and to introduce my positionality in approaching this topic. I am a first-generation immigrant from mainland China. My family immigrated in 2009, departing after my sixth birthday in late April. From 南宁 (Nanning), the capital city of our home province of 广西 (Guangxi), we flew to 北京 (Beijing) and then Vancouver. We continued to Calgary, where my aunt and her family had already been settled for years. My father's choice to settle in Calgary

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[52] Wang et. al, "Language Reform in Modern China," 538.
[53] Janet Y. Chen, *The Sounds of Mandarin: Learning to Speak a National Language in China and Taiwan, 1913-1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023), 217.
[54] Chen, *The Sounds of Mandarin*, 218.

because he had a relative there alludes to the lasting influence of early twentieth century Chinese chain migration practices. My parents were economic immigrants: father had a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering from one of the most prestigious universities in China; mother was an accountant with years of experience in municipal ministry. My parents spoke Putonghua, Cantonese, and their county dialects, but my pre-kindergarten classes only taught us Putonghua and the accompanying simplified Chinese script. Therefore, my approach to the Chinese-language sources in the Joe Khu Fonds is one of double translation. I first parse the text for characters I do not recognize in their traditional form and re-write them in the simplified script. Only after I am able to read the text as a Chinese text, do I start translating it to English to be used in this thesis. I am not formally trained in translation, my translation work for this thesis is informed by Valerie Pellatt and Eric T. Liu's *Thinking Chinese Translation: A Course in Translation Method: Chinese to English*. I acknowledge that my understanding of the formal schema of the text, its structure, semantics, punctuation, etc. is influenced by the content schema, the picture built up as I apply my background knowledge and understandings of the topic to the text.[55] Finally, I admit that my only familiarity with associational life is being dragged to Chinese New Years potlucks of the 广西老乡会 (Guangxi hometown association) by my parents. In my experience, kinship ties and associational affiliations in our present day continue to be maintained by Chinese Canadians, now facilitated by the internet and WeChat.[56]

Methodologically, I approach the UCCA understanding that its story is told and recorded by its leaders – educated, middle-aged men with established families and careers who had both

[55] Valerie Pellatt and Eric T. Liu, *Thinking Chinese Translation: A Course in Translation Method: Chinese to English* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010), 14.
[56] The current website for Calgary's Chinatown, run by the Chinatown Business Improvement Area, still maintains a directory of associations: https://www.calgarychinatown.com/

the passion, time, and energy to expend on managing an organization of this scale. They are most similar to the post-war "new immigrants" that primarily came through Hong Kong and Taiwan, already exposed to Western influences and with the language and education abilities to integrate into the dominant society right away.[57] The UCCA's president for most of our period of analysis, from 1980 to 1985, was New Zealand-born Douglas Tims. Before migrating to Canada and taking leadership in the UCCA, Tims' resume already boasted degrees from the University of Canterbury, senior computer programmer titles at Shell Oil, and professorships at both the University of Calgary and the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology. [58] A founding member of Storybook Theatre, Douglas Tims was involved in cultural initiatives inside and out of Chinatown.[59] Tims, Khu, and their colleagues were the driving force and the public face of the UCCA in the decade under examination, it is through their lens that we make sense of the actions and initiatives of the association.

My analysis utilizes frameworks of Canadian multiculturalism and ethnic communities. After more than a decade as official government policy, in 1988 Canadian multiculturalism was enshrined in legislation. While reflecting the post-war embrace of liberal pluralism and democracy, official multiculturalism was a continuation of Canada's settler-colonial nation-

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[57] Jack Hang-tat Leong, "The Dynamics of Cultural Identity of Chinese in Toronto, 1960s-2010s," in *The Transcultural Streams of Chinese Canadian Identities,* edited by Jessica Tsui-yan Li, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 175.

[58] Folder 196 of the fonds contain documents from the time of Douglas Tims' death and funeral, including a biography, obituary, and memorial photos. The survival of these documents, for them to be organized and stored away in such good condition, attest to Douglas Tims being a beloved member of the UCCA and the Chinese community at large, and a close friend of Joe Khu. M-9510, Box 11, Folder 196, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

[59] Douglas Tims' obituary in the *Calgary Herald*, May 19, 1985, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fmay-19-1985-page-37-91%2Fdocview%2F2258838366%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838; and an article about him, Elaine Husband, "Friends Mourn Courageous Leader," *Calgary Herald*, May 26, 1985, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fmay-26-1985-page-14-84%2Fdocview%2F2259001210%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838. Interestingly, Storybook Theatre itself credits Ellen (Ellie) Tims, wife of Douglas Tims, with the theatre's founding, their *History* web page does not mention any other founders by name, https://www.storybooktheatre.org/history.

building project, to maintain the Anglo-Canadian as the norm against which other ethnic, racial, and cultural groups were the "multicultural Canadians."[60] The Canadian Multiculturalism Act's preamble committed the state to "a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians," with an implied clause that the "multicultural heritage" eligible to be preserved and enhanced must be acceptable to the overall nation-building project, and will be used by the ethnic group to contribute to Canadian society.[61] The state's embrace of cultural pluralism as a form of resource extraction from non-Anglo Canadians was well established by the time it was implemented as official policy. Franca Iacovetta's study on the International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto examines cultural events where new immigrants were expected to "perform their ethnicity – and to do so in ways that displayed their desire to become Canadian citizens," and to "demonstrate the pleasing cultural forms that they were offering as a contribution to society."[62]

In this period of Canada's multicultural blossoming, Chinatowns were being reevaluated under the framework of expressions of acceptable difference; its distinctly "Chinese" characteristics were framed as cultural contributions to the Canadian mosaic.[63] Chinese-Canadians as an "ethnic community" underwent reconsideration in the post-war period, during the exodus of Chinese peoples from Chinatown and its simultaneous commercialization and opening-up. The term "community" traces a history of tensions "between sense of domination and subordination, of generality and intimacy."[64] There is the imagined community,

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[60] Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1998), 79.
[61] Mackey, *The House of Difference*, 79.
[62] Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 95.
[63] Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 212.
[64] Richard Tyler, "Comprehending Community," in *Returning (to) Communities: Theory, Culture and Political Practice of the Communal*, edited by Stefan Herbrechter and Michael Higgins, (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2006), 21.

conceptualized by Benedict Anderson in 1983, to explain nations and nationalism. Central to my analysis is "community" as used by participants themselves to counter outside authority, to claim a shared identity that could be used to claim recognition within the social system.[65] Could Chinese Canadians in the late twentieth century be considered a diaspora community? In his essay "Diasporas," James Clifford identifies diaspora as characterized by "a history of dispersal, myths/memories of the homeland, alienation in the host (bad host?) country, desire for eventual return, ongoing support of the homeland, and a collective identify importantly defined by this relationship [with the homeland]".[66] For Kuah-Pearce and Hu-Dehart, the Chinese diaspora best fit these characteristics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Chinese migration was driven by economic and political turmoil in the homeland, and especially in settler-colonial destinations where Chinese migrant communities experienced common experiences of "rejection, marginalization, discrimination and oppression by host societies," which encouraged "diasporic Chinese communities to forget a strong sense of identification and empathy for each other's common plight."[67] In North America, if pre-war Chinese communities best represented the typical diasporic experience, then how did post-war and late century waves of Chinese migration and settlement fit in to this definition? When migrants became integrated into the host society, could we still continue to speak of a diasporic community?[68] For the UCCA and late century Chinese Calgarians, the tensions between local and global, between them and their place in the diaspora, were ever present. The association emphasized their rootedness in Calgary as the final destination and home at times, and evoked familiar social practices and cultural icons of

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[65] Tyler, "Comprehending Community," 24.
[66] James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 305, https://www.jstor.org/stable/656365.
[67] Kuah-Pearce and Hu-DeHart, *Voluntary Organizations in the Chinese Diaspora*, 6.
[68] Kuah-Pearce Khun Eng and Andrew P. Davidson, eds., Introduction to *At Home in the Chinese Diaspora* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2008), 2.

their Chinese homeland at other times. Diasporic Chinese kept significant social and cultural elements "stashed in their personal and collective memories," reproducing them into the host society.[69] Voluntary associations, social customs and religious practices, language, make up these significant social and cultural elements, core identifiers of "Chineseness" that resonated with the entire diaspora, but could take on localized and adapted forms governed by the peculiarities of a specific migrant community, in a specific place and time.[70] Chinese Calgarians may have conceded any desire for return, and may have been limited in their support for homeland politics, but they were still "diasporic" in their sense of collective memory, trauma, shared cultural practices and traditions that made their community in Calgary mutually understandable to diasporic Chinese communities around the world.

A theoretical framework informing my analysis of the UCCA's leadership in particular is that of post-war masculinity. While this study has little to do with Douglas Tims' or Joe Khu's family lives, we can understand their stalwart involvement in Calgary's Chinese community as extensions of their commitment to their middle-class nuclear families. Masculinity, like femininity, involves an "active process of performing attributes and expectations that are coded male."[71] The characteristics of this performance vary. There are ethnic considerations, such as the Confucian virtues deeply embedded in overseas Chinese communities. Confucian teachings have been reproduced in early overseas Chinese communities to include nationalist values and support for the KMT.[72] Values of loyalty, male relationships, and education were emphasized. These values manifested in the social and physical structures of clan associations and support for

[69] Khun Eng and Davidson, Introduction to *At Home in the Chinese Diaspora*, 7.
[70] Khun Eng and Davidson, Introduction to *At Home in the Chinese Diaspora*, 7.
[71] Robert Allen Rutherdale, "Introduction," in *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place*, edited by Peter Gossage and Robert Allen Rutherdale (Vancouver Toronto: UBC Press, 2018), 16.
[72] Marshall, *Cultivating Connections*, 36-39.

Chinese-language schools. The UCCA's leadership continued a Confucius-influenced performance of masculinity, including the virtue of 孝順 (Xiaoshun, filial piety) in their patronage of Chinatown's youth and elderly. As successful immigrant men, Joe Khu and Douglas Tims also fulfilled the "model minority" stereotype, described by Hsu as "exemplary immigrants with education credentials, entrepreneurial ambitions, strong work ethics, valuable job skills, and exemplary family values."[73] They modeled that stereotype on an individual basis, but also in their management of the UCCA as a "model minority" organization that as we will see, worked within the structures and norms of the dominant society to meet their objectives.

Overview of the Chapters

This thesis follows the UCCA's efforts to claim representation for a Chinese-Calgarian community, efforts that association leaders pursued in and out of Chinatown between 1979 and 1989. As my chosen case studies, events and instances of advocacy and activism, are scattered throughout the decade, I have organized the chapters thematically to make sense of what the UCCA was doing. In every chapter I draw comparisons between the UCCA's circumstances and actions with those of ethnic leaders and organizations in other North American Chinatowns in the post-war period and the late century. I aim to situate the UCCA within larger frameworks of Chinese community building but also to emphasize that diaspora communities were heterogenous, and Chinatowns are each unique in their pasts and presents.

The first chapter discusses the UCCA's mobilization of fundamental aspects of "Chineseness", rooted in culture, nostalgia for the homeland, traditional practices and Confucian values, to encourage a collective identity in Calgary's Chinese population. When planning festivities the UCCA and their peer organizations considered their audience, which in the late

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[73] Hsu, *The Good Immigrants*, 236.

twentieth century included multiple generations of ethnic Chinese each with unique migration trajectories and reasons for settlement in Calgary, and non-Chinese spectators encouraged to experience cultural spectacles by the Canadian state's multicultural project. The association paid close attention to the community's elders, legitimizing their claims to cultural and ethnic leadership through the rituals of Confucian filial piety, a traditional practice that resonated with all ethnic Chinese, and in the context of overseas Chinese communities paid symbolic homage to Chinese-Calgary's forbearers.

Chapter two considers the UCCA's relationship building and advocacy outside of Chinatown, arguing that their efforts at influencing institutions and elites in the dominant society were rooted in concerns for Chinatown and Chinese-Calgarians. UCCA leaders sought close relations with the Calgary Police Service as part of their project to improve Chinatown's image and encourage positive conceptions of the neighbourhood. When the association spoke out about government issues, such as education budget cuts, they emphasized the needs of their constituency. Given the opportunity to collaborate on events of international prestige, such as Calgary's 1988 panda loan, the UCCA chose to be a background player to not insert political agendas into their ultimately civic and cultural centered mandate. The UCCA's advocacy outside of Chinatown reflected a nuanced consideration of Chinese-Calgarian identity, values, and needs. The third chapter discusses tensions, fissures and conflicts by highlighting conversations around Chinatown urban development in the 1980s. In this period, the UCCA's visions for a resident-centered, Chinatown-for-the-Chinese put them in conflict with other stakeholders in the neighbourhood, including a non-Chinese development, businessmen and landowners, and an elite that represented the old Chinatown establishment. This chapter seeks to situate Calgary Chinatown's experience of urban development with those of better studied locales, like

Vancouver, but also understand its specifics in regard to Calgary Chinatown's history, community opinions and intra-community conflicts. Each chapter aims to build an image of the UCCA and its leadership as a new generation of ethnic community leaders, a generation that honoured and studied the legacy of old Chinatown's traditional associations, drew from the methods of its contemporaries across North America, but was also deeply rooted in a sense of place and its immediate community.

Chapter 1: Celebration and Traditional Practices Within Calgary's Chinatown

Unlike other North American Chinatowns, Calgary's did not have a precedent of unity under an umbrella organization nor a history of inter-associational strife that warranted overarching authority.[74] The UCCA's claims to unity and representation had to be built from the ground-up and constantly affirmed. To support and legitimize their claims to a united community, especially when considering recent immigrants and locally-born Chinese who were not members of UCCA's member associations, any initiatives had to be broadly appealing and participatory. Aiming to transcend family, district, political, and religious affiliations, UCCA initiatives sought alignment with core identity markers of "Chineseness" and "Overseas Chineseness", the fundamental beliefs and values of Chinese culture that resonated with Chinese-Calgarians and the Chinese diaspora as a whole.[75] What is considered "core" to the insider, a member of the diasporic community, may not be considered "core" to somebody outside of the community. Core identity markers were those indispensable even in hard times, for

[74] Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce and Evelyn Hu-DeHart, editors, *Voluntary Organizations in the Chinese Diaspora* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 7.
[75] Juwen Zhang, "Chinese American Culture in the Making: Perspectives and Reflections on Diasporic Folklore and Identity," *Journal of American Folklore* 128, no. 510 (2015): 466, https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/article/598431. Zhang's concept of core and arbitrary identity markers is fully discussed in 张举文, "传统传承中的有效性与生命力." *温州大学学报（社会科学版）*22, no. 5 (2009): 12-17.

Chinese Canadians it was Chinese New Year, which was consistently celebrated throughout the exclusion period, the Chinese language, and traditional associational life, while markers of identity, like clothing, religion, or economic occupation, are arbitrary and changed with circumstances.[76]

From the sources I identify two fundamental markers of "Chineseness" that the UCCA harnessed to legitimize their claim to serve Chinese-Calgarian interests and promote community unity. First, I examine the association's Chinese New Year celebrations. Their management of public-facing galas and smaller participant-oriented initiatives reflected a genuine understanding of Chinese Calgarians' local and transnational affections. The choice of performers and performances for these celebrations mobilized participants to reproduce collective cultural memories, strengthening the sense of diasporic community by generating nostalgia for the homeland and its folklore, and recollecting shared experiences of migration and settlement. Second is the association's performance of filial piety. Filial piety has been reinterpreted and adapted over time to serve varied interests in Chinese history. My examination focuses on the virtues of exhibiting care, respect, and reverence for one's elders and ancestors.[77] I argue that the UCCA's efforts to provide for the social well-being of Chinatown's elderly residents, through everyday interactions and celebratory activities, was an indirect but potent display of filial piety adapted to a modern diasporic context. Chinatown's elderly residents were not directly related to UCCA leaders, but these elders represented the first generation of Chinese settlers to be honoured for their past contributions to a Chinese heritage in Calgary. Attending to Chinatown's elders represented the UCCA's dedication to Chinese Calgarians as a whole. While

[76] Zhang, "Chinese American Culture in the Making," 467.
[77] Alan Chan and Sor-Hoon Tan, editors, Introduction to *Filial Piety in Chinese Thought and History* (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), 2-3.

intergenerational bonds were created from associational life in the early twentieth century, those bonds strained in the post-war period when the Chinese community diversified because new waves of immigrants and coming-of-age locally-born Chinese could not relate to the older generation's experiences of social alienation and shared hardship. The UCCA's efforts to reinforce those bonds drew on Confucian filial piety as a core marker of Chineseness, a belief that would have resonated with the upbringings of all ethnic Chinese to bridge differences in life experience. While this chapter focuses on the celebrations and rites meant to engage Chinese-Calgarians, I also identify how the association embraced Canadian multiculturalism. The heavy emphasis on folklore for Chinese New Years performances and having child performers from the Chinese language schools, shows an effort by the organizers to present the most universally appealing parts of Chinese culture to their audience, to promote their community and Chinatown in a positive light.

Chinese New Years

"Yesterday was Chinese New Year. The local Celestials celebrated in regulation style." This statement or some variation of it appeared annually in the local news sections of Calgary's daily newspapers dating back to the 1890s.[78] As the centerpiece of the Chinese festival calendar, the first day of the lunar year is celebrated across the Chinese diaspora. The mode and methods of celebration varied across time and space. In urban North America, celebrations were contained in Chinatowns, while rural Chinese settlers celebrated even more intimately in the restaurants and cafes owned by themselves and friends. Organizing Chinese New Years banquets, parades,

[78] This statement is taken directly from the February 19, 1901, publication of *The Daily Herald* (later renamed the *Calgary Herald)*, under the column "City and District", *The Daily Herald,* February 19, 1901, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Ffebruary-19-1901-page-5-8%2Fdocview%2F2252297501%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

and variety shows for members was a social responsibility of traditional associations.[79] The associations were predominantly male and led by merchant class men, whose leadership in the community and financial resources were mutually enforcing sources of influence.[80] Chinese New Year was the annual opportunity for organizers to promote their association, forge new professional connections, renew kinship ties and reinforce social hierarchies.[81] As Chinese people integrated into the mainstream society, Chinese New Year festivities became a tool of cultural promotion and increasingly became public spectacles of ethnic culture. Simultaneously, social and political changes in the Sinosphere tugged at overseas Chinese people's transnational heartstrings, prompting responses by all levels of overseas Chinese organizations.[82] In North American Chinese communities, hosting the annual Chinese New Year celebration became a bid for cultural authority and the recognition of that authority by not just Chinese people, but also by non-Chinese participants. In some urban centers new Chinese organizations enacted their own visions for New Years celebrations that challenged the programming of the old elite.[83]

In their efforts to bridge their multigenerational community, the UCCA's cultural productions appealed to their audience's sense of place, playing on sentimentality for the Chinese homeland, its folklore, and identification with Calgary's Chinese heritage. If the UCCA's

[79] Kuah-Pearce and Hu-Dehart, *Voluntary Organizations in the Chinese Diaspora*, 8.
[80] Xiaojian Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940 – 1965* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 96-97.
[81] Alison R. Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor: Early Chinese Settlement in Manitoba* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 46.
[82] For insight into the conflicts in San Francisco's Chinatown caused by normalization of US-PRC relations, and subsequent recognition of the PRC in the 1980s, see Chiou-Ling Yeh, *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 144-148. The overview of key organizations in Daryl J. Maeda's *Rethinking the Asian American Movement* gives examples of PRC aligned Chinese-American organizations that were formed as alternatives to traditional Chinatown associations; Daryl J. Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 35-39.
[83] See Chiou-Ling Yeh, *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 122-49; and Mu Li, "From the Ethnic to the Public: The Emergence of Chinese New Year Celebrations in Newfoundland as Vernacular Cultural Heritage," *Western Folklore* 77, no. 3–4 (2016): 277–312, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A805903651/LitRC?u=ucalgary&sid=bookmark-LitRC&xid=dba1f714, for two examples.

Chinese New Year productions made any statements about Chinese politics, it was subtle and obscured by an emphasis on locally created, folk-culture inspired performances. Celebrations in this period were large-scale, public-facing concerts organized by a coalition of Chinese civic-cultural organizations. The UCCA was part of this organizing group every year, as were the Calgary Chinese Cultural Society, Chinese Public School, Sino-Canada Cultural Association, and the University of Calgary Chinese Students Society. In this coalition, only the Chinese Public School dated back to the early twentieth century. These organizations, sharing the responsibility for preserving and promoting Chinese culture, exemplified the multi-polarity of late century Chinatowns. The organizations in this group could all be considered "civic-cultural" organizations. Zhou and Lee, in their analysis of Chinese immigrant organizations in the United States, characterize civic-cultural organizations as less focused on place of origin, and more focused on "meeting various settlement demands for members beyond economic needs."[84] In Calgary, these organizations served the community's social and cultural needs. While this planning cohort brimmed with the new elites, their New Years celebrations were inclusive of Chinatown's old associations. The Chinese Freemasons (also known as the Chee Kung Tong, Masons, and Hong Men) often sponsored the event and performed sporadically, notably the opening Lion Dance in 1981 and a martial arts demonstration in 1987.[85] Considered a fraternal association, secret society, and sworn brotherhood at various times and places across the diaspora, Chee Kung Tong chapters were some of the oldest overseas Chinese associations. In North America, CKT chapters first sprang up in West Coast gold mining camps and moved into

[84] Min Zhou and Rennie Lee, "Transnationalism and Community Building: Chinese Immigrant Organizations in the United States," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 647, no. 1 (2013): 35, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1177/0002716212472456.

[85] In other years, the opening Lion Dance was also performed by the Chinese Public School and Chinatown's various athletic clubs. Chinese New Years concert programs, various years, M-9510, Box 1, File 8, Box 2, File 27 and 28, Box 12, File 211 Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

the continent with migrants seeking work.[86] The CKT chapter established in the British Columbian town of Bakersville in 1862 is reported to be the first in Canada.[87] There is evidence for a chapter in Calgary by 1908, and the Winnipeg chapter was founded in 1910.[88] By including the Chinese Freemasons in Chinese New Years celebration, planning committee leaders were affirming the Freemasons' prestige in Chinatown society and acknowledging their contributions to Chinese settlement in Calgary. In return, the Freemason's willing participation in these events were public showings of support for the newer civic-cultural associations, the old guard passing on their entrenched legitimacy to the new.

Along with being an organizer, the Chinese Public School's students were consistently present at Chinese New Year celebrations, their skits, dances, and choral assembles occupying multiple slots on the programs. Chinese schools were important establishments in Chinatowns. Calgary's Chinese public school was founded in 1920. As their mandates centered language and cultural preservation, these schools were supported by local associations, including an overarching organization if there was one, and schools in more prominent Chinatowns received financial assistance from Chinese governments.[89] Chinese schools were valuable not only for educating the enclave's children, but also for their transnational ties. As we will see throughout this thesis, the UCCA maintained strong friendships with the Chinese Public School and championed education. The Chinese Public School's cooperation in these Chinese New Year celebrations again legitimized the mandates of their civic-cultural organizers, and supported the UCCA's claims to represent all Calgarians especially.

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[86] Fredy González, "The Chee Kung Tong: A Voluntary Sworn Brotherhood across the Cantonese World," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 47, no. 16 (2024): 3652-3653, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2024.2363532.
[87] González, "The Chee Kung Tong," 3653.
[88] Chinatown Context Paper, The City of Calgary, 2019, https://www.calgary.ca/content/dam/www/pda/pd/documents/current-studies-and-ongoing-activities/tomorrows-chinatown/chinatown-context-paper.pdf, 13; Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor,* 27.
[89] Kuah-Pearce and Hu-DeHart, *Voluntary Organizations in the Chinese Diaspora*, 235.

The planning committees deeply valued the local, and these celebrations were a stage for Calgary's Chinese cultural clubs, social groups, and businesses. When planning and rehearsing these performances, members of old Chinatown mixed with newcomers to the community and Chinese Calgarians outside of Chinatown. These celebratory moments were intergenerational, bringing together children, young adults from the University of Calgary's Chinese Students Society and Chinatown's athletic clubs, and the leaders of Chinese Calgary's cultural and ethnic associations. Every performance listed in the surviving Chinese New Year concert programs were by a "Calgary Chinese" group, except in the 1980 program when the Calgary Vietnamese Canadian Association contributed a choir performance. The choice to center ethnic Chinese performances, especially when the event was promoted to a broader non-Chinese audience, was deliberate. The civic-cultural organizations making up the planning committee, UCCA included, were claiming authority to determine acceptable representations of Chinese culture and asserting that authority over the participating groups. Including only local Chinese performances was also possible because Calgary historically has had a stable Chinese population, and the city's Chinese population in the 1980s was large enough to support diverse organizations. In places like Newfoundland where the Chinese population was smaller, Chinese New Years celebrations had to invite outside groups to partake.[90] Inviting outside groups ensured high quality performances

[90] Li, "From the Ethnic to the Public," 301.

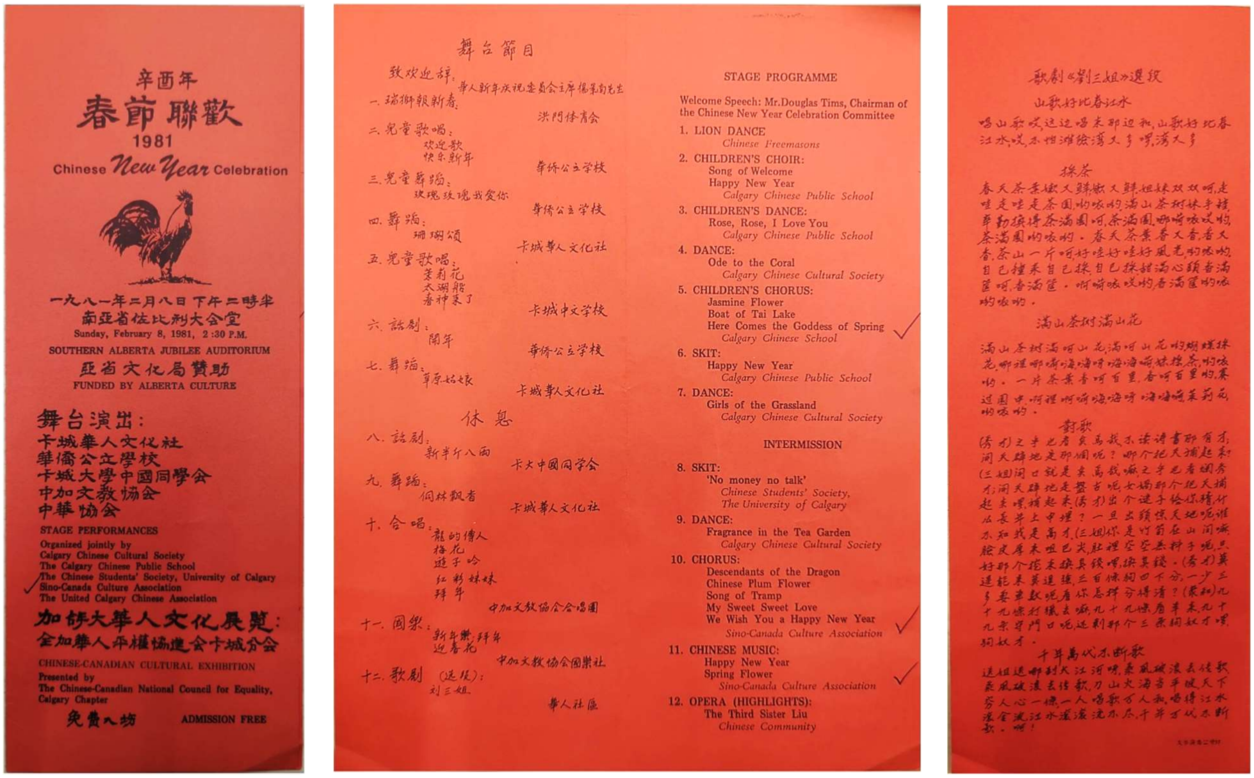

Figure 2. The 1981 Chinese New Year Celebration concert program, M-9510, Box 1, Folder 2, Joe Khu Fonds.

but was less intimate and made these events more touristic. While still public, the UCCA and their co-organizers were dedicated to a celebration rooted in Chinese culture and Calgary's Chinese heritage.

Though the UCCA were joint organizers every year, their influence was most prominent in 1981 when Douglas Tims, then UCCA president, was the chairman of the organizing committee and gave the opening speech. Tims' position as committee chairman and the event's public face would have assured the association's input was strongly considered. This section considers Chinese New Year 1981 in more detail, examining the organizers' efforts to reach an audience outside of Chinatown, but also make intimate connections with their ethnic Chinese audience's diasporic sentiments through performance that referenced homeland folklore.

The 1981 celebration was held at the Southern Alberta Jubilee Auditorium's performing arts venue, located across the river and up a hill from Chinatown. Douglas Tims joked to the media about sacrificing parts of the event for the venue, that there would be no parade that year because "It's too long a walk from Chinatown to the Jubilee … The lion would get too tired."[91] Hosting a celebration of this scale outside of Chinatown symbolized the increasingly outwards orientation of Chinese ethnic elites, who aimed to not just preserve culture, but promote it. In Mu Li's conception of the three stages of development for ethnic festivals, this celebration bridged the second stage: "a festival for the community," and the third "multipresented shared heritage."[92] The celebration program was printed on red paper, featuring a rooster icon to mark the zodiac year and bilingual English and traditional Chinese text (Figure 2). Language and folklore were the core aspects of culture and heritage being invoked. But the presence of English text and the Jubilee location, invited people outside of the ethnic community to participate as spectators. In this way the "festival for the community" was also consciously oriented towards the mainstream gaze. Being able to acquire the Jubilee as a venue indicated that Chinese people were not just accepted into Calgarian society, but also that their ethnic celebration was accepted as an important cultural event worthy of such a prestigious location. Funded by Alberta Culture, the celebrations were linked to wider national multicultural initiatives. When he introduced the act in 1971, Pierre Elliot Trudeau encouraged ethnic groups to not only preserve their culture, but also "promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity."[93] All of the Chinese New Years celebrations organized by the UCCA and their collaborators reflected the multicultural context of the period. Li observes the efforts to adhere to multiculturalism as taking on "festival tourism" elements, where "celebrations are

[91] Suzanne Zwarun, *Calgary Herald,* February 7, 1981, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Ffebruary-7-1981-page-29-218%2Fdocview%2F2258976393%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.
[92] Li, "From the Ethnic to the Public," 280.
[93] Pierre Elliot Trudeau 1971, cited in Li, "From the Ethnic to the Public," 287-288.

creolized by the organizers to combine the Chinese individuals' perspectives on Chineseness with the multicultural expectations of non-Chinese attendees."[94] His evaluation of this "multipresented shared heritage" stage of ethnic festival was based on the Chinese Association of Newfoundland's (CANL) Chinese New Years events from 1977 onwards. Li argues CANL's celebrations "presented new definitions of Chineseness in the context of Newfoundland where both Chinese and Western cultures were located simultaneously."[95] CANL chose celebration dates to better fit the working schedules of non-Chinese guests at the detriment of Chinese guests, the activity choices, and the amount of non-Chinese guests at these events.[96] The UCCA's Chinese New Year events strived for participation from the dominant society, but those outside of the Chinatown-based networks of clan and cultural organizations were welcomed only as consumers of these events. Performances were by Chinese organizations and showcased Chinese folk traditions and stories.

1981 also marked a decade of official diplomatic relations between Canada and the PRC, an accomplishment that most Chinatown establishments would have preferred to leave unacknowledged as to not provoke any residual tensions between those still loyal to the Nationalist vision, mainly the older generations, and the newer generations who acknowledged the PRC. Under these circumstances, the final act of the 1981 Chinese New Year celebration, "Opera (Highlights) The Third Sister Liu", must be seen as a subtle ode to mainland China as the diasporic homeland, if not a declaration of allegiance to the PRC.[97] Evoking the Southern Chinese folk heroine劉三姐 (Liu Sanjie, Third Sister Liu), was a direct appeal by the organizers

[94] Li, "From the Ethnic to the Public," 293.
[95] Li, "From the Ethnic to the Public,"
[96] Li, "From the Ethnic to the Public," 293, 295.
[97] "1981 Chinese New Year Celebration concert program," M-9510, Box 1, Folder 8, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

to their audience's transnational affections. The folkloric Liu Sanjie was a beautiful young woman from the Zhuang minority of Guangxi, dubbed a "singing immortal" of folk songs. The legends of Liu Sanjie place her as a champion of rural peasantry most famous for humiliating a landlord and his literati entourage in a singing competition.[98] In the late 1950s, Guangxi province's local Chinese Communist Party department of propaganda undertook an oral storytelling project, collecting and compiling Liu Sanjie's legends from Guangxi's local population. The legends were made into a musical, and then the film *Third Sister Liu* in 1960. Both productions were nationally successful, and the film was disseminated outside the PRC.[99] Lanjun Xu, in her study on the relationship between *Third Sister Liu* and diaspora Chinese identity politics in Singapore, argues that the film's heavy use of Guangxi scenery was directed at Southeast Asian overseas Chinese, reminding them of their 南洋 (Nanyang, South China Sea) connections and "assuage their homesickness."[100] Undoubtedly present in the highlight reel, this imagery of southern China would have resonated with Calgary's overseas Chinese in the Jubilee's audience too. Though regions of origin for North American Chinese diversified in the mid-century, the majority of Chinese immigrants were still from Southern China, including the Southern mainland provinces, Hong Kong, and as secondary migrants from Southeast Asian countries.[101] *Third Sister Liu's* rural peasant affinities were also analogous with localized farming histories of Chinese-Albertans. Early Chinese settlers in Alberta engaged in market gardening and worked on cattle ranches in addition to the North American-wide ethnic economy of

[98] Eddy U, *Creating the Intellectual: Chinese Communism and the Rise of a Classification* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 139.
[99] U, *Creating the Intellectual*, 138-141.
[100] Lanjun Xu, "Contested Chineseness and Third Sister Liu in Singapore and Hong Kong," in *The Cold War and Asian Cinemas*, edited by Poshek Fu and Man-Fung Yip, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2019), 75.
[101] The continued use of Traditional Chinese script in newspapers and correspondences, which denotes spoken Cantonese, in Calgary also evidences the continued primacy of Southern Chinese origins. Taiwan and Hong Kong use the traditional script to this day. Joe Khu is one example, while his family's regional origins are not known, Khu himself was born and raised in the Philippines and spent time in the Southwestern city of Chengdu for university.

laundries and restaurants.[102] The film was first and foremost propaganda, Eddy U describes its creation as feat of "tight supervision, multilayered organization, skillful storytelling, and ingenious artistic techniques, orchestrated by the CCP"[103] The party released it outside of China as propaganda, one of many films meant to soften the differences between Communist China and non-Communist Southeast Asian countries, promoting friendship through shared identity markers.[104] Therefore, the UCCA's and the New Years planning committee's choice of *Third Sister Liu* highlights as the finale fulfilled additional purposes aside from evoking their audiences' transnational nostalgia. The choice was also a nod to their community that these organizations were representing a new generation of immigrant and locally-born Chinese leaders who did not object to Canada's recognition of the PRC as the only China. For the UCCA specifically, who had the Chinese National League and multiple old clan associations in their membership, *Third Sister Liu* can be understood as their renunciation of international politicking and a show of neutrality, confirming the association's culturally-focused, locally-oriented mandate.

The tensions between old Chinatown establishments and the new generations of immigrants have played out on Chinese New Years celebration stages. Chiou-Ling Yeh examines a case in 1960s San Francisco, when the Chinese Culture Foundation (CCF), an organization founded by locally-born Chinese, challenged the Chinese Chamber of Commerce's monopolization of ethnic cultural production.[105] The annual Chinese New Year event in San Francisco was a parade and pageant historically hosted by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce,

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[102] J. Brian Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain: From China to the Canadian Plains* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd, 1991), 641.
[103] U, *Creating the Intellectual*, 148.
[104] Xu, "Contested Chineseness and Third Sister Liu," 74.
[105] Yeh, *Making an American Festival,* 138-141.

which the CCF criticized as lacking cultural significance. The CCF's own event in 1975, the Spring Festival, "emphasized traditional peasant celebrations, in line with the rhetoric of communist China," and focused on programming for families. Just like the UCCA's event would do with *Third Sister Liu*, the CCF presented films and photography exhibits of contemporary China to "fulfill a need for those who did not have a chance to visit their homeland." Yeh reads these events as a manifestation of the CCF's political affiliation, in opposition to the old establishment's (i.e. San Francisco's Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the CCBA) Nationalist loyalties. By incorporating the traditional associations under their umbrella and encouraging their participation in cultural productions, like Chinese New Years performances, the UCCA was aiming to mitigate any emerging generational divisions. Inviting the Chinese Freemasons to contribute every year, for example, encouraged the continued survival of these organizations and was a show of respect to their leaders, even if changing social and political circumstances rendered their historic duties obsolete. With their old responsibilities of mutual aid supplanted by social welfare and government bodies, the UCCA's leaders encouraged Chinatown's old associations to join them in Canada's multicultural nation-building project, turning the attention of Chinatown establishments to cultural preservation, promotion, and building their ethnic community.

The UCCA embraced Canada's multicultural project, utilizing provincial government funding for many of their cultural retention and education efforts. The number of government grant applications and final reports in the Joe Khu Fonds indicates one avenue through which the association accessed government resources in the 1980s. In using government dollars, they were also negotiating a Chinese-Albertan identity – one steeped in Chinese culture and values, but also immersed in Alberta's economy, society, and politics. The UCCA's 1987 "Alberta Through the Eyes of the Chinese Photo Contest" encouraged "the Chinese community to present their view and feelings of the province" as the project evaluation describes. The photo competition was advertised in Calgary and Edmonton, gaining over two hundred entries from over fifty photographers. Their photographs were displayed at the Jubilee Auditorium as part of the 1987 Chinese New Year event. The program was funded by the Alberta Ministry of Multiculturalism Multicultural Retention Program. Under the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act, the program meant to "encourage the preservation, enhancement and development of artistic, historical and language resources by Alberta's ethno-cultural community."[106] Programs like these emphasized support for the commodifiable fragments of culture, mobilizing these ethnic "gifts" in the multicultural nation-building project.[107] Eva Mackey's analysis of Canadian multiculturalism argues that the project of Canadian nation-building "has not been based on the erasure of difference but on controlling and managing it," to discourage political mobilization by minority groups.[108]

But ethnic groups also chose to apply for government funding and chose which cultural "gifts" to share. For the UCCA, participation in the national multicultural project meant opportunities to engage audiences outside of Chinatown, and through careful management of these opportunities the association and their peers promoted an image of Chinatown as safe, culturally vibrant, and welcoming. While earlier post-war forays into celebratory and commercializing cultural pluralism heavily favoured the immigrant-gifts discourse to "sidestep the harsh material realities of immigrant life," as Franca Iacovetta recognized in her analysis of the International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto's cultural events, official multiculturalism's

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[106] "Multicultural Retention Assistance Program," informational booklet, M-9510, Box 12, Folder 227, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[107] Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada, (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1998),* 79.
[108] Mackey, *The House of Difference,* 160, 165.

monetary funding in the late century gave ethnic groups more agency in what "gifts" they chose to share.[109] Spring Festival '80, hosted by the UCCA and its usual partners, included a theatrical performance about early Chinese workers on the Canadian Pacific Railway titled "Wong Hoi", put on by the University of Calgary Chinese Students Society. Based on the program's description of "Wong Hoi," the students did not shy away from reimagining the hardships faced by their immigrant forbearers for the audience.[110] The 1987 "Alberta Through the Eyes of the Chinese Photo Contest," however commodifiable, was not a display of Chinese "folk art" but an effort by the UCCA to highlight their member's experiences of migration and settlement in Alberta. The project showed the association's efforts to develop a Chinese- hybrid identity based on local place, a modern diasporic addition to the regional, place-based identities early migrants brought with them to Canada – the old generation were Four Counties Taishanese, Three Counties Taishanese, Cantonese, etc., the new generation could be Chinese-Albertan, identifying with their specific place of settlement instead of departure.[111] Later in 1987 the UCCA applied again for government funding. The proposal does not survive but the UCCA's subsequent project evaluation report details a public lantern show and competition. Between January and February of 1988, the UCCA used this funding to host public workshops on lantern-making. Some of these lanterns were displayed for that year's Chinese New Year celebrations and later in the year at the Calgary Zoo alongside its "Panda Magic" exhibit, an event I will discuss in Chapter 2.[112] This project fit more cleanly into the favoured "immigrant gifts" narratives but was also in line with

[109] Franca Iacovetta, *Before Official Multiculturalism: Women's Pluralism in Toronto, 1950s-1970s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), 255.
[110] "Spring Festival '80: Calgary Chinese Community Salutes Alberta 75," concert program, M-9510, Box 2, Folder 27, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[111] Henry Yu, "The Rise and Fall of the Cantonese Pacific," in *The Transcultural Streams of Chinese Canadian Identities,* ed. Jessica Tsui-yan Li (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 33-34.
[112] "Project Evaluation Report: Lantern Show and Competition," M-9510, Box 12, Folder 227, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

the association's mandate of cultural preservation and promotion. Before official multiculturalism, ethnic groups taking part in the Toronto International Institute's multicultural events also negotiated with their Canadian hosts in a "dialectical dance of accommodation and resistance," demanding support for their own efforts, political clout, and cultural authority in exchange for their participation.[113] The UCCA was controlling and managing their community's displays of difference as much as official multicultural policy was. As the following chapters affirm, the UCCA was not overtly political in either the local or transnational arena. Their participation in multicultural nation-building was ultimately community oriented and more akin to civic boosterism. The association employed government resources to meet their mandates of cultural preservation, promotion, and community building, participating in the nation-building project on their own terms and for the benefit of their local Chinese-Calgarian community.

Practicing Filial Piety

In their initiatives for Chinatown's elders, past and present, the UCCA fulfilled a key tenet of Chinese culture: filial piety. Filial piety was the virtue of reverence for one's ancestors and elders. This included deep respect and consideration for parents and in-laws, taking care of parents in old age, and regular worshipping of ancestors.[114] In diaspora, practices of filial piety had to be flexible, especially during the exclusionary period in North America when many Chinese settlers were physically distant from their parents and ancestral home. The social events for Chinatown's elders and the annual gravesite organized by the UCCA adapted the practice of filial piety more broadly to encompass the community as a whole, outside of blood relations.

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[113] Iacovetta, *Before Official Multiculturalism,* 251.

[114] Alan Chan and Sor-Hoon Tan, editors, Introduction to *Filial Piety in Chinese Thought and History* (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), 2-3; Wei Djiao, *Being Chinese: Voices from the Diaspora* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003), 203.

A notice was posted in a March 1988 publication of the *Canadian Chinese Times*, an invitation from the UCCA to their annual Qingming cemetery visit. The Chinese text reads: "With respect to tradition, the UCCA will host the festival on April 3rd, to pay tribute to the ancestors at the old and new cemeteries." This visit was proposed "Firstly, to remember the contributions of the ancestors, secondly to practice the filial piety of Chinese culture."[115] The spring-time festival of Qingming revolved around ancestor veneration. In China family members gathered at the graves of their deceased family members for "tomb sweeping," tidying the grave site, and to make offerings of food, wine, and symbolic goods.[116] In North America, Chinese people adapted Qingming customs to their circumstances. In some cases, the practice of tomb sweeping and ancestor veneration became more confined to the nuclear family, in others the event was taken on by traditional associations, worshipping in place of distant family members.[117] The UCCA's invitation insinuated their event as venerating all of Calgary Chinatown's forbearers. In this sense the UCCA's event was similar to "Decoration Day" in Manitoban Chinese communities, a day of veneration specifically for the earliest Chinese bachelors that shared no blood relations.[118] Marshall argues that Decoration Day, which is still observed in the present, "functions to connect the Chinese community to the earliest settlers and creates connections among first-, second-, third-, and fourth generation Chinese Canadians, permanent residents, students, new immigrants, and temporary foreign workers."[119] By publicly

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[115] "中華協會通告" "United Calgary Chinese Association notice", clipping from *The Chinese Times*, March 1988, M-9510, Box 13, Folder 232, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada. Translation is my own.
[116] David Chuenyan Lai, Li Chuang Paper, and Jordan Paper, "The Chinese in Canada: Their Unrecognized Religion," in *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada*, edited by Paul Bramadat and Davidtran Seljak (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 99.
[117] For more about ancestor veneration practices, read the oral histories of T.Y., "Eating Cats," 35-41; and Rochelle Wong de la Cruz, "Leong Wong-Kit the Paper Daughter," 62-69, in Djiao, *Being Chinese: Voices from the Diaspora*.
[118] Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor*, 47.
[119] Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor*, 57.

advertising their Qingming event and requesting "support and participation from Chinatown's Churches, association leaders, and people from all works of life," in their invitation, the UCCA also aimed to foster intergenerational relationships.[120] The invitation also evoked the virtue of filial piety, which would have been potent in this period of organizational fragmentation in urban Chinese communities. As Chinese organizations split along lines of political affiliation, ethnic identity, and socio-cultural orientation in this period, "filial piety" remained a ubiquitous value, part of the core identity marker of "a Chinese-style family ethics which also extends to the realm of inter-personal relationships."[121] The old and new cemeteries referred to were the Chinese Cemetery, north of Union Cemetery on MacLeod Trail, established in 1908, and the Chinese section of Queen's Park cemetery, next to Confederation Park on 4th Street NW.[122] As organizers of important ritual events like Qingming, the UCCA claimed to continue the responsibilities of early Chinatown's traditional associations, and therefore also claimed their entrenched legitimacy. The UCCA demonstrated a dedication to not just present-day Chinatown, with its outwards, multicultural orientation, but to Calgary's Chinese heritage.

The association's poignant displays of filial piety also included the social activities they organized for Chinatown seniors. Senior residents living in Chinatown's apartment towers looked forward to a lively summer in 1984 as the UCCA launched their *Community Program for*

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[120] "中華協會通告" "United Calgary Chinese Association notice", clipping from *The Chinese Times*, March 1988, M-9510, Box 13, Folder 232, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada. Translation is my own.

[121] Zhang, "Chinese American Culture in the Making," 461. Zhang is citing anthropologist Yih-yuan Li's "Little Tradition" of Chinese identity, in Yih-yuan Li, "Notions of Time, Space, and Harmoney in Chinese Popular Culture," in *Time and Space in Chinese Culture,* 383-398, eds. Junjie Huang and Erik Zurcher (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

[122] Chinatown Context Paper, The City of Calgary, 2019, https://www.calgary.ca/content/dam/www/pda/pd/documents/current-studies-and-ongoing-activities/tomorrows-chinatown/chinatown-context-paper.pdf, 45; The Chinese Cemetery, City of Calgary, https://www.calgary.ca/parks/cemeteries/chinese-cemetery.html; A search of the "Births, Deaths, and Memoriams" columns in the *Calgary Herald* publications evidences the "Chinese Section" at Queen's Park cemetery. UCCA president Douglas Tims, at his death in 1985, was also buried at Queen's Park, *Calgary Herald*, May 19, 1985, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fmay-19-1985-page-37-91%2Fdocview%2F2258838366%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

Senior Citizens. Through the provincial Summer Temporary Employment Program (STEP), the UCCA brought on four high school and post-secondary students to direct a series of services and events catering to Chinatown's seniors. Compiled by the STEP employees, the program's final report provides detailed snapshot of a summer in Calgary, describing the museum tours, social gatherings, and intergenerational knowledge-sharing when STEP employees translated, interpreted, and hosted English classes. Correspondence throughout the summer reveal a high degree of collaboration between the UCCA and other Chinese establishments to support the program. The report also lists the names and addresses of program participants.[123] In the post-war period Chinatowns were opened to outside influences, social service agencies and activist organizations with wider resources networks supplanted the welfare responsibilities of traditional associations.[124] In this context, the UCCA's utilization of government funding placed them on an even financial playing field as outsider social service agencies, while their member associations maintained their connection to traditional circles. The *Community Program for Senior Citizens* incorporated some aspects of traditional association responsibilities, including liaising with the non-Chinese organizations and hosting social activities. For example, a STEP employee facilitated conversations between a resident of Continental Plaza, a rental building in Chinatown, and their cable company, translating between English and Chinese for the resident. Another student translator escorted a senior citizen to her doctor's appointment, interpreting and communicating the senior's concerns. The employees organized trips to the Calgary Zoo, local museums, and public parks. Through their programming the UCCA also promoted multicultural

[123] Amy Chan, Eric Lim, Lynette Lo, and Janet Mathias, "Community Program for Senior Citizens (Program Report) 1984," report, 1894, M-9510, Box 10, Folder 178, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[124] Richard H. Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community* (New York: AMS Press, 1989), 200.

values to senior citizens. They created experiences for participants outside of Chinatown, facilitating intercultural understandings and connections. "China Night Party" hosted at Carter House Senior Citizens Home, and "Senior Citizens Day" at Riley Park encouraged intercultural interaction in a social environment facilitated by food and entertainment. "China Night Party" included a Chinese costume fashion show, dinner, and prizes. At Riley Park "different cultures such as the Chinese, the Scottish, and the Irish entertained the seniors via interesting dances and displays."[125] Through shared food and entertainment, these events generated "social heat," excited extraordinary situations that were opportunities to form new friendships and new understandings of participant's social worlds.[126] For many Chinatown seniors who had few reasons to leave the neighbourhood, these opportunities were valuable efforts towards promoting multicultural values and intercultural understanding.

The program also hosted English language classes throughout that summer. In the early twentieth century teaching English to Chinese migrants was a responsibility embraced by Christian churches as part of their missionizing agenda.[127] Some Asian American activist groups also offered English classes; for example in New York, the Basement Workshop Chinatown Community Planning Program taught English and other skills for adjusting to American life to new immigrants.[128] The UCCA followed these models, but their target audience of senior citizens reflected a specific concern for their well-being and independence, a reframing of the "care for the elderly" aspects of filial piety.

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[125] Amy Chan, Eric Lim, Lynette Lo, and Janet Mathias, "Community Program for Senior Citizens (Program Report) 1984," report, 1894, M-9510, Box 10, Folder 178, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[126] Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor*, 14.
[127] Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain*, 88. In early 20th century Calgary, the Chinese Mission (Later Chinese United Church) provided English classes every weekday evening and Bible study on Sundays.
[128] Daryl J. Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement*, 112.

The final report includes a writing sample from these classes, in practiced English Cho Wang Yu shared her experiences of living in Canadian cities. She wrote, “London, Ontario is the first city I lived in Canada … Only a few Chinese restaurants are in the city. We can only enjoy the Chinese ‘Tim Shum’ on the weekend.” Cho reminisced about her first years in Canada. Mrs. Cho’s first city of settlement was one of loneliness, but after moving to Toronto she found community in its Chinatown where “we can go there to enjoy ‘Tim Shum’ or Chinese food any time we like” and played “mar chuck” with her many friends. Mrs. Cho moved to Calgary with her son in 1983. Activities hosted by ethnic organizations, like these English classes, were often newcomers’ first interactions with their new cities. Mrs. Cho praised Calgary’s C-Train system in her writing: “I always go to China Town by C Train from S.W., it will take me only fifteen to twenty minutes. It is very convenient.”[129] Even when Chinese families moved to the suburbs, they still looked to Chinatown as their center of activity. Mrs. Cho lived in southwest Calgary but commuted often to Chinatown. The final participant lists showed senior citizens joining the program from all around Calgary, though a majority of the addresses were apartment buildings in Chinatown. The UCCA recognized the importance of English for Chinese seniors, these classes opened doors for independence – being able to travel and shop around the city, to read English news and advertisements – especially for seniors living outside of Chinatown.

The community program also gave opportunities for the UCCA to promote their patronage of Chinatown elders to the wider Chinese-Calgarian community, drawing on the association’s personal connections with local businesses to acquire supplies for its programming. For “China Night Party,” the UCCA encouraged Calgary’s Chinese proprietors to demonstrate

[129] Amy Chan, Eric Lim, Lynette Lo, and Janet Mathias, “Community Program for Senior Citizens (Program Report) 1984,” report, 1894, M-9510, Box 10, Folder 178, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

their own filial virtue and benevolence through donations of party foods. Gorden Yee, owner of the Fragrance Inn Restaurant in Chinatown, donated seven pounds of Barbequed Pork for the dinner. The grocer Food City, operated by Henry Chow, contributed thirty-one pounds of shrimp, ten pounds of flank steak, seven pounds of Boston Butt pork, and ten pounds of broccoli. Food also flowed in from Hang Fung Foods and Hungs Noodle House; Other groups donated gift certificates, facilities, and labour to the program. It is notable that the UCCA president, Douglas Tims, personally signed off on communications with donors. The cooperation of Chinese businesses reveals the UCCA's loose webs of social control, tying themselves, their member organizations, and these businesses together through good works devoted to the Chinese community.

Conclusion

The UCCA's cultural initiatives reflect the association's deep understanding of "Chineseness" in their modern diasporic context. Chinese New Year celebration programs from the 1980s show the UCCA as active participants in Calgary's Chinese community, working with Chinatown's traditional associations and new civic-cultural organizations to produce annual performances that re-affirmed collective memories and showcased ethnic pride. The association's socio-political orientation is revealed in these programs, too. The UCCA oriented themselves towards Canadian society and a hybrid Chinese-Canadian identity, only making the subtlest statements about Chinese politics and remaining committed to unity. The UCCA also legitimized its claims to represent Chinese-Calgarians through patronage of the most respected members of Chinese communities across the diaspora: the elderly. By evoking the virtue of filial piety, the association gained moral legitimacy and strengthened relationships with other Chinese organizations and businesses. These were not novel responsibilities; the UCCA was following in the footsteps of previous Chinatown institutions. But the association embraced the multicultural context of their time and was able to mobilize their leadership's Western educations and worldviews alongside their intimate knowledge of Chinatown's history, which shaped the perspectives of the Chinese Calgarians they claimed to represent. The association's mobilization of fundamental aspects of "Chineseness", namely celebrations and rituals, and fundamental aspects of Chinese-Calgarian heritage, like the importance of the historic organizations, constructed and reinforced a sense of collective identity and diasporic community in Calgary's ethnic Chinese people.[130]

Chapter 2: The UCCA's Advocacy and Community Building Outside of Chinatown

[130] Khun Eng and Davidson, Introduction to *At Home in the Chinese Diaspora*, 3.

The post-war decades saw major achievements for Chinese communities combating their marginalized positions in North American society. In Canada, Chinese veterans led the charge for enfranchisement, citing their military service as fulfilled responsibilities of citizenship that should lead to citizenship rights.[131] Chinatown's old guard, the CCBA and clan associations, promoted positive images of Chinese people through cultural performance and commercializing ventures in Chinatown, while still performing their traditional duties of brokerage and social support. This opening up of Chinese communities, along with increasing economic and social opportunity outside of Chinatown, necessitated the formation of new organizations to serve new needs. These new organizations, like the UCCA, continued to base their activity in Chinatowns because the neighbourhood was still the first stop for new immigrants and the "symbolic locus of ethnic identity and community," as Vancouver's Chinatown is described in Wing Chung Ng's book *The Chinese in Vancouver*.[132] Their goals differed from the traditional organizations. Many of these new organizations had civic-cultural and service-based mandates, mandates shaped by their visions for Chinatown and visions for homeland politics. In some Chinatowns, new organizations, their leaders, and spokesmen supplanted the influence of traditional organizations, while others experienced moments of cooperation and solidarity. Both groups of ethnic elites aimed to preserve and grow their bases of influence. By the 1980s, the UCCA had a strong base in Chinatown and had maintained their member organizations for over a decade. This chapter examines the ways in which the association worked to grow their influence and foster friendships outside of Chinatown by reaching out and responding to Calgary's non-Chinese state and cultural authorities. The chapter explores the considerations behind who the UCCA chose to affiliate with

[131] Wing Chung Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80: The Pursuit of Identity and Power* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 44.
[132] Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver*, 109.

and how they managed these affiliations. These examples show that the association's first actions were always private, preferring to advocate for their community via personal correspondence from the UCCA leadership to their target audience before undertaking public initiatives. They also show that the association leaders, though themselves not long-term residents of Chinatown, understood the historical relationships and challenges facing Chinese people in North America and were able to apply those understandings to their efforts.

Changing Chinatown's Reputation: the UCCA's Pro-Police Stance

Claiming representation and voice, as the UCCA did for Calgary's Chinese community, came with responsibilities for how their members were perceived by those outside of the ethnic community. By the late twentieth century Chinatowns ceased to be neighbourhoods of concentrated Chinese residence but still remained the most physical embodiment of Chinese people and their ethnic identity, values, and behaviours. The UCCA's directors may have all lived in the suburbs, but their mission of representation was rooted in Calgary's Chinatown. In 1981, Douglas Tims shared the UCCA's vision for Chinatown with the *Calgary Herald*: "a little pocket identifiable to all Calgarians as Chinatown, and to the Chinese it would be a cultural and educational oasis in the concrete jungle."[133] The UCCA wanted Chinatown to be safe, an "oasis" welcoming to all. For that they had to contend with stereotypes of Chinatowns as places of crime and vice, stereotypes established decades before the UCCA came into being. Perceptions of North American Chinatowns were formed simultaneously with the ethnic enclave's physical space as it developed in the early 20th century. Writing about Vancouver's Chinatown, Kay J. Anderson posits that, "'Chinatown' belongs as much to the society with the power to define and

[133] Cristine Bye, "Chinatown Old and New," *Calgary Herald*, May 2, 1981. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fmay-2-1981-page-158-254%2Fdocview%2F2258809599%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

shape it as it does to its residents."[134] White supremacist discourse that justified the settler-colonial project in Canada positioned white people as the most "desirable resettlers" and Chinese migrants as "interlopers." This belonging vs. unbelonging binary explained why Chinese people were relegated to certain areas in the first place.[135] According to Timothy Stanley, the ghettoization of Chinese people into concentrated areas was integral to their racialization.[136] Chinese settlements grew into Chinatowns as their surrounding white settlements grew into cities but grew socially and culturally distant from mainstream society. Chinatowns across North America gained reputations for being physically dirty and morally corrupt. Social reformers and newspapers focused on gambling, drugs, and prostitution, associating Chinese people with these vices to legitimize Anti-Asian sentiments and exclusionary immigration policy. As Anderson argues, these characterizations were entirely self-referential and "signified many of the impulses that Europeans feared and attempted to repress in themselves," scapegoating Chinese settlers, a very visible minority due to their distinct residential and labour patterns, was a means to distance the white population from these issues.[137] Portrayal of Chinatowns as neighbourhoods of deviance and squalor continued in the public imagination and rationalized the containment of Chinese people well into the post-war period. Social and political marginalization in the United States and Canada continued after exclusionary immigration policies were removed.[138]

Chinese North Americans pursuing equal citizenship rights and integration into mainstream society in the post-war period had to contend with these negative stereotypes of their

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[134] Kay J. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 10.
[135] Timothy J. Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 51.
[136] Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy*, 120.
[137] Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 93.
[138] Ellen D. Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 187.

Chinatowns. Calgary's Chinatown was considered historically significant by the 1980s and was still the clearest reference to "Chineseness" for non-Chinese Calgarians. Because Chinatown's reputation was so closely linked to vice, any efforts to improve the image of Chinatown in the post-war period must have included fostering positive relations with local authorities, especially law enforcement and the local press. For the UCCA and their peer organizations, improving their reputation involved two paths of action. First, the association sought to build trust and encourage open communication between Chinese Calgarians and the Calgary Police Service (CPS) through public town halls. While relationship building happened in the community, the UCCA vigilantly monitored media representations of Chinatown and denounced unfavorable reporting. The UCCA also took to the media to praise the police service's efforts at crime prevention and community outreach.

Despite the Canadian state's efforts to promote multiculturalism, the racial tropes of earlier settler-colonial rhetoric remained conspicuous in the popular imagination. At times, mainstream press sensationalized their reporting on contemporary Chinatown using historic associations with vice, perpetuating anti-Chinese anecdotes that frustrated the Chinese community. A 1980 article in *Alberta Report*, titled "Cowtown's Chinatown," meant to highlight the opening of Chinatown's first police office, also claimed that prostitutions, drugs, and gambling were running rampant in the neighbourhood's organized crime rings. Instead of interviewing the appointed Chinatown Constable, Randy Perett, or CPS Police Chief Brian Sawyer, the reporter talked to an anonymous former detective who described Chinatown as "a mystery to police and the Chinese want to keep it that way."[139] This "Mysterious Chinatown" trope drew directly from early twentieth century racializations of Chinese people as

[139] "Cowtown's Chinatown: A police PR man won't crack the enigma or the organized crime," *Alberta Report*, July 25, 1980, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 187, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

fundamentally alien to white society and culture, and Chinatowns as alien spaces.[140] There is no record of a UCCA reaction to this article, but it was included in the file alongside a copy of a letter from the Calgary chapter of the Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality (CCNCE), who wrote to the editor of *Alberta Review*. The Calgary CCNCE president accused the reporter to have "equated the Chinese Community with organized crime, prostitution, and drug trafficking" and "implied that the Chinese Community is purposely keeping some evil dark secrets from the rest of the Canadians."[141] Two points in this letter stand out as similar to how community leaders in other North American urban centers contended with the negative reputations of Chinatowns, which informed the UCCA's strategy during the 1980s. First, Chinatown leaders argued that organized crime was "a task that [was] properly the responsibility of the government and a task that no local or ethnic group [was]expected to undertake alone." [142] When a national panic arose over the perceived rise of juvenile delinquency in post-war America, San Francisco's Chinese community leaders attributed the problem to a range of broader issues from the breakdown of the home to the post-war recession.[143] Their first campaign against juvenile delinquency involved petitioning the state for resources to construct recreational facilities and extracurricular activities for Chinatown's youth. San Francisco's Chinese leaders connected issues of juvenile delinquency to issues of citizenship, and as Ellen D. Wu describes in *The Color of Success*, Chinese community leaders "stressed their right to state resources to stamp out youth crime as equal and deserving members of the polity."[144] As discussed in the previous

[140] Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 101; Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy*, 84.
[141] Correspondence, James N. G. Yu, President, CNCCE Calgary Chapter, to The Editor, *Alberta Report*, July 25, 1980, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 187, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[142] Wu, *The Color of Success*, 184.
[143] Canadians had similar understandings of the juvenile delinquency panic and also saw recreation and structured activity for youth as a solution, see Tamara Gene Myers, *Youth Squad: Policing Children in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2019).
[144] Wu, *The Color of Success,* 182.

chapter, the UCCA used state resources in the form of provincial multiculturalism funding to host public events that promoted positive images of Chinese culture and Chinatown. UCCA leaders also looked to relationship-building with the Calgary Police Service to improve Chinatown's reputation.

Calgary Chinatown's historic relationship with law enforcement was one fraught with conflict. In 1892, city authorities called on the NWMP to enforce the quarantine of a Chinese laundry because one of the workers accidently brought smallpox into the city after a trip to Vancouver.[145] In the subsequent riots, where white Calgarians ransacked Chinese residences and stole from businesses, both city police and the NWMP failed to disperse the rioters until white residents of the neighbourhood expressed concern. As violence continued for weeks after the initial riot, municipal authorities did nothing to protect the Chinese residents or to stop the perpetrators.[146] Conflations of Chinatown with crime invited constant scrutiny from law enforcement. In the 1910s, raids were especially intense under Police Chiefs Alfred Cuddy and David Ritchie, whose strategies favoured physical break-ins and property destruction against these establishments' own surveillance systems and barriers. After a raid on the Chinese Masonic Temple, five Masonic leaders sued Cuddy and the City of Calgary for one thousand dollars, citing damages and unlawful entry.[147] In this early period of settlement, Chinatown businessmen and leaders sought open, public negotiations with authorities, leveraging white lawyers and favorable words from white allies for their best chance at fair play.

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[145] Kristin Burnett, "Race, Disease, and Public Violence: Smallpox and the (Un)Making of Calgary's Chinatown, 1892," *Social History of Medicine* 25, no. 2 (2012): 366, https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkr111.
[146] Burnett, "Race, Disease, and Public Violence," 370.
[147] J. Brian Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain: From China to the Canadian Plains* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd, 1991), 131.

Calgary's Chinatown, like others in North America, received regular police surveillance but were only granted official police stations serving the community later in the century. Calgary did not have an established police office in Chinatown until 1980. In San Franciso, the SFPD Chinatown detail operated as plainclothes officers independent from regular police into the 1960s.[148] SFPD used the same narratives of Chinese difference and innate criminality to justify their Chinatown detail. They believed that Chinatown residents would associate blue uniforms with the "tyrannical officials of the courts of China" and uniformed police would only encourage gambling establishments to be more vigilant in hiding their operations.[149] A concern for San Francisco's Chinese community leaders, as the UCCA would also identify as an issue in Calgary, was the disconnect between police and Chinese residents. In the 1940s and 1950s, San Francisco Chinatown's entrepreneurs supported police professionalization, petitioning for an official precinct and open dialogue with the community to replace the Chinatown detail cared solely to suppress gambling.[150] After Calgary Chinatown's police precinct opened with celebration, the UCCA maintained the positive note by encouraging open dialogue between the CPS and Chinese-Calgarians.[151] In late 1983 the association hosted a town hall, inviting representatives of associations, churches, as well as the general public, to discuss their concerns with CPS representatives (Figure 3). The announcement, published in Chinese in *The Canadian Chinese*

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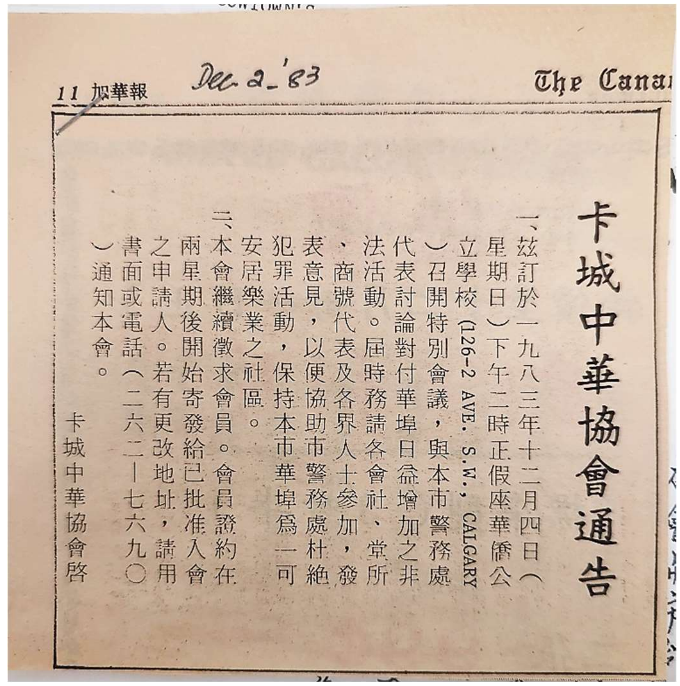
[148] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco: Policing and the Creation of a Cosmopolitan Liberal Politics, 1950 – 1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 23.
[149] Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 23-24.
[150] Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 24.
[151] Chinatown welcomed the new police office with a lion dance, *Alberta Report, Lion Dance Celebrating opening new police Chinatown office July '80*, July 14, 1980, photograph, Libraries and Cultural Resources Digital Collections, University of Calgary.

Times, advocated for community members to "assist the city police in eradicating crime and maintaining Chinatown as a community where people can live and work in peace."[152] Earlier that year, the *Canadian Chinese Times* published a joint letter of praise for the CPS that was signed by the UCCA, their peer organizations, and the newspaper editor. This letter commended CPS efforts in Chinatown, specifically the service's Race Relations Unit, and for "providing perfectly suited personnel who can relate and communicate with the community." This "perfectly suited personnel" was Randy Perett, who "was fully accepted and became part of the community" and was considered an adopted "guardian and son" to Chinatown's senior citizens.[153] Perett had previously been a Mormon missionary in Hong Kong and spoke Cantonese. His familiarity with the Chinese culture and language enabled him to build relationships with Chinatown's residents. But his success must also be attributed to the support of community leaders, like the UCCA, and their outspoken praise for Chinatown policing in the ethnic and mainstream press. Throughout the 1980s, the relationship between CPS and Chinese-Calgarians remained positive. In 1985, the


11 加華報 Dec. 2 '83 The Cana

卡城中華協會通告

一、茲訂於一九八三年十二月四日（星期日）下午二時正假座華僑公立學校(126-2 AVE. S.W., CALGARY）召開特別會議，與本市警務處代表討論對付華埠日益增加之非法活動。屆時務請各會社、堂所、商號代表及各界人士參加，發表意見，以便協助市警務處杜絕犯罪活動，保持本市華埠爲一可安居樂業之社區。

二、本會繼續徵求會員。會員證約在兩星期後開始寄發給已批准入會之申請人。若有更改地址，請用書面或電話（二六二—七六九〇）通知本會。

卡城中華協會啓

Figure 3. UCCA Notice in The Canadian Chinese Times, re: Police Town Hall, newspaper clipping, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 187, Joe Khu Fonds.

[152] "中華協會通告" "United Calgary Chinese Association Notice," clipping from *The Canadian Chinese Times*, December 2, 1983. M-9510, Box 11, Folder 187, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada. Original text in Chinese, translations are my own.

[153] Correspondence, to Brian Sawyer, Chief of Police, City of Calgary, published in *The Canadian Chinese Times*, clipping, July 17, 1983, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

UCCA hosted a town hall with representatives from the CPS's Race Relations Unit to gauge community attitudes towards the police service. Joe Khu even took it upon himself to give advice on behalf of the association, writing directly to the police chief in 1989. Khu's first insight was that rising crime rates in Chinatown were because of recent immigrants, specifically those from Hong Kong who were "familiar with the criminal ways in Hong Kong," and recommended that CPS target those crime lords. Khu's choice to distance himself and his UCCA peers from recent immigrants reveals another emerging generational divide. Late century immigrants from Hong Kong were identified by the established Chinese communities as either ends of a spectrum. They were either "business first, Chinese second" new money elites who shared no solidarity with the ethnic Chinese community, or working class "cheap labour" with gang affiliations and tendencies considered unacceptable by a community that had fought so hard against accusations of vice in its neighbourhoods.[154] Khu's concern for these Hong Kong gangsters disrupting the careful image of Chinatown his association, and the Chinatown establishment as a whole, was constructing was not misplaced. Hong Kong criminal organizations had worked with the old tongs in New York's Chinatown for decades and started recruiting Chinatown youth in the 1960s to form youth gangs. Gang members served as bodyguards for gambling establishments, ran drugs, and harassed businesses.[155] Toronto's Chinatown elite identified similar problems with the Hong Kong immigrants, attributing increased criminal activity and tensions in the Chinese

[154] Richard H. Thompson, Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community (New York: AMS Press, 1989), 272-274. While Joe Khu's concern was for the working class Hong Kong migrants, the arrival of new money also caused increased tensions in North American ethnic Chinese communities. In late 1980s Vancouver the "Monster Homes" of Hong Kong migrants, real estate investments encouraged by the Canadian government, came under controversy for their impact on the heritage and aesthetics of the neighbourhoods – unlike the Strathcona issue in the 1960s, the Chinatown establishment distanced itself from the investors' cause. For an analysis of this controversy and a discussion of the limits of ethnic solidarity, see Laura Madokoro, "Chinatown and Monster Homes: The Splintered Chinese Diaspora in Vancouver," *Urban History Review* 39, no. 2 (2011): 17–24, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A256457885/WHIC?u=ucalgary&sid=summon&xid=41bcb915.

[155] Jan Lin, *Reconstructing Chinatown: Ethnic Enclave, Global Change* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press,1998), 51-52.

community to these newcomers.[156] While Calgary was a much smaller city than New York or Toronto, Khu's anxieties towards this wave of immigrants were shared by Chinese community leaders across North America. In this instance Joe Khu identified the UCCA and its members with the cultural and historic legitimacy of "old" Chinatown in his correspondence, outlining the differences between a crime-free Chinatown and the criminal new immigrants for the city police.

Despite distancing themselves from the Hong Kong newcomers, Khu's next piece of advice shows a recognition of similarities in values and behavioral norms based on their shared ethnic and cultural Chinese background. Khu informed the police chief that "crime lords and parents of juvenile delinquents are very sensitive to community censure," and advised the CPS to work with the Chinese language press to publish lists of people charged with crimes. Meditating disputes in early century Chinese communities was a primary responsibility of clan associations and the overarching association, for example the CCBA.[157] These clan associations bound people together by surname, which created a sense of extended kinship and mutual responsibility. Khu was advising the CPS to name criminals to be publicly shamed by the Chinese community, seeing crime prevention as a collective effort.[158] He also advised that these names should only be printed in the Chinese language press and not the mainstream English newspapers. Keeping all discussion of crime within the community, including behind closed doors at town halls only announced in the Chinese press, was central to the UCCA's strategy for improving the image of Chinatown.

Denying the presence of criminality in the Chinese community was a method also used by other North American community leaders in the second half of the twentieth century. This

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[156] Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown*, 274-275.
[157] Xiaojian Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940 – 1965* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 96.
[158] Wu, *The Color of Success*, 194.

denial was reasoned through Chinese cultural values, in particular Confucian family ethics, appeals to Western domesticity, and good citizenship. Returning to CCNCE Calgary's response to "Cowtown Chinatown," their second point was that Chinese Canadians were exceptionally good citizens, and no less law-abiding than any other citizen group.[159] In the mainstream press the UCCA maintained this stance of "clean Chinatown." When the media broadcasted Police Chief Brian Sawyer's comments about organized crime in Calgary's Italian and Chinese communities, made at a professional conference of police chiefs in September of 1983, UCCA president Douglas Tims rushed to Sawyer's defense. Speaking to the *Calgary Herald*, Tims asserted that the media had unfairly sensationally distorted Sawyer's comments. Tims wrote, "There is no evidence of organized crime in Chinatown. We don't accept that kind of people living in our community."[160] What "kind of people" lived in Chinatowns then? In post-war San Francisco, Chinese American spokesmen heavily promoted representations of Chinatown as "an idyllic community comprised of harmonious households."[161] Proponents of the nondeliquency discourse, according to Ellen D. Wu, reasoned that Chinese values of respect and "unquestioned obedience" towards elders, and the busy schedules of Chinese kids who jumped from public school to Chinese classes to extracurriculars, naturally discouraged criminal activity.[162] As I will discuss in the next chapter, the UCCA also strove to remake its Chinatown into a family-oriented, community-first neighborhood. UCCA narratives of Chinatown emphasized preserving its sanctity for senior residents and promoting Chinese culture and values through education and celebration. Promoting positive relations with the CPS added another layer of legitimacy and

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[159] Correspondence, James N. G. Yu, President, CNCCE Calgary Chapter, to The Editor, *Alberta Report*, July 25, 1980, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 187, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[160] Judy Walters, "Chinese Leader faults news media," *Calgary Herald*, September 1, 1983. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fseptember-1-1983-page-26-86%2Fdocview%2F2258707098%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.
[161] Wu, *The Color of Success*, 186.
[162] Wu, *The Color of Success,* 190, 194.

authority to the UCCA's goals for Chinatown, while residents benefitted from a police force with whom they could communicate. To rehabilitate Chinatown's reputation was to win the hearts and minds of those who scrutinized it most. The UCCA's courting of the police service through personal correspondence and internal community discussion was complemented by their willingness to call out sensationalist media depictions of Chinatown. Despite Chinatown's fraught history with law enforcement, the UCCA saw the CPS as non-Chinese peers worthy of building relationships with. Their efforts reflected the association's overall outward-facing perspective towards Chinese-Calgarian relations with their city.

Speaking Out: Community Advocacy and Democratic Citizenship

The UCCA's claims to representing a unified Chinese community dignified their requests and recommendations when corresponding with non-Chinese organizations. Petitioning elected representatives to work for their electorate's best interests was a key responsibility of democratic citizenship and UCCA presidents exercised this responsibility often. They wrote to various levels of government on topics that included self-promotion, invitations to association celebrations, grievances against other Chinese community leaders, and protests against policy changes that negatively affected their community.

Writing under UCCA letterhead to Premier Don Getty in 1987, Joe Khu expressed his concerns about education budget cuts and their impact on the Community School program. A Calgary Board of Education brochure described Community Schools as designated neighbourhood schools that offered programs to "meet educational, recreational, cultural and social needs of all community members."[163] Funded by the municipal and provincial levels of government, this program included after-school activities open to the public, parent and

[163] "Community Schools," brochure Calgary Board of Education, 1984, M-9510, Box 12, Folder 224, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

community engagement, and social services. By the late 1980s, Calgary had ten Community Schools, half of them located in inner city neighbourhoods.[164] Khu' letter specifically addressed the Langevin Community School, established in 1967 in the community of Bridgeland-Riverside as one of the first Community School programs.[165] Bridgeland-Riverside's proximity to the railway and downtown made it attractive to working-class European immigrants in the early twentieth century.[166] By the mid-century the neighbourhood was considered a "Little Italy" for its concentration of Italian settlers.[167]

The UCCA's letter petitioning against budget cuts to Community Schools broadly, and to Langevin's program specifically, was short but powerful. Joe Khu invoked the community's immigrant history and mobilized Canadian multicultural and humanitarian ethos to make his case. Focusing on Langevin school, whose location meant it served Chinatown, Little Italy, and the burgeoning newcomer and ethnic neighbourhoods of Calgary's Northeast, showed the UCCA's awareness of the limits of their association's influence. It also reflected their efforts to cast a wider net to claim participation of and advocacy for not just Chinatown's established community, but also new immigrants from China and Southeast Asia. The association spoke for the "Chinese parents and their children" who used community school resources, especially those who were "mostly refugees who came from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia."[168] Between 1979 and 1982, Canada welcomed an influx of migrants from Southeast Asia. Amongst the ethnic Vietnamese, Laotian, and Khmer were many ethnic Chinese who had been part of the Southeast

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[164] Ibid.
[165] Jean-Marc Lemire, *Langevin Community-School Project of Calgary: An Evaluation*, Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Government of the Province of Alberta, 1972, 2.
[166] Antonella Fanella, *With Heart and Soul: Calgary's Italian Community* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1999), 37.
[167] Fanella, *With Heart and Soul*, 53.
[168] Correspondence, Joe Khu, President of the UCCA, to Don Getty, Premier of Alberta, January 20, 1987, M-9510, Box 12, Folder 223, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

Asian Chinese diaspora for centuries. They were categorized as refugees by the Canadian government and media, either fleeing persecution, protesting the Communist regime, or otherwise leaving homes devastated by war for opportunities at a better life. Migration continued into the 1980s, guided by Canadian family reunification policies.[169] As an ethnic Chinese born in the Philippines, Khu was personally connected to this Southeast Asian diaspora. But appealing to the plight of families and refugees was also strategic. Khu called on the province's multicultural and humanitarian ethos, in line with national multicultural policy, to maintain Langevin school's ability to host programs that assisted in cultural retention and promoted intercultural understanding. Cultural preservation was especially important for Vietnamese newcomers, many of whom considered their traditional cultures endangered by the Communist regime.[170]

Khu explained that community school activities were "one effective way to integrate these newcomers into the mainstream of Canadian life," and therefore indispensable resources to local neighbourhood unity, and the greater multicultural agenda. Khu's final plea, understanding that lobbying against budget cuts wholesale was beyond the UCCA's influence, was that Langevin's budget be spared and its ability to serve Calgary's ethnic communities preserved.[171] His emphasis on integration reflected the UCCA's local orientation, and the experiences of the association's elite, all of whom achieved success through integration into Canadian society before becoming ethnic leaders.

Langevin's programming brochures from the 1980s provided a full list of Community School offerings. There was a resident social service worker from the City of Calgary, adult

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[169] Louis-Jacques Dorais, "From Refugees to Transmigrants: The Vietnamese in Canada," in *Displacements and Diasporas: Asians in the America*s, edited by Wanni W. Anderson and Robert G. Lee (Rutgers University Press, 2005), 170-171. Laura Madokoro, *Elusive Refuge: Chinese Migrants in the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 179.
[170] Dorais, "From Refugees to Transmigrants: The Vietnamese in Canada,", 180.
[171] Correspondence, Joe Khu, President of the UCCA, to Don Getty, Premier of Alberta, January 20, 1987. M-9510, Box 12, Folder 223, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

drop-in sports, children's creative programming, and English as a Second Language courses from the YWCA that included a "Reading and Writing for Immigrants" supplemental.[172] The school's facilities also hosted a Ukrainian school, Korean school, a Filipino dance group, and basketball court times for Caribbean, Korean, and Filipino groups. Chinese translations of some portions of Langevin's January 1987 newsletter suggests that a significant ethnic Chinese population attended the school. There were enough students to host a public "Chinese Variety Show" in the middle of the school day for Chinese New Years.[173] The UCCA also contributed programming to the Community School; in the spring of 1987 Teresa Woo Paw, a UCCA director and a future Progressive Conservative MLA for Calgary-Mackay, organized weekly Tai Chi classes.[174]

As the Community School program was volunteer-run with many of its cultural activities facilitated by ethnic organizations, Langevin School was not only a site of intercultural interaction and cultural preservation, but also a place where newcomers were instilled with democratic principles of volunteerism and community participation.[175] The UCCA's support for community schools demonstrated the association's ability to apply broad national discourses of multiculturalism and democratic participation to local issues. Including newcomers and Southeast Asian refugees, many of whom were also "Overseas Chinese" (华侨), under their representational umbrella reflected an awareness of possible tensions between the different generations and waves of Chinese migrants and aimed mitigate these divisions.

[172] "Community School Winter 87 Programs, 1987," brochure, 1987; "Langevin Community School Newsletter #5, "January 8, 1987, M-9510, Box 12, Folder 223, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[173] "Langevin Community School Newsletter #5, January 8," 1987, M-9510, Box 12, Folder 223, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[174] "UCCA Board Minutes," April 6, 1987, M-9510, Box 9, Folder 158, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[175] Shibao Guo and Yan Guo, "Multiculturalism, Ethnicity and Minority Rights: The Complexity and Paradox of Ethnic Organizations in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 43, no. 1 (2011): 72, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A317779821/LitRC?u=ucalgary&sid=summon&xid=840a1d71.

"Panda Magic" 1988" Behind the Scenes

In early February of 1988, Xi Xi and Qun Qun were ferried off their Canadian Airlines flight to the Calgary Zoo. The two pandas faced swarms of local media, high profile guests, and more than 1.3 million visitors during their time in the city – a "Pandamania" of excitement that coincided Calgary's hosting of the Winter Olympics that same year.[176] Arranged between the Calgary Zoological Society (CZS) and the Chongqing Zoo of the PRC, this panda loan was significant for all of its stakeholders. "Panda Diplomacy" had been a hallmark of PRC foreign relations since the nation's inception, but in the late 1980s its methods shifted towards short-term, market based loans that reflected the nation's economic "open-door policy" under Deng Xiaoping.[177] Pandas for Calgary was one of the first loans in that market model and was symbolic of China's re-entry into the global economy in that period. For Calgary, Xi Xi and Qun Qun's arrival went hand-in-hand with the 1988 Winter Olympics to mark the city's own emergence on the international stage and gave the CZS world-class zoo status.[178] Similarly, the UCCA's involvement in this project marked their first foray into transnational initiatives, and was an opportunity to foster relationships with Calgary's elite cultural institutions that would further legitimize their claims to represent Chinese-Calgarians. The UCCA was a silent partner of the CZS; their name does not appear in media reports on the panda loan in either the English

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[176] "Small steps took zoo from two deer to world-renowned refuge," *Calgary Herald*, June 4, 1989, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fjune-4-1989-page-81-102%2Fdocview%2F2266322474%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838; Canadian Airlines International advertisement, in the *Calgary Herald*, February 5, 1989, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Ffebruary-5-1988-page-22-144%2Fdocview%2F2266151836%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838. "Calgary Zoo palatial for giant pandas," *Calgary Herald*, February 5, 1989, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Ffebruary-5-1988-page-49-144%2Fdocview%2F2266151993%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

[177] Kathleen Carmel Buckingham, Jonathan Neil William David, and Paul Jepson, "Diplomats and Refugees: Panda Diplomacy, Soft "Cuddly" Power, and the New Trajectory in Panda Conservation," *Environmental Practice* 15, no. 3 (2013): 263, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1466046613000185.

[178] Correspondence, Peter Karsten, Executive Director, Calgary Zoological Society, to Joe Khu, President, UCCA, March 18, 1987, M-9510, Box 12, Folder 218, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

or Chinese language press. Not wanting to be publicly associated with the project must be considered purposeful because the association had always been wary of declaring political allegiance to either the ROC or the PRC. The UCCA's local orientation appealed to multiple generations of Chinese Calgarians across political divisions, while the panda loan overtly proclaimed friendly relations with the PRC.

Coined during the Cold War, "Panda Diplomacy" was a powerful tool of the PRC's public diplomacy. Pandas were a universally appealing symbol of China as a nation and culture that worked to familiarize people with the country and to increase their appreciation of that country.[179] For the PRC, parading pandas around the West aimed to foster an image of China as a "trustworthy and responsible member of the international political community" along with promoting positive views of Chinese culture and PRC policies.[180] The United States received their first pandas in 1941, gifted by the KMT government as a thank you for aiding in the war against Japan. Panda diplomacy became a regular strategy of the PRC during the Cold War, in this period its inherent political nature was the most obvious. When the United States normalized relations with the PRC in 1972, President Nixon was presented with two pandas.[181] Canada resumed diplomatic relations with the PRC in 1971, but did not receive pandas until the 1980s. A period of adjustment followed the resumption of diplomatic relations between the PRC and Canada in 1971. The PRC was suspicious of the Trudeau government's "takes note" policy regarding PRC claims over Taiwan, and Canada's refusal to completely cut off Taiwan caused mutual frustration leading up to the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympic games.[182] By the mid-

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[179] Falk Hartig, "Panda Diplomacy: The Cutest Part of China's Public Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 8, no. 1 (2013): 51, https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.intyb/hagjd0008&i=53.
[180] Hartig, "Panda Diplomacy," 52.
[181] Hartig, "Panda Diplomacy," 60.
[182] B. Michael Frolic, *Canada and China: A Fifty-Year Journey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), 51. For more on the 1976 Montreal Games, see Chapter 3 "The One-China Policy," 58-92.

1980s, Canada-China relations had smoothed out and the PRC's panda diplomacy priorities shifted to the "capitalist lease model" that sought out prestigious zoos connected to markets for Chinese products.[183] Calgary would have been only the second Canadian city to host pandas, after Toronto in 1985. The CZS's request for pandas had to make a case for relationship building with PRC zoological authorities and prove they had an energized audience that would make the loan economically fruitful. To fulfill these two requirements, the CZS solicited endorsement from all three levels of Canadian government and Calgary's most prominent cultural and economic organizations. Chosen as the Chinese community liaison and representative, the UCCA was first introduced to the CZS through Dr. K.W. Chang. Chang was the founding president of the Calgary Chinese Cultural Association and had served on the UCCA board of directors alongside Douglas Tims and Joe Khu from 1984 to 1985.[184] Like them, Chang was a foreign born and educated ethnic Chinese who immigrated to Canada following immigration reforms in the 1960s.[185] He was a math professor at the University of Calgary and had the upper middle-class profile and elite connections that positioned him to be a cultural "broker" for both sides.

[183] Buckingham, David, and Jepson, "Diplomats and Refugees," 263.
[184] "United Calgary Chinese Association 1984 -1985 Board of Directors," M-9510, Box 9, Folder 149, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada. As noted in the previous chapter, the CCCS collaborated with the UCCA for Chinese New Year celebrations throughout the 1980s. In the next chapter, we will see Dr. K.W. Chang throw his support behind the UCCA's visions for Chinatown.
[185] Kok Wah Chang, Obituary, McInnis & Holloway Funeral Homes, https://www.mhfh.com/obituaries/Kok-Wah-Chang?obId=34715258.

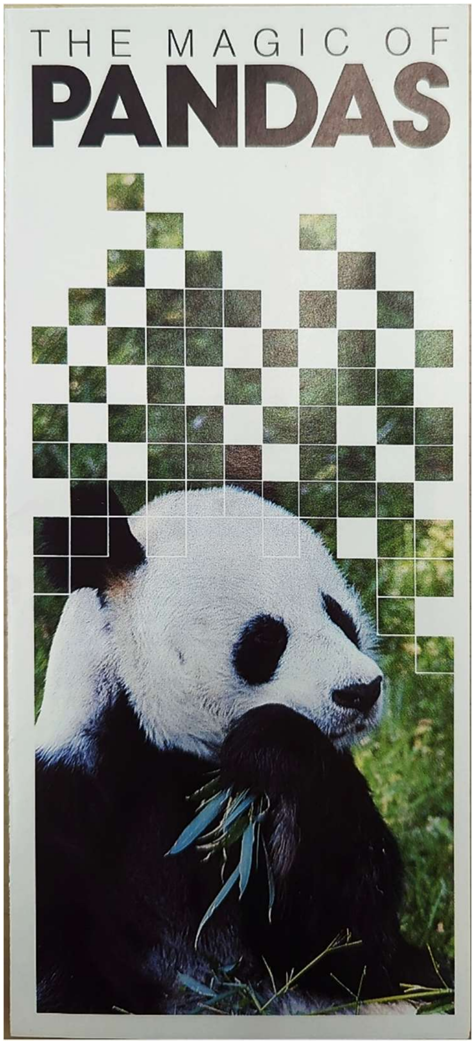

Figure 4. Front cover of "The Magic of Pandas" brochure by the Calgary Zoological Society, M-9510 Box 12, Folder 218, Joe Khu Fonds.

The UCCA's letter of endorsement for the project met both of the CZS's goals. Writing to the Chinese Ambassador in Ottawa, Joe Khu invoked the diasporic ties between overseas Chinese and the homeland while strongly championing Calgary. In his letter, Khu referred to the community as "Calgarians of Chinese descent", referencing bonds of ethnicity and culture that preceded political affiliation and included multiple generations of Chinese Canadians. He endorsed the Calgary Zoo as a "world class zoo" and welcomed the ambassador to visit. As the "Panda Magic" project moved ahead, the UCCA was named an official project supporter alongside organizations like the Calgary Stampede and Exhibition and Calgary Chamber of Commerce (Figure 4). Panda Magic was the association's entry into mainstream elite circles of cultural patronage and leadership. Acquiring a social base outside of Chinatown was important for late twentieth century Chinese organizations to access state multiculturalism funding and to create new opportunities for fundraising and collaboration. Vancouver's Chinese Culture Centre received an outpouring of support after organizing a festival for Habitat – the United Nations Forum on World Housing, in 1976. This included a favorable lease of Chinatown land for their cultural center, recognition from the Canada Council, and city sponsorship of "China Month" programming.[186] Broader networks

[186] Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver,* 115.

were especially important for ethnic organizations because by the late 1980s ethno-specific organizations that served just one group were falling out of vogue with state funding initiatives. Ethnic organizations were sometimes criticized for promoting separatism, receiving "special resources" from the state which undermined principals of equality.[187] Through Panda Magic, the UCCA associated themselves with and built relationships with Calgary's cultural hegemons, like the Calgary Stampede and the Zoo, while still emphasizing their ethnic and cultural loyalties to their Chinese Calgarian members. At the CZS's request, the UCCA arranged cultural performers and planned their own cultural displays to complement the panda exhibition. While the association was not publicly recognized for their efforts, Panda Magic supporters and collaborators would have become familiar with the UCCA name through the CZS's regular Panda Magic Bulletin newsletters that updated supporters on the project.

Recognition by Calgary's cultural elite opened up access to resources and support networks outside of Chinatown. Also important was recognition by the Chinese Embassy, for which the UCCA was spared of having to take an explicit political stance. Any public engagement with the Chinese Embassy would have been tantamount to pledging loyalty to the PRC, which would have risked alienating those with pro-ROC sentiments. A strong political stance was also inconsistent with the association's otherwise local orientation. The UCCA's steadfast focus on issues directly impacting Chinese-Calgarians can be compared to the outlook of locally-born Chinese in the post-war period, who wanted to promote a cultural identity independent of Chinese politics.[188]

Though the idea of a Nationalist vs. Communist proxy war in Calgary's Chinatown would make a compelling story, political factionalism was not unique to the Chinese diaspora.

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[187] Guo and Guo, "Multiculturalism, Ethnicity and Minority Rights," 75.
[188] Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver,* 86-87.

Post-war Montreal, where many Portuguese professionals, intellectuals, and political exiles cast out by the Estado Novo regime settled, became home to the *Association portugaise du Canada* (APC). APC's mixed membership of upper-middle class professional and working-class men had equally mixed feelings about associating with the dictatorship governing their homeland. When the Portuguese consul offered a subsidy to the APC, the association's entire founding administration resigned. A later APC president resigned to start an anti-fascist club when his criticism of the Portuguese Prime Minister and some Montreal Portuguese businessmen angered association members.[189] Like the APC, the UCCA was responsible to a diverse demographic of Chinese-Calgarians. The range of UCCA member organizations, which included historic Nationalist strongholds like the National League and the Chinese United Church, necessitated treading a middle ground that did not publicly denounce nor support either the PRC or the ROC.

Aya Fujiwara's comparative analysis of Scottish, Ukrainian, and Japanese ethic elites in the twentieth century identifies internal divisions between nationalist and communist Ukrainians, and between *issei* ("first generation") and *nisei* ("second generation") Japanese.[190] Both nationalist and communist Ukrainians aimed to present themselves as the real defenders for democracy and the most loyal Canadians.[191] Nationalists campaigned for Ukrainian liberation and against the Soviet Union while communists believed in Slavic solidarity and sought to "bridge the ideological gap" between Canada and the Soviet Union.[192] The *issei* and *nisei* generational divide smoothed over in the post-war period and develop a cohesive voice with the formation of the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association.[193] Post-war Japanese ethnic

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[189] Gilberto Fernandes, *This Pilgrim Nation: The Making of the Portuguese Diaspora in Postwar North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 118-119.
[190] Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919-1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 39.
[191] Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity,* 113.
[192] Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity*, 119-120.
[193] Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity*, 32

elites focused on redress for discriminatory wartime policies, namely interment and seizures of personal property, and for the franchise.[194] Japanese Canadians emphasized democratic participation in Canada over Japanese nationalism and imperialism, seeing the Japanese royal family as a symbol of relationship-building with other countries and separating them from memories of the war.[195] Like the Japanese and Ukrainians, Chinese North Americans also split along generational and political lines. In Vancouver's Chinatown old timers, locally-born Chinese, and new immigrants often found themselves at odds regarding the community's depth of care for homeland politics. The old guard remained loyal to Nationalist China (ROC), while the native born were "typically indifferent to Old World politics" as Wing Chung Ng characterized them in *The Chinese In Vancouver*.[196] Ng identifies post-war immigrants as anchoring their sense of Chineseness to the historical civilization of China, while locally-born Chinese were more Canadian-oriented. Direct political affiliation was divisive, as seen in San Francisco when members of the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association, Min Qing (Chinese American Democratic Youth League) and Bay Area student groups gathered to celebrate the establishment of the PRC on 9 October, 1949. The ceremony was ambushed by a group of rioters, organized by the KMT branch with CCBA officials giving orders and distracting police from the riot.[197] Into the late 1980s, even when the PRC relations with the west had been normalized for more than a decade and most old Nationalists resigned themselves to a world with "Two Chinas," the UCCA still treaded a middle ground. Community unity was always tenuous, and the UCCA would not put their claims to that unity at risk for Old World politics.

[194] Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity*, 115
[195] Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity*, 135
[196] Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver,* 86.
[197] Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America* ,117-119.

Panda Magic was perfect for UCCA leaders to subtly communicate their acceptance of the PRC without having to broadcast that stance to their community. Working with the CZS meant the Zoo's leadership was the public face of partnership and the focus of PRC officials, while the UCCA elite gained prestige as cultural brokers between the two parties. As an official supporter of the project, the UCCA entered Calgary's cultural elite circles, expanding their base of support and giving mainstream legitimacy to their claims to represent the Chinese-Calgarian community. While Panda Magic received broad media coverage, the UCCA's involvement in the project remained inconspicuous. During the planning stage, the association hosted a welcome banquet for the Chinese Ambassador. Despite being the organizers and hosts, the only evidence of their involvement in the banquet was a thank you letter from the CZS's Special Projects Coordinator, who wrote to Joe Khu stating "we ate too much of course but it was a good evening."[198] Considering how media friendly the UCCA leadership was regarding other events and issues, the association's focus on providing logistical support only, such as finding translators for visiting dignitaries, acquiring housing for the Chinese technical team accompanying the pandas, and providing cultural programming, must be understood as a deliberate decision to stay out of the public eye.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed some of the UCCA's outreach towards Calgary's elite organizations and people but is by no means comprehensive. Throughout the 1980s, the association took on many initiatives, such as fundraising for the Calgary Food Bank, donating to the Red Cross's Ethiopian Famine Relief fund, and occasionally speaking out in support or in

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[198] Correspondence, Eric Albury, Special Projects Coordinator, Calgary Zoological Society, to Joe Khu, President, UCCA, October 19, 1987, M-9510, Box 12, Folder 218, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

protest of local politicians. The examples discussed were those with the most surviving documentation that could be compiled into cohesive narratives. Like many other ethnic organizations in the late twentieth century, the UCCA was primarily concerned with access to state resources and support for their civic and cultural mandates. As such, they carefully chose which mainstream elite organizations to associate with and controlled the extent that association was publicized. Their choices also reflected a deep understanding of the underlying generational and political tensions in Chinatown. Friendly relations with the Calgary Police Service meant the UCCA could hold them accountable to the community. In their correspondence UCCA leaders claimed to speak for all Chinese Calgarians, adding gravitas to their petitions. In the case of Langevin Community School, Joe Khu’s letter showed the association was knowledgeable about the city’s past and present and was able to activate that knowledge in their advocacy. The concern for new immigrants and refugees expressed also evidences the UCCA’s claims to represent all Chinese-Calgarians. Working with the Calgary Zoo opened up new doors for interaction with Calgary’s cultural elite and connected association leaders to PRC dignitaries without having to pledge loyalties to either side of the “Two Chinas” divide. These case studies show the UCCA’s consistent locally-oriented, community-first values in their goals to mitigate generational tensions and create a collective base of support in and outside of Chinatown.

Chapter 3: Conflict and Challenge: negotiating Visions for Chinatown

Compared to other urban Chinatowns in the late century, the line of ideological differences and priority was not so clearly drawn between Calgary Chinatown's old establishment and later generations. By incorporating the traditional organizations under their umbrella, the UCCA de-emphasized differences to exalt their narrative of a united voice. Of course, ethnic groups were not monolithic in their values or priorities. Different visions for Chinatown and Chinese-Canadian citizenship emerged in the post-war period and developed with post-1967 demographic changes. Ethnic organizations and elites, each claiming to represent the interests of a section of or the whole of their ethnic community, came into conflict with each other and with institutions of the dominant society.

The competition for influence, voice, and ultimately power through representation was not unique to the late twentieth century, nor was it unique to Chinese enclaves. Early twentieth century Chinese power brokers bolstered their economic status with leadership positions in traditional associations and fostered symbiotic relationships with white elites, creating coalitions and competing factions. Vancouver's Yip On challenged North America's anti-Chinese immigration laws locally, facilitating fraudulent entries with vague translation, coaching, and signing off false papers.[199] On a transnational scale, Yip On led boycotts against American goods protesting their immigration restrictions in 1905, and dedicated time in China and Hong Kong working towards modernization as a leader of the Chinese Empire Reform Association. [200] In *Brokering Belonging*, Lisa Mar contrasts the merchant elite, China-oriented leadership of Yip On to that of Canadian-educated lawyer David Lew, who Mar positions as a "challenger" to On. Lew fostered personal relationships with prominent members of Vancouver's Liberal Party and used his legal expertise to argue for reform of immigration policies and processes.[201] Post-war, ethnic factions jostled for cultural authority and representation as well as for political influence in an era of democratic liberalism and increasing cultural pluralist values. Urban renewal schemes in the 1960s and 1970s brought Chinese-Canadians together in their respective cities, and encouraged inter-ethnic cooperation, as in the case of Vancouver's SPOTA.[202] But the responses to these municipal projects could also reveal competing visions for development between the participating community groups and the fragility of their coalitions.

This chapter analyzes three interrelated issues of urban planning on the UCCA's docket in the first years of the 1980s. The UCCA leadership's visions for their late century Chinese-Calgarian community were clearly reflected in the issues they chose to address and the resources they drew on for support. These case studies also reveal the social standings and understandings of Chinatown's elite in this period. Douglas Tims and his fellow UCCA elite were Canadian-

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[199] Lisa Rose Mar, *Brokering Belonging: Chinese in Canada's Exclusion Era, 1885-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 28-29.
[200] Mar, *Brokering Belonging*, 28-29.
[201] Mar, *Brokering Belonging,* 22.
[202] Wing Chung Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80: The Pursuit of Identity and Power* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 102; Tina Loo, *Moved by the State: Forced Relocation and Making a Good Life in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), 164-169.

oriented, liberal-minded multicultural leaders negotiating with non-ethnic elites on equal footing. They saw themselves as different than the merchant elites and Nationalist leaders of Chinatowns past and aimed to remake Calgary's Chinatown in their vision.

The conflicts under examination all start in the early 1980s and continued the conversations about Chinatown redevelopment that started in Calgary in the 1960s, conversations that are ongoing in the present day.[203] Central to these issues was the UCCA's vision for a community-oriented, resident-centered Chinatown. A conglomeration of Western and Chinese values, reflecting the association leadership's cultural hybridity, made up this vision. The UCCA conceived of a Chinatown that was primarily residential and where all business and services benefited the community first. Promoting this vision involved coming head-to-head with diverse business interests and negotiating with the city, as my examination of the "Continental Plaza Affair" and the UCCA's Chinatown planning proposal will show. While the UCCA collected most of Chinatown's traditional associations under its umbrella, their influence was not uncontested. As the case studies reveal, the UCCA identified their biggest adversary in George Ho Lem. An established businessman who had connections to city bureaucracy, Ho Lem's influence in Chinatown's post-war development ties the three case studies in this chapter together. In their opposition of the people and projects they deemed incompatible with their visions of Chinese-Calgary, the UCCA steadfastly maintained their community-first values. Their advocacy drew on historic Chinese community strategies of government petitioning, but also the language and methods of their contemporaries in the Asian American movement and those fighting urban renewal in other North American cities. Locally, the UCCA benefited from

[203] The most recent municipal initiative is titled "Tomorrow's Chinatown", a thirty-year multi-phase project that includes an Area Redevelopment Plan and a Cultural Plan. See the City of Calgary website for more information on this ongoing project: https://engage.calgary.ca/tomorrows-chinatown.

standards for citizen participation established by the Sien Lok Society in their fight against highway developments in Chinatown. As I will discuss later in this chapter, it was Sien Lok that established a community voice for Chinese-Calgarians when conversations about urban renewal first began in the 1960s.

The "Continental Plaza Affair" and Other Concerns

A folder titled "Continental Plaza Affair" resides the Joe Khu fonds, containing an array of letters and newspaper clippings all marked up with handwritten comments in English and Chinese. This "affair" started on 3 September 1982 with a letter from UCCA president Douglas Tims to the city's Chief Development Control Office expressing his concerns about the Continental Plaza residential tower in Chinatown.[204] Speaking with the voice of "members of the Chinese community as well as the Chinatown residents, Tongs and Family Affinity Associations, Senior Citizens and parents of the 300-plus children who attend the Chinese Public School," the letter claimed that the Continental Plaza was being illegally used as a hotel and a site for bootlegging and prostitution.[205] Tims continued to condemn Continental Plaza's adjacent building in his letter, a business called

[204] The correspondences place Continental Plaza at 110 – 3rd Avenue SW, which should in the present day be the Five Harvest Plaza, whose address is listed at 108 – 3rd Avenue SW. There is no other high-rise apartment-style building in the area that Continental Plaza could otherwise be.

[205] Correspondence, Douglas Tims, President, UCCA, to the City of Calgary Planning Department "Re: Elimination of undesirable activity in Chinatown of prostitution, homosexuals, bootlegging and vice. Operations concerning the Continental Plaza and the 'Orient Express' – 110 3rd Avenue/Centre Street," September 03, 1982. M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

Orient Express that he described as an establishment for cabaret shows that "has attracted another type of undesirable element into the Chinese community … namely the homosexuals."[206]

While Tims' complaint about the unwelcomed activities happening in Continental Plaza spiraled into a year-long dialogue of correspondence, petitions, and public protest, Orient Express received little more attention after the city's initial response. As an otherwise forgotten part of the "Continental Plaza Affair", I want to briefly discuss this secondary complaint. Queer people have always transformed commercial and social spaces in their locales into safe spaces for personal expression and socialization. In smaller prairie cities, like Calgary, queer spaces were being formalized and explicitly created starting in the late 1970s; they were clubs and restaurants, like the Orient Express, but also social services and community hubs.[207] In *Prairie Fairies,* Valerie Korinek reflects on the scarcity of sources and analysis of Alberta's queer history, a result of the scarce scholarship on contemporary Alberta more generally that allowed "the stereotypes of an old, reactionary, largely rural Alberta continue to hold sway."[208] Korinek notes that Calgary has fewer oral histories and fewer archival holdings for queer history in comparison to other prairie cities. Kevin Allen's ongoing work on Calgary's queer histories has produced an archival collection of materials from 1972 to the present day, currently held by Archives and Special Collections at the University of Calgary.[209] Outside of Tims' statement that the Orient Express's entertainment was attracting

Figure 5. Oriental Express Advertisement in The Calgary Sun, August 6th, 1982. This newspaper clipping was attached in Douglas Tims' letter to the City's Chief Development Control Officer, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds.

[206] Ibid.
[207] Valerie Korinek, *Prairie Fairies: A History of Queer Communities and People in Western Canada, 1930-1985*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 24.
[208] Valerie Korinek, *Prairie Fairies,* 219.
[209] Browse the complete fonds on the University of Calgary Archives and Special Collections website: Collections C0075 – The Calgary Gay History Project Collection, https://searcharchives.ucalgary.ca/the-calgary-gay-history-

homosexuals, and the newspaper clipping of an Orient Express advertisement he attached to this letter showing three brightly dressed drag performers on a stage, I have found few other references in the archival record of the establishment being a queer space (Figure 5).[210] Therefore, I will focus on Tim's opinion of its patrons as an "undesirable element" for this brief analysis.

The re-orientation of urban Chinatowns towards commerce and tourism had been an ongoing process since the end of World War II. City planners and Chinese businessmen alike sought to emphasize Chinatowns' historic footprint and ethnic uniqueness. Chinatown commercialization projects involved "beautification" and "preservation" as part of the broader urban planning rhetoric of revitalization, which included provisions for parking, sidewalk paving, and restoration of building facades.[211] Calgary's Chinatown did not deviate from this phenomenon, by this period it was home to a vibrant nightlife that attracted Chinese and non-Chinese patrons and continued commercialization was an ongoing discussion. From this understanding, we can place Tims' indictment of the Orient Express as rooted in concerns about family and community reputation, rather than a concern for maintaining the neighbourhood's Chinese character specifically. Tims used the wellbeing of Chinese families, children and elders, as justification for condemning the establishment. The idea of "protecting" children from queer influences was an established narrative for anti-gay organizing by the 1980s. As a term it rose to prominence because of Save Our Children (SOC), an anti-gay, profamily organization formed in

project-collection. For more about Kevin Allen and his work, visit the Calgary Gay History Project website, https://calgarygayhistory.ca/

210 The Great Imposters were regular performers at the Orient Express, that same August their performance was praised by the Calgary Herald, Vivian Rudd, "The Great Imposters put on a good act," *Calgary Herald*, August 11, 1982. A great thank you to Kevin Allen, Calgary's preeminent gay historian, for sending the news clipping. Kevin Allen's book *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary* also informed the writing of this section.

211 As described in the example of Vancouver, in Kay J. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 221-223.

Florida in response to a proposed ordinance outlawing discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Celebrity singer Anita Bryant, spokesperson for SOC, mobilized the rhetoric of parents' rights and protection for the White heteronormative nuclear family during her North American tour.[212] Bryant introduced Alberta to her anti-gay rhetoric in 1978, performing in Edmonton on her Christian Liberation Crusade tour.[213] As Gillian Frank explains in her analysis of the SOC, their narrative rested on the dangers of "sexual deviancy," and falsely claimed that homosexuals recruited children. SOC argued that protecting queer rights would open up doors for child molestation and endangerment.[214] Tims' description of an "undesirable element" drew on this rhetoric. He emphasized the Orient Express's proximity to the Chinese Public School, which operated in the evenings and on weekends, and highlighted the possibility of danger to students. Frank identifies the origins of "sexual deviancy" narratives in anti-black racism, and similar language was historically used to justify anti-Chinese agitation and policies.[215] In the early twentieth century, Chinatowns were considered physically and morally polluted enclaves home to Chinese men who were themselves sexual deviants threatening White women, and by extension the White race.[216] The male-dominated "bachelor society" of early Chinatowns, and racialized economic segregation that relegated these early settlers to "feminized" forms of labour (i.e. laundry work, cooking) created an image of Chinese men as themselves feminized and

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[212] Gillian Frank, ""The Civil Rights of Parents": Race and Conservative Politics in Anita Bryant's Campaign against Gay Rights in 1970s Florida," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22, no. 1 (2013): 141-143, https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/article/493004.
[213] Kevin Allen, *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary* (Calgary: ASPublishing, 2018), 60.
[214] Frank, "The Civil Rights of Parents," 143-144.
[215] Frank, "The Civil Rights of Parents," 144.
[216] For more detailed analyses of constructing racialized danger in North American Chinatowns, see Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown,* Chapter 3, "Constructing Race through Place and Practice, 1886-1920," 73-105; Enakshi Dua, "Exclusion through Inclusion: Female Asian Migration in the Making of Canada as a White Settler Nation," in *Sisters or Strangers?: Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, ed. Marlene Epp and Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 126–47; and Kristin Burnett, "Race, Disease, and Public Violence: Smallpox and the (Un)Making of Calgary's Chinatown, 1892," *Social History of Medicine* 25, no. 2 (1 May 2012): 362–379. The scholarship on this topic is comprehensive.

homoerotic.[217] Chinese women, a rare sight in early Chinatowns, were imagined as prostitutes.[218] Tims' anxieties about homosexuals in Chinatown reflected his anxieties about Chinatown's historic association with sexual deviancy and the social status of Chinese Canadians as a whole. Maintaining their "model minority" status meant strict adherence to the middle-class heterosexual gender norms that white society, even in the late century, fought to uphold. The UCCA's priority was the well-being and reputation of their Chinese-Calgarian community, they enforced adherence to these norms as a means of "fitting in."

Tims' Chineseness too ascribed heteronormativity, albeit with different understandings. Homosexuality and homoerotic practices were common in ancient China, but considered a pursuit of the literati class and always peripheral to Confucian gender hierarchies and family institutions.[219] In the twentieth century Western scientific perspectives on sexuality contributed the construction of homosexual subjects as "a violation of the heterosexual order to be silenced, or as a threat to patriarchal order to be regulated," layering onto already strict Confucian behavioral norms.[220] Maoist China persecuted homosexuals based on medical discourses and restrictions on unacceptable social behaviour, namely 流氓 (liumang*,* hooliganism). The PRC, Taiwan and Hong Kong remained sexually conservative into the late century, in 1978 homosexuality was classified as a sexual disorder in PRC medical texts.[221] For Tims, cabaret and its queer patrons were "undesirable" in relation to the modern, middle-class Chinese-Calgarian

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[217] Chiou-Ling Yeh, *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 176.
[218] Dua, "Exclusion through Inclusion," 131-132.
[219] Travis S.K. Kong, "The Sexual in Chinese Sociology: Homosexuality Studies in Contemporary China," *The Sociological Review* 64, no. 3 (2016), 497-498, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12372.
[220] Kong, "The Sexual in Chinese Sociology," 500; Yeh, *Making an American Festival*, 183.
[221] Kong, "The Sexual in Chinese Sociology," 500.

Chinatown that the UCCA strived for, in which the heteronormative nuclear family was an ideal that transcended differences in cultural understandings.

Nuance is necessary in analyzing this brief comment about Oriental Express, nestled within a letter addressing much more pressing issues for the UCCA. There are no other references to queer people, spaces, or actions in the Joe Khu Fonds. Because the UCCA mandate ultimately focused on Chinese community, culture, and values, the association's anti-gay sentiments are best understood as driven by aims of protecting the social cohesion of Chinatown. There is no evidence of Tims, the UCCA, or any prominent UCCA members participating in anti-gay activism or being part of anti-gay organizations. It would be a stretch to make any direct connection between the UCCA and groups like the SOC in Florida or the rise of "New Right" ideologies in Alberta, especially considering that these mainstream religious conservative movements foregrounded whiteness as the central mission – the UCCA's members, as integrated as they were, could never be white.[222]

On 12 October 1982, the City of Calgary Planning Department responded to Tims' September letter regarding the establishment's license and the Land Use By-law with a brief reference to the Orient Express: "We have no way of knowing, nor do we have the authority to approve or refuse a land use based on the type of clientele, entertainment, etc. such a use may attract."[223] There was no further comment by the UCCA or the city regarding Orient Express.

Petitioning and Protesting: The Continental Plaza Affair

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[222] Frank, "The Civil Rights of Parents," 135-137.

[223] Correspondence, Douglas Tims, President, UCCA, to the City of Calgary Planning Department "Re: Elimination of undesirable activity in Chinatown of prostitution, homosexuals, bootlegging and vice. Operations concerning the Continental Plaza and the 'Orient Express' – 110 3rd Avenue/Centre Street," September 03, 1982. M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

The Planning Department Response on 12 October explained that Continental Plaza's new ownership applied for a development permit, and no action could be taken on Tims' concerns until their application process was completed.[224] Two weeks before, the UCCA also received a letter from Continental Plaza's lawyers, accusing the association of defamation and requesting retraction of their claims and an apology.[225] For Continental Plaza's owner Bradley Chapman and the city, this issue was about land use and the right to conduct business. For the UCCA, it was a battle to preserve the sanctity of their Chinatown in the name of its residents and Chinese Public School students, and to fortify the collective Chinese-Calgary voice under their umbrella for the ongoing discussions about Chinatown development. Pursuing this conflict publicly using the Chinese and English press also reflected the UCCA's goals to turn the hearts and minds of Calgarians towards their visions for Chinatown.

The UCCA's primary method of opposition was letter-writing and petitions, drawing on their member organizations' voices to bolster their own. In early December 1982, Continental Plaza's Change-of-Use application was approved by the city. A coalition of Chinatown stakeholders immediately appealed the approval. The appellants were The Chinese Public School, Commercial Tenants of 110 Third Avenue SW (Continental Plaza), the UCCA, and the Calgary Chinese Cultural Society (CCCS). Supporting their appeal were letters from "the major Tongs and Family Associations and Organisations which represent the largest group of the Chinese Community."[226] In his analysis of the Victoria Students Strike of 1922-1923, Timothy

[224] George Steber, City of Calgary Planning Department, to Douglas Tims, President, UCCA, "Re: Continental Plaza – 110 – 3 – Avenue S.W. Orient Express – 102 – 3 Avenue S.W.," October 14, 1982, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[225] Correspondence, C.D. O'Brien, Opposing Council, Bennet Jones Barristers & Solicitors, to Douglas Tims, Chairman, United Calgary Chinese Association, September 29, 1982, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[226] Douglas Tims, "Re: 110 – 3rd Avenue S.W. Conversion of a Chinatown Low-Rental Housing Complex to a Hotel," December 12, 1982, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

Stanley explains letter writing as mobilizing “the legitimating discourse for the state system of the times” to demand justice, fair play and the rights of taxpayers and citizens.[227] In the late twentieth century, taxpayers and citizens’ rights were still important, but the protesting associations also drew on discourses of cultural preservation and ethnic identity. As the UCCA explained to their Chinese audience in an article for the *Canadian Chinese Times*, Continental Plaza was constructed partially with taxpayer money, that the cost was “$400 000, loaned by the federal government’s Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation,” for the purpose of being low-income housing.[228] Their anger was at the waste of taxpayer dollars, for purpose-built affordable housing to be misappropriated for profit. To the UCCA, the Continental Plaza (called 雙喜大廈 “Double Happiness Plaza” in Chinese newspapers) was supposed to benefit Chinatown’s low-income residents. Its conversion to a hotel threatened their community’s security and it’s “Chinese character.” Their protest echoed SPOTA’s rationale against redevelopment in Vancouver that decades earlier asked “How can there be a Chinatown without Chinese in it?”[229] Three of the four appealing parties, (the UCCA, the Chinese Public School and the CCCS) were “civic-cultural” organizations whose mandates included meeting their member’s settlement needs beyond economic integration.[230] They drew on their legitimacy as community-centered, culture-oriented organizations to argue that Continental Plaza was an inappropriate presence in the neighborhood.

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[227] Timothy J. Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 169.

[228] “為什麼准許雙喜大廈該營酒店是不道德及不負責任行為” “The reasons it would be unethical and irresponsible to allow Continental Plaza to operate as a hotel,” clipping from *The Canadian Chinese Times,* May 27, 1983, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada. Article is in Chinese, translation is my own.

[229] Anderson, *Vancouver’s Chinatown*, 207.

[230] Min Zhou and Rennie Lee, “Transnationalism and Community Building: Chinese Immigrant Organizations in the United States,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 647, no. 1 (2013): 35, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1177/0002716212472456.

With no answer to their appeal into the summer of 1983, the UCCA escalated the issue by writing to the City Council. This complaint emphasized community trust and the community environment, as well reminding council members of the social contract created between

gure 6. Captioned “Outside City Hall, protestors voice opposition to proposed rezoning in Chinatown. In the Calgary Herald, June 14, 1983. Photo b

Chinatown and the city regarding urban planning after the last two decades of Chinese community action to preserve the neighbourhood.[231] The morning before Council's vote on the rezoning, the association also led a protest at City Hall.[232] A photograph in the *Calgary Herald* showed protestors carrying signs reading "BAN HOTELS IN CHINATOWN" and "APARTMENT YES HOTEL NO" (Figure 6).[233]

As the voice and leadership for Calgary's Chinese community, the UCCA drew on local and transnational legacies of advocacy and organizing. Decades earlier during the Victoria Students Strikes, locally-born and educated Chinese formed the Chinese Canadian Club (CCC) to lead the campaign. Like the UCCA would do, the CCC discussed the issue in Chinese and English-language newspapers, negotiated directly with the local school board, and mobilized support from Chinese businesses. In New York, the social justice group Asian Americans for Equal Employment (AAFEE) formed to protest the lack of Asian American construction workers at Confucious Plaza, a high-rise development located in Manhattan's Chinatown. While AAFEE let pickets at the construction site, the New York CCBA represented the community in negotiations with the city council.[234]

Continental Plaza's owner Bradley Chapman also took to the press, accusing Chinatown residents of assaulting his building with Molotov cocktails, rocks, and arson attempts. In

[231] Douglas Tims, "Re: Amendment No. 83/20 Proposed redesignation from CM-1 to DC to accommodate a conversion of a low-income rental apartment to a Hotel within Chinatown" June 03, 1983, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[232] Merv Anderson, "Old foes help piece Chinatown puzzle together," *Calgary Herald*, June 14, 1983, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fjune-14-1983-page-9-104%2Fdocview%2F2259265608%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.
[233] Cathy Motherwell, "Charges of Violence Fuel Hotel Squabble," *Calgary Herald*, June 14, 1983, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fjune-14-1983-page-22-104%2Fdocview%2F2259262748%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.
[234] Jan Lin, *Reconstructing Chinatown: Ethnic Enclave, Global Change* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press,1998), 134.

response, the UCCA mobilized their members' ethnicity and collective memories of anti-Chinese discrimination to neutralize the accusations and maintain the moral high ground, Tims responded to the accusations that he was "incensed at the remarks and slurs made against our race."[235]

The surviving documents present democratic citizen participation, by way of correspondence and protest, as what won the UCCA their victory over Chapman and Continental Plaza. Chapman's land-use change application was ultimately denied, and the building returned to operating as a long-term rental tower.[236] Unfortunately, correspondence between Continental Plaza's lawyers and the UCCA's legal counsel is not in the archival record. What we do have is a letter from Beaumont Proctor Barristers and Solicitors to the UCCA, confirming that the two sides have been in contact over the summer, but the matter has been suspended on request of Continental Plaza.[237] The response from UCCA's directors was warm, acknowledging Beaumont Proctor as the "legal counsel for UCCA since its inception" and thanking them for continued services.[238] Beaumont Proctor's friendliness towards the UCCA and their ethnic agenda shows how integrated into mainstream society the association's leaders were.

Envisioning Chinatown: The UCCA's 1982 Proposed Redevelopment Guidelines

The Continental Plaza affair made clear the UCCA's vision of a Chinatown for the Chinese community. This vision remained steady throughout the early 1980s, when the UCCA and a coalition of Chinese real estate interests submitted competing development proposals to the city. Precedent for community participation in Chinatown redevelopment schemes was set in the mid-1960s when Ray Lee assembled Chinatown businessmen and professionals into the Sien

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[235] Cathy Motherwell, "Charges of Violence Fuel Hotel Squabble," *Calgary Herald*, June 14, 1983.
[236] Note that in the summer of 1984, when the UCCA's *Community Program for Senior Citizens* was underway, Continental Plaza had Chinese senior residents.
[237] Henry M. Beaumont, Beaumont Proctor Barristers and Solicitors, "Re: Continental Plaza," October 25, 1983, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[238] Correspondence, Douglas Y. Tims, Chairman, UCCA, to Henry Beaumont, Beaumont Proctor, November 07, 1983, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 189, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

Lok Society to oppose a proposed Bow Trail extension and twelve-lane riverside parkway that would rip the neighbourhood apart.[239] Sien Lok drew on what Jo-Anne Lee describes as "culturally hybrid forms of engagement" in her analysis of SPOTA's activism. Like SPOTA, Sien Lok employed "everyday social practices of hospitality and food traditions traditionally used for cultivating kinship relations and forging social ties, melded with traditional political lobbying practices."[240] The Society invited delegates from all levels of government on "walk and dinner" tours, showing government officials Chinatown's vibrancy and its importance to newcomers and old-timers alike.[241] Sien Lok drew on their economic resources and nation-wide connections to host the National Conference on Urban Renewal As It Affects Chinatown in April of 1969, inviting delegates from all major Canadian cities to share their experiences of urban renewal and visions for their Chinatowns. They also sent delegations to Ottawa to lobby for federal backing.[242] The Sien Lok Society was ultimately successful against the Bow Trail extension and their activism set the tone for community involvement in Chinatown projects across the country. When the UCCA formed in 1969, Sien Lok fell under its umbrella and its membership disbanded. Brian Dawson speculates that the UCCA was formed in response to Sien Lok Society's lack of consultation with some Chinese community groups.[243] While all extant records

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[239] J. Brian Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain: From China to the Canadian Plains* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd, 1991), 156.

[240] Jo-Anne Lee, "Gender, Ethnicity, and Hybrid Forms of Community-Based Urban Activism in Vancouver, 1957–1978: The Strathcona Story Revisited," *Gender, Place & Culture* 14, no. 4 (2007): 381–407, 394 – 395.

[241] Sien Lok Society's fight for Chinatown was covered thoroughly by the mainstream press. "City Plans Tour of Chinatown," *Calgary Herald*, August 12, 1969, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Faugust-12-1969-page-19-76%2Fdocview%2F2253821612%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838; Jacques Hamilton, "Something Must Be Done: Leslie: Chinatown Gets Attention," *Calgary Herald*, August 20, 1969, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Faugust-20-1969-page-33-80%2Fdocview%2F2253701383%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

[242] Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain*, 156; Bob Cohen, "Hopes of Saving Chinatowns Look Bright After Ottawa Visit," *Calgary Herald,* June 17, 1969, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fjune-17-1969-page-7-66%2Fdocview%2F2253733359%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

[243] Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain*, 157.

show the UCCA speaking positively about Sien Lok's advocacy, it is notable that the society was a group of businessmen, and many members of the Sien Lok Society were later Chinatown Ratepayers Association of Calgary (CRAC) members. By the early 1980s, the major groups in conversation with city planners were the Chinatown Development Foundation (originally named the Chinatown Development Task Force), the UCCA, and the CRAC.

As with all other endeavors, the UCCA promoted its voice in urban renewal talks as the voice of all Chinese Calgarians. In CRAC's "Chinatown Development Proposal," the organization introduced themselves as a group of "businessmen, landowners, and developers with both the expertise and the financial resources necessary for a project of this size."[244] This period of Chinatown development from 1982 to 1983 was marked by the different priorities of UCCA and the CRAC's proposed planning guidelines.

Analyzing the CRAC and the UCCA's proposals for Chinatown planning reveal each organization's values and priorities. While they share some similarities, such as recommending the use of Chinese motifs on buildings, their visions were ultimately contradictory. The CRAC proposal separated Chinatown into 5 zones, of which Zones 3 and 4 were for commercial and office spaces and Zone 5 was Centre Street (Figure 7). Only two zones

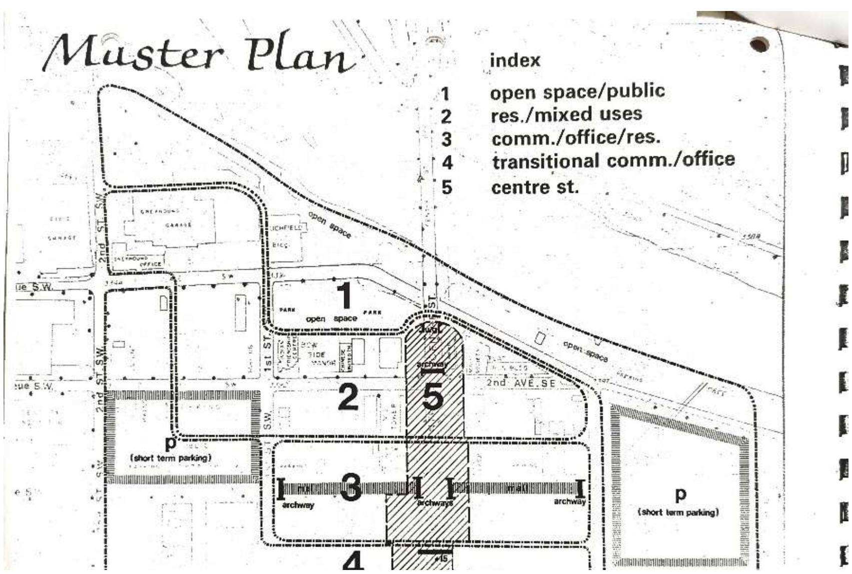

Figure 7. CRAC's proposed "zones" for Calgary's Chinatown, in "Chinatown Development Proposal" submitted by The Chinatown Ratepayers Association, pp. 6, M-9510, Box 14, Folder 261, Joe Khu Fonds.

[244] Chinatown Ratepayers Association, Chinatown Development Proposal, October 1982, M-9510, Box 14, Folder 261, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

were designated residential, public, and mixed use.[245] The *Calgary Herald* explained the CRAC plan was for "double density," adding half a million feet of commercial space and almost 2 million feet of office space to the neighborhood throughout their 5 zones.[246] The UCCA's "Proposed Planning Guidelines for Calgary Chinatown" introduced Chinatown as a "complete community," and "a community that caters to the education/cultural needs of the community as well as a resting place for the senior citizens." Residential primacy was prioritized, the plan advocated for increasing the density of non-profit public housing and a pedestrian overpass to remedy the Centre Street traffic that created a "barrier" between Chinatown East and West.[247] The UCCA plan was distributed to all of its member associations in early August 1982 for revisions and approval, responses were all supportive with minor suggestions: the National League wanted more public parking and a commitment to clean streets; the Eng association wanted By-Laws prohibiting hotels and prostitution "for the sake of our old folks and school children."[248] Dr. K.W. Chang, on behalf of the Calgary Chinese Cultural Society, expressed his approval of the proposal followed by a subtle condemnation of the CRAC as selling-out Chinatown land and putting the livelihoods of small merchants, the poor, and the elderly at risk with their commercial interests.[249]

In his study of the post-war North American Portuguese diaspora, Fernandes observes that once Portuguese businessmen and professionals achieved success outside of the ethnic

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[245] Ibid.
[246] Peter Morton, "Chinatown division reopens," *Calgary Herald*, October 7, 1982. https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Foctober-7-1982-page-20-109%2Fdocview%2F2258611761%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.
[247] United Calgary Chinese Association, Proposed Planning Guidelines for Calgary Chinatown, August 2nd, 1982, M-9510, Box 14, Folder 261, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[248] Correspondences Re: responses to the UCCA's Proposed Planning Guidelines for Calgary's Chinatown, draft, M-9510, Box 14, Folder 261, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada. The Eng Association response was dated August 12, a month later the UCCA would complain to the City about the very issues of hotels and prostitution, sparking the Continental Plaza Affair.
[249] Ibid.

market and became members of the mainstream middle class, they "distanced themselves from the civic initiatives of their less privileged co-nationals, or only engaged from a distance."[250] In the post-war period, many locally-born Chinese-Canadians left Chinatown for the growing suburbs, but remained engaged in a myriad of civic initiatives that included campaigning for immigration liberalization and the franchise. They formed new service and cultural organizations and kept close watch on the evolving political situation between mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.[251] Downtown urban renewal schemes in the 1960s drew people back into Chinatown, especially the Asian American movement's locally-born young adults who saw the fight to protect Chinatown as a chance to re-stake their claims to the neighbourhood and its ethnic identity. The UCCA's leadership further proved that physical distance did not mean sentimental distance. As chapter one of this thesis argued, the association's cultural initiatives were deeply connected to Chinatown's heritage and emphasized the importance of its long-established associations. In their *Proposed Planning Guidelines*, the UCCA's concept of a "complete community" focusing on education, culture, and senior residents reflected the values of each of its member organizations, from the family associations to the Chinese Public School. In contrast, the CRAC's plan, imagined by people whose businesses were in Chinatown and integrated into the enclave's economy, only engaged with the neighborhood's housing needs and cultural values from a distance. The UCCA and their peers' subtle condemnations of landlordism can be read to infer the organization's more progressive values. More obvious in their anti-landlord sentiments was the UCCA leaderships' own circumstances of immigration and settlement; Joe Khu's business ventures were not in Chinatown, while Douglas Tims and K.W.

[250] Gilberto Fernandes, *This Pilgrim Nation: The Making of the Portuguese Diaspora in Postwar North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 125.
[251] Peter S. Li, *The Chinese in Canada*, 2nd edition (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), 44-46, 84-84.

Chang were academics. The UCCA's leadership had less economic stake in Chinatown and cared more about the cultural and service responsibilities that they voluntarily engaged with.

Challenging the Old Guard: the UCCA and George Ho Lem

This chapter has highlighted ways the UCCA challenged the elements deemed undesirable to their vision for Calgary's Chinatown. The Orient Express and Continental Plaza were considered unsuitable for Chinatown's family-centered environment. They considered CRAC's proposals for development a selling-out of Chinatown by its landowning class. For all their calls for ethnic unity, the UCCA did not shy away from challenging Chinese community elites who did not share their views. A generational divide was developing. The UCCA's leadership represented a post-1967 generation of middle-class, readily integrated economic immigrants and were individually established professionals. Within Chinatown they had to compete with Canadian-born Chinese men whose prestige drew on the wealth and legitimacy of their family's long history in the enclave. One such elite was George Ho Lem.

George Ho Lem's father, Ho Lem (何林) arrived in Calgary from Canton and Vancouver in 1901. He rose to prominence in Calgary's nascent Chinatown as an entrepreneur, devoted member of the Chinese Mission (later the Chinese United Church), and Nationalist. Ho Lem solidified his community standing during the Chinatown Relocation Issue of 1910, negotiating with City Council alongside other Chinese elites for Chinatown's new (and present-day) location at 2nd Avenue and Centre Street South.[252] Ho Lem's sons benefited from his prominence and improved the family's standing as pioneers in their own right: Frank was a renowned marksman and became the first Chinese commissioned officer in the Canadian forces, Charles was the first

[252] Chinatown Context Paper, The City of Calgary, 2019, https://www.calgary.ca/content/dam/www/pda/pd/documents/current-studies-and-ongoing-activities/tomorrows-chinatown/chinatown-context-paper.pdf, 23; Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain* 71; Brian Brennan, *Alberta Originals: Stories of Albertans Who Made a Difference* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2001): 39-41.

Chinese president of the Kiwanis Club, while David and George followed their father's entrepreneurial footsteps to open Rosedale Cleaners in Calgary.[253] Every adult Ho Lem was a member of the Sien Lok Society and attended the society's 1969 conference on urban renewal.[254] Even before his entrance into politics, George Ho Lem was deeply entrenched in Chinatown's male-dominated traditional power structure – a merchant, patron, and power broker contemporaneous with the merchant-patron-power-brokers of North America's other Chinatowns. George Ho Lem's prestige within Chinatown was steady and enduring, drawing on the authority of his father and the popular influence of his brothers. His was connected to mainstream elites through his membership in the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the United Citizens Association. Ho Lem was Calgary's first Chinese Alderman, serving two consecutive terms from 1959 to 1965. He moved to the Social Credit Party and was elected as the first Chinese Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1971. In the 1970s George Ho Lem formed the Chinatown Development Task Force. The Chinatown design brief prepared by the Task Force was approved by the City Council in 1976 was the first comprehensive plan for Chinatown development to be enacted and was the model for both the UCCA and CRAC's visions.[255] Ho Lem appeared on the political scene again in late 1982, when he was nominated for a vacant Senate seat.

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[253] Chinatown Context Paper, 29, 26; Dawson, *Moon Cakes in Gold Mountain* 213-214. Frank's marksmanship skills were repeatedly highlighted in local news, examples: "Ho Lem Makes Perfect Score," *Calgary Herald*, May 4, 1940, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fmay-4-1940-page-27-28%2Fdocview%2F2252809893%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838; "Noted Marksman Takes Officer Course," *Calgary Herald*, July 22, 1942, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fjuly-22-1942-page-15-16%2Fdocview%2F2252805737%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

[254] "National Conference on Urban Renewal as it Affects Chinatown," conference proceedings, The Sien Lok Society of Calgary, 1969, ASC, University of Calgary, 13.

[255] David Cheunyan Lai and Lloyd Sciban, "Calgary Chinatowns 1988 – 2015," Chinese Canadian Heritage Fund, Simon Fraser University, David See-Chai Lam Centre for International Communication. https://www.sfu.ca/chinese-canadian-history/calgary_chinatown_en.html.

It was in response to Ho Lem's senate nomination that the UCCA's grievances towards the man surfaced. Under UCCA letterhead, Douglas Tims wrote directly to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau:

> Normally, if a fellow Chinese-Canadian is being considered for a position of trust, respect, and honour, such as a Senator, we Chinese-Canadians should feel very proud and honoured as well. However, this is not the case in this instance. George Ho Lem has been the focus of much strife and divided emotion in our community. Controversy involving this man is unresolved.[256]

As a Chinatown landowner and entrepreneur of the old guard, as well the most prominent member of the CRAC who gave the ratepayer's association much of its prestige, Ho Lem was already at odds with the UCCA's prerogatives. The "controversy" that Tims continues to explain in his letter is that George Ho Lem was Continental Plaza's developer and its first owner. Bernard Wong's study of New York's Chinatown identifies a system of formal positions with all of its accompanying rights, obligations, and resources as the basis of the community's patron-client relationships.[257] Similar sentiments regarding rights and obligations explain the UCCA's grievances against George Ho Lem. In his letter to the Prime Minister and in press interviews Tims explained that Ho Lem was able to buy city land at-cost and was only eligible for a Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) subsidized mortgage because he proclaimed the development responded to surveys indicating a need for low-income housing.[258] As an established patron and leader of the Chinese community, Ho Lem was expected to follow

[256] Douglas Tims, "Re: Replacement for Senator," December 14, 1982, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 190, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.
[257] Bernard Wong, *Patronage, Brokerage, Entrepreneurship, and the Chinese Community of New York* (New York: AMS Press, 1988), 115.
[258] Douglas Tims, "Re: Replacement for Senator," December 14, 1982, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 190, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada; Merv Anderson, "Old foes help piece Chinatown together," *Calgary Herald*, June 14, 1983, https://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fnewspapers%2Fjune-14-1983-page-9-104%2Fdocview%2F2259265608%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9838.

through with his promises. By selling the development for profit just years after its completion, Ho Lem reneged on the social contract between him and Chinatown's residents. For the UCCA, Ho Lem was a vestige of an old order of Chinatown merchants, whose social status was tied to their businesses and the land those businesses stood on. The prestige of the commercial class was itself a vestige of the exclusionary period, because "merchant" was the only exempt class during the Head Tax years and after 1921 was the least restricted category of entry.[259] Labour migrants, once arrived, were restricted to work in Chinese businesses by the language barrier and anti-Chinese sentiments. [260] While the dream was to open their own restaurant or laundry, like George Ho Lem's father succeeded in doing, obtaining social mobility involved an arduous process of paying off debts to sponsors, immigration brokers, and employers, and budgeting regular remittances to family before funds could be put aside for entrepreneurship.[261] Being a successful Chinatown merchant in the early twentieth century meant having the financial resources to influence fellow Chinese and foster friendships with non-Chinese. Though the UCCA was an umbrella organization for Chinatown's traditional associations, most of them founded by and historically led by the merchant class, its leadership had no personal connection with that history and little reverence for it. The UCCA's position in regard to Ho Lem's capitalistic endeavors was similar to how radical Asian American organizations viewed the old Chinatown establishments of their locales. New York's AAFEE condemned the CCBA as "dominated by "factory owners, merchants and landlords"" who only served their own interests.[262] Cooperation between the CCBA and AAFEE were tenuous as their methods of advocacy often clashed, the CCBA preferred behind-the-scenes negotiations characteristic of early twentieth century power

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[259] Li, *The Chinese in Canada*, 34-35.
[260] Li, *The Chinese in Canada*, 47.
[261] Mar, *Brokering Belonging,* 28.
[262] Daryl J. Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 97.

brokerage while the AAFEE favoured vocal public protest.[263] The UCCA also enjoyed negotiating in the court of public opinion, involving the mainstream and ethnic press alongside more traditional methods of letter writing.

George Ho Lem's position in Canadian political circles could not be matched by any UCCA executive, but the association did have some national connections. Following his letter to the Prime Minister, Tims also wrote to the president of the Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality informing them about their disagreement with Ho Lem. Tims warned the president that Ho Lem has been lobbying Chinese organizations for support and implored the CCNCE to take due diligence when choosing a senatorial candidate to endorse.[264]

Conclusion

Between 1982 and 1983 the UCCA saw their vision for a resident-centered, community-oriented Chinatown for the Chinese challenged by other stakeholders. The UCCA's leaders constructed their elite identities in opposition to long-time businessman and developer George Ho Lem, claiming genuine interest in Chinatown's community and culture in contrast to the merchant elite's commercial interests. The association's proposal for Chinatown to remain low-density, a residential enclave in the midst of commercial downtown core, reflected their deep concern for the primarily working class, low-income residents of Chinatown, even if the UCCA's leaders themselves had little personal experience of living in the ethnic enclave. By opposing George Ho Lem and the CRAC's development proposal, the UCCA elite constructed themselves as educated, middle-class "model minority" immigrants dedicated to civic-cultural community service. Their ability to utilize traditional methods of outreach, such as letter-writing, but also

[263] Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement*, 97.
[264] Correspondence, Douglas Tims, President, UCCA, to Dr. Lillian Mah, President Chinese Canadian National Council, January 23, 1984, M-9510, Box 11, Folder 190, Joe Khu Fonds, ASC, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada.

strategies of protest and press engagement used by their activist contemporaries, evidences the association's cultural and generational hybridity. Continental Plaza and its neighboring Orient Express proved to be a thorn on the UCCA's side, as their operation was considered antagonistic to Chinatown's family-friendly environment. Through petitions and protests, Calgary's Chinese community was able to convince City Council to vote against Continental Plaza's rezoning – a victory for Chinatown's social and cultural cohesiveness. Tims' unresolved complaints about Orient Express showed the limits of the association's influence and revealed the prejudices held by the UCCA's elite against other marginalized groups.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, two men were in clearest focus as successive presidents of the UCCA, spokesmen for Chinese-Calgarians, and beloved members of the community. Douglas Tims was ever present in the archival record through his correspondence with other community leaders, politicians, and city bureaucracy, the event plans and grant applications he personally oversaw, and in the array of *Calgary Herald* articles where he was the public face of the UCCA and Chinatown. Then there was Joe Khu. By the time Khu retired from official community functions, he had held executive positions at the Sino-Canada Culture Association and the Calgary chapter of the CCNCE, represented Chinese-Albertans on the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council, and served the UCCA as its president from 1985 to 1988.[265] His careful collection of associational documents, news, and correspondence made my investigation into this decade of UCCA activity possible.

Between 1979 and 1989, under the leadership of these two charismatic, educated and dedicated men, the UCCA pursued its claims to be a unifying, representative force through a variety of initiatives and advocacy in and outside of Chinatown. Their leadership exemplified the perspectives and values of a generation of Chinese ethnic elites and community leaders that emerged in the decades after the Second World War across North America. The UCCA was modern, civic minded, and embraced the Canadian multicultural project as a means to meet their mandates of cultural preservation and promotion. Their ability to command a unified Chinese-Canadian community rested in a careful balance of the past and present, drawing from the methods, symbolism, and prestige of old Chinatown to respond to the needs of the new.

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[265] José Bun Kee Khu, Obituary, McInnis & Holloway Funeral Homes, https://www.mhfh.com/obituaries/Jos-Bun-Kee-KHU?obId=34752746.

In chapter one I discussed the UCCA's achievements in identifying and mobilizing fundamental aspects of Chinese culture, those rooted in celebration, folklore, tradition, and ritual. As a coordinator of annual Chinese New Year celebrations, the association maintained a careful balance of honouring Calgary's local Chinese history, appealing to the global diasporic Chinese sentiments, and performing folk traditions for a non-Chinese audience. In their programming for Chinese elders, including annual cemetery visits for the Qingming festival, social services, and celebratory events, we see practices of the ancient Confucian virtue of filial piety adapted for a modern diasporic community. Those adapted practices continued the flexible kinship sentiments that ensured the survival of Chinese-Canadian communities in the early twentieth century.

Chapter two examines UCCA correspondence in three case studies of advocacy and collaboration with non-Chinese organizations. The UCCA's concern for the Chinese-Calgarian community, which was still embodied in the physical space of Chinatown, was obvious in their careful relationship building with the Calgary Police Service. The association aligned itself with CPS as a harmonizing, law enforcing influence that wanted to promote Chinatown as clean, safe, and welcoming to all. In Joe Khu's petitions against education budget cuts we see an understanding of the needs of Chinese-Calgarians and new immigrants, and the UCCA's efforts to embody all of their voices. When the Zoo requested the UCCA's help in arranging Calgary's first panda loan, the association chose to be a silent partner. Their contributions, speaking for Chinese-Calgarian interests to the Chinese embassy, arranging banquets, logistics, and programming, facilitated their entry into Calgary's cultural elite and put the UCCA on the diplomatic stage. But the background nature of these activities meant the UCCA was able to steer clear of political statements and avoided stimulating the underlying political tensions in their diasporic Chinese community.

The investigation returns to Chinatown in chapter three, to continue the conversation around Chinatown revitalization and development that started two decades earlier with the Sien Lok Society and their fight against the multi-lane freeway proposal. In advocating for their own visions for Chinatown, the UCCA referenced methods of activism used by their forbearers in Calgary, and those of community organizations and Asian American activists in other North American cities. The association's challenge of commercialization and density, wanting instead a resident-centered Chinatown-for-the Chinese, led to their condemnation of a prominent developer and Chinatown elite of the old generation, George Ho Lem. The George Ho Lem case revealed generational tensions in Chinatown, specifically between the locally-born children of Chinatown's founders whose prestige came from their families' long history as ethnic leaders, and a generation of more recent immigrants who arrived already educated, upwardly mobile, and able to integrate into Canadian society right away.

The UCCA and its leaders positioned themselves as successors to old Chinatown's power structure and elites. The association sought to study and honour Chinatown's history and drew its prestige from its traditional associations and sense of place. Ultimately though, the UCCA was outward looking, they embraced multiculturalism and sought relationships with non-Chinese organizations, they considered themselves equal players in conversations about crime and urban development. Under the leadership of the UCCA and their peer civic and culture-focused organizations, Calgary's Chinatown moved towards a new era of openness, of cultural celebration and promotion.

The UCCA and Calgary's Chinatown: From Then to Now

After 1989, the UCCA continued to coordinate Chinese New Years celebrations, cemetery visits, and continued to advocate for Chinese-Calgarians. The association's biggest triumph in the late-century, which was equally a triumph for Joe Khu and Dr. K.W. Chang, was when the Calgary Chinese Cultural Centre opened in 1992. Located on the edge of Chinatown next to Prince's Island Park, the building was first imagined as a hub of social and cultural activity in Chinatown by Khu, Chang, and Tims in the early 1980s when the UCCA produced their plans for Chinatown development. The UCCA donated monetary funds and organizational expertise to this project. The Chinese Cultural Centre to this day offers extracurricular sports, arts, and language classes, and is the premier venue for Chinatown festivities, from Chinese New Years to Lantern Festivals.

In the late 2010s, the City of Calgary identified Chinatown for development once again, initiating a series of community engagement events and correspondence with community leaders and organizations. "Tomorrow's Chinatown" is an ongoing project that seeks to guide future development in the neighbourhood, emphasizing its heritage, unique cultural character, and cultural importance for Chinese Canadians.[266] The project's emphasis on community engagement is the lasting legacy of every Chinese community organization and leader that advocated for Chinatown in the century before: from the first ethnic leaders who established Chinatown's permanent home by the river; to the Sien Lok Society's urban activism; to George Ho Lem's developments and the UCCA's campaign for its own visions.

Today, there is not one person or organization who can speak for Chinatown but many activists and community leaders partaking in conversations about cultural vibrancy, historical preservation, and the future of the neighborhood. The Chinatown Business Improvement Area is

[266] "Tomorrow's Chinatown," City of Calgary, accessed March 20, 2025, https://www.calgary.ca/planning/projects/tomorrows-chinatown.html#plans.

the driving force of the area's aesthetic improvements and public festivities.[267] Friends of Chinatown, a group based in mutual aid and volunteer ethos started by Chinese-Vietnamese entrepreneur Alice Lam, works to share the stories, history, and culture of Chinatown through low-barrier recreational activities and an active social media feed.[268] Both groups closely engage with Chinatown's traditional associations, the cultural centre, and smaller organizations to host public events. Calgary's Chinatown is so vibrant and has so many stories to tell – I hope this work encourages an appreciation of its resilience in the face of challenge, and the adaptability of its community leaders as successive generations of Chinese migrants make Chinatown their social and symbolic home.

[267] Calgary Chinatown Business Improvement Area Website, accessed March 20, 2025, https://www.calgarychinatown.com/. The website includes directories of Chinatown's restaurants, services, shops, and associations.
[268] Alice Lam website, accessed March 20, 2025, https://alicelam.org/; Friends of Chinatown website, accessed March 20, 2025, https://friendsofchinatown.org/.

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