# THE CORVETTE

The University of Victoria
Undergraduate Journal of History

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# SUBMISSIONS

*The Corvette* publishes the work of current UVic History Undergraduate students. *The Corvette* endeavors to publish articles that represent the best scholarship produced by University of Victoria students concerning the past. We are interested in all methods and fields of inquiry.

# PUBLISHING

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# DESIGN

*The Corvette* logo was designed and created by Brandon Dellebuur. This issue's cover image was taken by Tiffany Gunton in July 2005 on Loop Brook Trail near Roger's Pass, BC and was designed by Benjamin Fast. For Tiffany, the image of the old CPR trestle reflects "the bleakness of the Roger's Pass loop project, in which hundreds of men died from blasting accidents and avalanches. This trestle amidst the BC wilderness serves as a reminder of those men." This issue of *The Corvette* was compiled and formatted by Benjamin Fast. The typeface used throughout this journal is Times New Roman.

*The Corvette* is named after the Second World War convoy escort vessels made famous by the courageous service of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Battle of the North Atlantic. Named after small Canadian cities and towns, the corvette-class ships represented all of Canada and are recognized today as symbols of wartime ingenuity and industrial mass-production.

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# Editor's Introduction

It is our pleasure to introduce *The Corvette*, the new journal of The History Undergraduate Society.

This journal is possible because of the efforts of many students and faculty members. We are especially grateful to Dr. Penny Bryden and PhD candidate Derek Murray for lending their expertise to the editorial board. Dr. Lynne Marks and Dr. Jason Colby also gave our student editors invaluable guidance and encouragement, while the History Department staff helped us in countless ways. Scholarly librarian Inba Kehoe generously helped us navigate the world of online promotion and publishing. We would also like to express our deep gratitude to the University of Victoria Students' Society for their funding.

The quality of research within *The Corvette* speaks to how students are inspired by their professors. In addition, the geographical breadth of research reflects the diversity of expertise within our history department. Alison Hogan's essay, "Polio and Public Health in British Columbia, 1927-1955" examines how British Columbia's second Provincial Health Officer responded to the polio outbreaks of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. American history is represented by Matt K.M. Hammer as he studies the efforts of protestors in the 1960s to unite the African American rights movement with the anti-Vietnam movement while Carleigh Nicholl's essay explores European history through a Tudor Royal Letters Patent from 1558 found in the University of Victoria's Special Collections, a document that excited anxieties about female rule. Amy Coté examines the Second World War through Nazi soldiers' contradictory views of occupied Paris (and the French) and Courtney Reynoldson's essay deals with the aftermath of another occupation: determining the responsibility for the Nanking

Massacre. Andrew Chun Wong contributes another excellent historiographical essay on Asia by studying the efforts of the California school of historians to understand the economic changes of Late Imperial China within a global framework, a new and increasingly relevant historical topic. It is this diversity and quality that makes us so proud to present the first issue of *The Corvette*.

The undergraduate experience is transformative, yet fleeting. This journal is a tribute to our students' intellectual and personal development in the past year. We would like to thank all those who submitted their work; alas, there were many excellent essays we could not publish. We would also like to wish the best of luck to all history students, particularly to those graduating this year. Your support made this journal possible.

Sincerely,

Hannah Anderson and Benjamin Fast
Editors-in-Chief

# High School Essay Contest

DAVID DENHOFF – Glenlyon Norfolk School

*Editor's note: The editors wrote the contest essay question to fit the curriculum of Socials Studies 11, so that graduating students have an opportunity to reflect on what they have learned. No additional research was required of students, although this year's winner has made excellent use of online resources. David Denhoff is in Grade 12 at Glenlyon Norfolk School in School District 61.*

*"Which of the following twentieth century events had the greatest impact upon Canadians and why: The Great Depression, World War Two, or the Cold War?"*

The Great Depression had the greatest impact upon Canadians of any major historical event during the twentieth century. While the Second World War and the Cold War were by no means insignificant, they simply cannot compare in terms of scope and continued relevance. The Great Depression's economic and political effects had a more forceful impact on more Canadians than either the Cold War or the Second World War.

The economic consequences of the Great Depression in Canada were apocalyptic. The Great Depression began in 1929, and by 1933 unemployment had reached 30 percent and Gross National Expenditure had fallen by 42 percent.[1] At the outset of the Great Depression, there were few social programs designed to assist the unemployed. In 1930 the new Conservative government created significant public works projects and dramatically expanded programs for the unemployed, such as

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[1] James Struthers, "Great Depression," The Canadian Encyclopedia: http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/great-depression (accessed January 5th, 2013)

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welfare. However, Gross National Expenditure fell during the 1929-1933 period, because Prime Minister Bennett attempted to avoid budget deficits by cutting many of the aforementioned programs shortly after their birth. After the western provinces experienced fiscal catastrophes, and unemployment figures began to balloon nationwide, Bennett launched his own version of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 'New Deal' in 1935, with many of these programs included.[2] One-fifth of all Canadians soon became dependent on some form of government aid or relief after the introduction of Bennett's 'New Deal'.[3]

In the 1920s and 1930s, Canada was largely an agrarian and commodities-based economy. Given the global nature of the Great Depression, many of Canada's key trading partners, such as the United States and Britain, were in dire economic straits of their own, and unable to sustain the previously high demand for Canadian goods. As demand fell, so too did the prices for staple commodities. According to Paul de Hevesy, the 1926-27 average annual price (in "gold Swiss Francs per quintal") of Manitoban Wheat was 31.2. By the harvest of 1932-33, the price fell to 10.2.[4] This sharp fall in price wreaked havoc in the agricultural sector.

As the Great Depression battered the Canadian economy, the political winds began to shift. In 1932, Canada's first socialist party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) was formed. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) comments, "In the mist of the catastrophic times, labour and socialist groups as well as political activists gathered in a

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[2] Struthers, "Great Depression".
[3] Struthers, "Great Depression".
[4] Paul de Hevesy, *World Wheat Planning and Economic Planning in General* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 829.

Calgary legion hall on July 31, 1932 and formed the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation."[5] The C.C.F. gathered steam quickly, and in the 1945 federal election the C.C.F. won 28 seats in the House of Commons with 15.55% of the vote.[6] The C.C.F. never assumed the role of government at the federal level. CBC's "Canada: A People's History" argues, however, that in spite of its electoral shortfalls, the C.C.F. had a distinct impact upon the Canadian political landscape. They note that,

> Although the Party never held power nationally, its policies were adopted and implemented by federal governments over the years. Those CCF initiatives include unemployment insurance, family allowance, Medicare and universal old age pensions.[7]

These social policies, born out of a depression-era political party, have become hallmarks of the Canadian social safety net. They have benefited Canadians for decades, and continue to do so. In 1961 the C.C.F. transformed itself into a new political party, the New Democratic Party (NDP). The NDP became the federal opposition in 2011, and has propagated the legacy and ideals of the C.C.F. to the present day.

While the Great Depression shook the economic foundations of the nation and forged a lasting political tradition of social welfare, the Second World War had a myriad of grave,

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[5] "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation: Canada's first socialist party emerges from the prairie Dust Bowl", Canada: A People's History, http://www.cbc.ca/history/EPISCONTENTSE1EP13CH3PA1LE.html (Accessed January 6th, 2013)
[6] Claude Belanger, "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, (CCF) " L'Encyclopédie de l'histoire du Québec / The Quebec History Encyclopedia. http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/encyclopedia/Co-operativeCommonwealthFederation-CCF-CanadianHistory.htm (Accessed January 6th, 2013)
[7] "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation".

yet conflicting impacts. The Second World War was unmistakably tragic. Over 54,000 were wounded during the war and 45,000 would give the ultimate sacrifice.[8] While the war had its tragedies on a human level, economically it was anything but tragic. Unemployment rates fell dramatically during the Second World War, in fact, "during and after the Second World War, unemployment rates dropped to 3% or less".[9] The war was a true human tragedy, but it helped to lift the country out of economic depression.

The Cold War had an immense impact on many nations. Events like the Cuban Missile Crisis certainly had undeniably pervasive consequences on both the Soviet Union and the United States. However the impact upon other nations was limited, certainly in Canada's instance. Simply put, the Cold War did not have the same immediate or residual effect on Canada that the Great Depression did. The Cold War did not give birth to any political legacy as strong as the modern-day NDP. Furthermore, it did not have the tangible effect the Depression had on individuals' and families' daily lives.

The Great Depression caused significant trauma for Canadians during its course, and its residuum never fully dissipated, even to the present day. The profound economic destruction dealt by the Depression left a psychological scar on Canadians, which manifested itself in a new branch of thought in mainstream Canadian politics.

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[8] "Second World War: Remembering Canada's Role in World War Two", The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation News, May 10, 2010, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/04/26/f-canada-second-world-war.html (Accessed January 7th, 2013)

[9] Dave Gower, "A note on Canadian unemployment since 1921", *Perspectives on Income and Labour* 4 no. 3 (article no. 3) (Autumn 1992): http://www.statcan.gc.ca/studies-etudes/75-001/archive/e-pdf/87-eng.pdf

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# "It is not un-German to love Paris": *Wehrmacht* Perceptions of Paris and the French during the Second World War

AMY COTÉ

On 14 June 1940, the streets of Paris were quiet. German troops entered the capital practically unopposed.[1] This fact alone distinguishes the final days of the battle of France and the subsequent occupation from previous conflicts between France and Germany. France's official capitulation on the 24 June 1940 marked the beginning of four years of German occupation in northern and western France,[2] a time often reconstructed by popular French imagination as the darkest times of the war. The experiences of Germans, however, tell a vastly different story; German soldiers stationed in Paris actively interacted with French culture, Germans on the home front idealized the city as a welcome escape from their wartime lives, and Nazi officials spoke openly about their admiration for the French capital. Like many other elements of Nazi ideology, attitudes towards France and French civilians during the occupation were rife with contradictions; Nazi leaders praised France as a cultured nation with a rich history that was to be studied and respected by the German people. Simultaneously, however, they emphasized the backwardness and immorality of French culture, actively painting their hereditary enemy as shallow and immoral. As the capital of France, Paris became the focal point of these contradictions, representing both sophistication and degeneracy.

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[1] Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich at War: How the Nazis Led German from Conquest to Disaster* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 132–33.
[2] Ibid., 133.

This paradox, typical of Nazi ideology, reveals the numerous discrepancies between official propaganda and reality on the ground.

German animosity towards France was woven into the very foundation of the nation. The unification of Germany took place after the Franco-Prussian war in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles in 1871, and hostile feelings were further exacerbated by the events of the following decades. Germany's defeat by France in 1918 and the humiliation of the Treaty of Versailles the following year consolidated the popular image of France as the hereditary enemy of Germany. As a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles, the Weimar Republic was crippled from its infancy by reparation payments to France and other allied nations. Adolf Hitler and the NSDAP came to power partially on a platform that promised to correct the injustices of Versailles, and while this element of revenge was not the only appeal of the Nazis, Hitler's successful demonization of the French provides some indication of popular sentiments towards them in late Weimar Germany. After 1933, official German policy towards France remained negative,[3] and was heavily focused on espionage and general feelings of mistrust.[4]

The French declaration of war immediately following the German invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939 marked the beginning of a new phase of Franco-German relations. The following spring, France quickly collapsed under the force of the German invasion. German troops entered Paris practically unopposed on 14 June 1940 and the official surrender of France occurred a little over a week later, with Hitler completing his

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[3] For an incident of this policy, see Michéle C. Cone's article, "French Art of the Present in Hitler's Berlin," *Art Bulletin* 80, no.3 (1998): 555–67.

[4] Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in the Second World War," *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no.3 (1998): 618.

humiliation of French officials by insisting that the armistice be signed in the same railway car at Compiègne as the German capitulation in 1918.[5]   This armistice divided France into an occupied zone in the north and west and a nominally independent area in the south and east under the control of the Vichy puppet government.[6]  The occupation of France marked the beginning of an unprecedented wartime relationship between France and Germany; in previous wars, while German troops had been stationed on French soil, they had remained only briefly (as in 1870–71) or had been immobilized in the trenches of Northern France.  Now, German soldiers were free to move about France and experience its culture, monuments, and people.

Until recently, historians accepted that while Hitler and the Nazis fought a war of barbarization on the eastern front and committed unimaginable crimes, their treatment of the French largely conformed to the conventions of warfare.  Christopher Neumaier, however, argues against this interpretation.  He cites the dramatic increase in reprisal policy against acts of political resistance between 1941 and 1942 as evidence that the German attitude towards the French was not as innocuous as it is traditionally portrayed.  According to Neumaier, a comparatively polite German attitude towards the French was conditional on their continued cooperation, and the perceived increase of resistance activities after 1941 correlated positively with German retribution.[7]   While Neumaier documents the inarguably sharp increase in German executions of French civilians, the causality of this increase is not directly related to the German perception

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[5] Richard J Evans, *The Third Reich at War*, 132–33.

[6] Richard J Evans, *The Third Reich at War*, 133.

[7] Christopher Neumaier, "The Escalation of German Reprisal Policy in Occupied France, 1941–1942" *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no.1 (2006): 116–17.

of the French; the vast majority of those executed or imprisoned were established communists, overt political enemies, or ethnic Jews. While this distinction *does not* excuse the Nazis' crimes in France or deny the incredible suffering of millions of French (especially Jews and others persecuted by Nazi ideology under Hitler), it remains an established truth of Nazi racial ideology that the French were racially and culturally superior to Germany's eastern neighbours, and as such it was not the goal of the Third Reich to eliminate them as a race or nationality.[8]

Throughout the occupation, to be posted in Paris or to visit on holidays was seen as a welcome reprieve from the brutal fighting conditions of the other fronts of the war. Members of the *Wehrmacht* stationed on the eastern front subscribed disproportionately to the German travel magazine *Deutscher Wegleiter für Paris* because it allowed them a mental escape from their harsh realities.[9] Attempting to capitalize on this desire, the Nazi organization *Jeder einmal in Paris* [everyone in Paris once] aspired to offer a holiday in Paris to every member of the German military.[10] Although this goal was never achieved, the numbers of soldiers who were able to visit Paris is surprisingly high: *Wegleiter* claimed that one million tourists, albeit not all soldiers, participated in their Paris excursions.[11] The German government openly encouraged soldiers to tour Paris and experience its cultural and historical brilliance; sites frequently sanctioned by official government-organized tours included Napoleon's tomb at *Les Invalides*, *Place de la*

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[8] Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II" *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no.3 (1998): 633.

[9] Melanie Gordon Krob, "Paris through Enemy Eyes: The Wehrmacht in Paris 1940-1944" *Journal of European Studies* 33, no.1 (2001): 3.

[10] Gordon M. Bertram, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II" *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no.3 (1998): 622.

[11] Ibid., 621.

*Concorde*, *l'École Militaire*, *Montmartre*, *Notre Dame* Cathedral, and many other quintessentially French locations.[12] *Kraft durch Freude* coordinated tours to similar sites in occupied Paris under the premise of promoting understanding between the French and the Germans.[13]

Popular perceptions of France are perhaps most accurately captured in the observations of *Wehrmacht* soldiers stationed in Paris. Through journals, fictionalized accounts, photographs, and letters, members of the *Wehrmacht* recorded their experiences in the city of lights. In her 2001 article, "Paris through Enemy Eyes: The *Wehrmacht* in Paris 1940–1944," Melanie Gordon Krob provides a fascinating cross-section of first hand observations of soldiers stationed in the French capital. According to Krob,

> [t]he German military and occupying forces in France in 1940–4 saw Paris as much more than a conquered capital; Paris was an experience, one which touched every German personally and transformed many politically and culturally as well.[14]

For the soldiers stationed in Paris, the city seemed to epitomize the best of European culture as well as the future of Germany. The splendor of the capital captivated many members of the German army, and inspired naval officer and future author Lothar-Günther Buchheim to write that "Paris was the sparkling city between the war fronts; between the Atlantic ocean front and the bomb front, Germany. 'Paris'—symbol for hope and

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[12] Ibid., 622–23.

[13] Gordon M Bertram, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II" *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no.3 (1998): 622.

[14] Melanie Gordon Krob, "Paris through Enemy Eyes: The Wehrmacht in Paris 1940–1944" *Journal of European Studies* 31, no.3 (2001): 3.

survival."[15]    Buchheim was not alone in expressing his admiration for the city: German infantryman Hans Joachim Kitzing, who was among the first troops to occupy Paris on 14 June 1940, wrote that "[a]lthough Paris was not pre-war Paris, it was still Paris, and its magic had its effect on a foreign visitor."[16] Paris was, to many soldiers, "a second spiritual fatherland."[17]

France as "the land of romance and sex," as well as high culture, superior food, and "the good life" in general was undeniably both experienced and propagated by the *Wehrmacht* and other visitors to Paris during the war years.[18]   German authorities strictly monitored brothels in Paris, with specific locations designated for exclusive use of the *Wehrmacht* and others for German officers.  The preoccupation with controlling the spread of venereal diseases among the German army was unsuccessful: diseases spread rapidly among troops in spite of regulations.[19]  Furthermore, many German soldiers found French lovers and mistresses; *Wehrmacht* officer Ernst Jünger recorded in his diary that "Paris offers you these kinds of meetings, almost without you having to seek them."[20]   Jünger recorded his relationships with a series of Parisian women in his diaries and, while motivations for and durations of these types of relationships are difficult to estimate, he was certainly not alone in his liaisons with French women: estimates for the total number

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[15] Quoted in ibid., 13.

[16] Quoted in Melanie Gordon Krob, "Paris through Enemy Eyes: The Wehrmacht in Paris 1940–1944" *Journal of European Studies* 33, no.1 (2001): 5.

[17] Quoted in Bertram M.  Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II: *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no.3 (1998): 627.

[18] Ibid., 618.

[19] Phillipe Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940–1944* (London:Arnold, 1996), 203–04.

[20] Quoted in ibid., 205.

of children born to French women fathered by German soldiers range from fifty to seventy thousand.[21]

Like members of the *Wehrmacht* and tourists in Paris during the war, Nazi officials spoke openly of their attitudes towards France and the French. Hitler himself expressed open admiration for Paris and sought to model his future Germania (a renovated and glorified Berlin) on the French capital.[22] Although the French declared Paris an open city before the signing of the armistice, Hitler had already issued orders to avoid its destruction, seeing it as a German "responsibility…to preserve undamaged this wonder of Western civilization."[23] Hitler was the first public Nazi figure to tour Paris after Germany's victory: his visit on 23 June 1940 included stops at Napoleon's tomb, *Trocadéro*, and the Paris Opera.[24] Paris embedded itself firmly in Hitler's mind: he told his companions that Paris had "always fascinated" him and that he was glad to have experienced its "magical atmosphere."[25] Joseph Goebbels' visit to Paris, which occurred shortly after Hitler's, included many of the same stops. He recorded mostly positive impressions in his journals. In true Nazi fashion, tourist circuits during the occupation were modeled largely on the stops made by Hitler and Goebbels.[26]

Attitudes towards Paris and the French, however, were not exclusively positive. In spite of the German *Wehrmacht*, Nazi officers, and civilian tourists expressing delight with their

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[21] Ibid., 207.

[22] Melanie Gordon Krob, "Paris through Enemy Eyes: The Wehrmacht in Paris 1940–1944" *Journal of European Studies* 31, no.3 (2001):11–12.

[23] David Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich: A History of the German Occupation, 1940–1944* (London: Collins, 1981), 13.

[24] Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II" *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no.3 (1998): 620.

[25] Quoted in ibid., 620.

[26] Ibid., 620–22.

experiences in Paris, official German policy remained decidedly anti-French. Censorship laws prevented the publication of overtly Francophile material,[27] and France was presented in official publications such as *Deutscher Wegleiter für Paris* as a backwards nation that required German rehabilitation.[28] The Nazi government actively worked to re-educate the French about their new place in the Greater German Reich, funding a series of exhibitions in Paris aimed at emphasizing the common enemies and problems shared by France and Germany. Exhibitions denounced Freemasons, Jews, and Bolsheviks as the source of many problems, as well as informing the French that their future was inexorably intertwined with that of Germany. These exhibitions also sought to reshape the French perception of themselves as the cultural, artistic, and social leaders of Europe, emphasizing instead their subordinate nature to their German superiors. These exhibitions attracted hundreds of thousands of people to each event.[29]

In addition to these exhibitions, the Nazis sought to bring the people of Paris and the larger French population in line with German culture through the arts, particularly theatre, literature, and music. The German Institute in Paris was responsible for this re-education. While the Germans experienced limited success with theatre and literature, German music became increasingly popular in Paris during the occupation. Between May of 1942 and July of 1943, thirty-one concerts showcasing German composers occurred in Paris. These concerts were

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[27] Melanie Gordon Krob, "Paris through Enemy Eyes: the Wehrmacht in Paris 1940–1944" *Journal of European Studies* 31, no.3 (2001): 19.

[28] Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II" *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no.3 (1998): 622.

[29] Phillipe Burrin, *Living With Defeat: France Under the German Occupation 1940–1944*, (London: Arnold, 1996): 292–94.

highly popular among Parisians, in spite of warnings from the French resistance that music was a powerful propaganda tool.[30]

The German Institute also coordinated a series of lectures intended for the "educated" population of Paris. These lectures included topics ranging from literature to economics, history, and even medicine. All of these lectures featured notable German speakers and emphasized Nazi ideas. Lectures were wildly popular: by 1942, an estimated 25,000 people attended lectures in Paris alone. Furthermore, approximately 100,000 French men and women actively attempted to learn the German language.[31] When viewed in terms of the re-education of the French people, both the lecture series and the influx of German arts and culture in Paris foreground the contradictions inherent to the Nazi attitude towards Paris and the French: while Parisian culture was admired by most and respected by many, it nevertheless was subjugated to the same *Gleichschaltung* ["coordination"] undergone in Nazi Germany itself in the 1930s.[32]

In spite of Hitler's, Goebbels', and other party members' positive impressions of Paris, official German attitudes towards French visual arts during the war present an excellent example of the open contradictions of Nazism. Nazis acknowledged the validity of the contemporary Parisian art world by allowing both Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse—artists officially labeled as "degenerate" by the Reich—to continue to work, as well as extending an official invitation for Matisse to visit Germany in 1941.[33] Nazi officials, especially Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg, and Goering, demonstrated special interests in claiming French

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[30] Phillipe Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940–1944* (London: Arnold, 1996): 296–98.

[31] Ibid., 305.

[32] Ibid., 297–98.

[33] Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II" *Annals of Tourism Research* 25:3 (1998), 626.

works of art for their personal collections as well as for German museums. By 1942, Goering had acquired a substantial collection of art from French museums, including works by Renoir, Degas, Manet, and Cézanne.[34] Goering openly acknowledged the illegality of his possession of these works, saying:

> occupied France is a conquered country. In old days things were simpler, there was plundering, whoever conquered a country could do what he liked with its wealth. Now they do things more humanely. For my part I go plundering.[35]

This wide-scale looting of French art by German officials is symptomatic of their larger regard for French culture and their recognition of its value; while the French may have been undeniably inferior to the Germans according to Nazi ideology and the political history of the Reich, even Nazi officials could not deny the rich cultural history of their western neighbours. Paradoxically—and perhaps spitefully—while many great works of art were pilfered by Germans, significant numbers were also destroyed; on 27 May 1943 alone, upwards of five hundred works by artists including Picasso were burnt.[36]

Perhaps the most striking example of German fondness for the delights of the French capital and the paradoxical relationship between official anti-French policy and popular sentiment was the direct refusal to obey Hitler's order to destroy the city during the retreat of 1944. General Dietrich von Choltitz, head of the German forces in Paris, recognized that he

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[34] David Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich: A History of the German Occupation, 1940–1944* (London: Collins, 1981), 90.
[35] Ibid., 92.
[36] Ibid., 93.

would be unable to hold the city but also saw the idea of its destruction as criminal.  General Hans Spiedel also ignored similar orders to bomb Paris from above.[37]  Hitler himself internalized this contradiction; although he ordered Paris to be burnt to the ground, he also acknowledged that he was "happy that [they] did not have to destroy Paris.  As much inner calm as [he] experienced when [he] decided to destroy St.  Petersburg and Moscow, that is how much pain [he] would have felt at the destruction of Paris."[38]  As Kurt Scheffler, a journalist and later an author and memoirist, concluded:

> It is not un-German to love Paris.  To hate it would be un-German… We arrive as pupils in this wonderfully rich city, and leave enriched, reverent, and, as such, better, more sensitive and more thoughtful.  Better, one could even say, more German.[39]

The irony of becoming "more German" by absorbing the cultural delights of Paris, a city that stands, even today, as a strong symbol of France and French culture, is unavoidable.  In many ways, occupied Paris succeeded in pulling at the loose threads of Nazi ideology and exposing the numerous aporia of National Socialist thought.  While official German policy remained decidedly anti-French during the occupation, many of the same officials who determined this policy praised Paris and its culture, collected French works of art, and dreamt of Paris as a symbol of Germany's glorious future.  Members of the *Wehrmacht*, who

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[37] Bertram M.  Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II" *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no.3 (1998): 629.

[38] Quoted in Melanie Gordon Krob, "Paris Through Enemy Eyes: The Wehrmacht in Paris 1940–1944" *Journal of European Studies* 31, no.3 (2001): 22.

[39] Quoted in Ibid., 22.

were expected to subjugate the conquered city, instead fell in love with its attractions and its people, many of them remembering that "it [was] painful to leave Paris."[40] These contradictions, above all else, reveal the irreconcilable differences between inanimate ideology and reality on the ground. Once it had become apparent that the allies would reclaim Paris in 1944, the Nazis chose to make their final stand in *l'École Militaire*, a building holding significant historical value to the French, under the assumption that the allies would not fire on such a monumental target: they were wrong.[41] While this strategy was unsuccessful, it clearly and ironically demonstrates the paradoxes of German attitudes towards Paris during the occupation.

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# Race and War: The Impact of African-American Racial Struggle and Tension on American Opposition to the War in Vietnam

MATTHEW K.M. HAMMER

"We cannot discuss what life was like in the sixties [in America]...without discussing ....race and war."[1] These two forces, the Vietnam War and African-American inequality, split society in the United States and resulted in a decade with a kind of revolutionary energy rarely seen. Protest was the style of the day and it took many forms, from the freedom rides of the early civil rights movement to the vast marches of the late anti-war movement. Throughout the movement, the forces of race and war were inextricably entwined. The greatest question for historians, then, is how these two forces interacted and what we can learn from their interactions. Many have studied the impact that Vietnam had on the African American rights movements (this term will be used here to collectively refer to the civil rights movement, the black liberation struggle, and general activism spurred by racial tension in America) and the lives of African-Americans. Racial tension also played a large part in the reactions of the broader public to the war. In particular, the tactics and rhetoric of the African-American struggle for racial equality influenced the way the Vietnam War was opposed. Many in both the anti-war and the African-American movements desperately wanted to see the two struggles unified in order to have the "perennially weak voices of morality ... gaining

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[1] Julian Bond, "The Roots of Racism and War," in *Vietnam and Black America: An Anthology of Protest and Resistance*, ed. Clyde Taylor (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1973), 107.

strength from mutual reinforcement."[2]   This "fateful merger" however, never materialized.[3]    Many organizations and individuals laid their opposition to the war at the feet of African-American repression, and some anti-war organizations had their roots in the civil rights movement.   Racial conflict, however, encouraged actions and reactions which contributed to the marginalization of some sections of the anti-war movement. Rhetoric which tried to bring together the struggles of African-Americans and the horrors of the war attracted either little support or much venom.  The tactics activists learned from and adopted to appeal to African-Americans created backlash in the riot-phobic wider society.   Ultimately, both the rhetoric and tactics contributed to the radicalising of parts of the movement and helped in its fragmentation.

Before exploring the marginalizing impacts of racial conflict, however, it makes sense to examine the reasons that African-American oppression encouraged opposition to the war. These reasons are particularly clear in Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1967 speech in Riverside Church in New York City.  King laid out seven reasons for opposing the war, which were echoed by those who spoke before and after him.   These reasons ranged from seeing the war "as an enemy of the poor" to the hypocrisy of fighting for non-violence domestically while his "own nation [was] using massive doses of violence to solve its problems."[4]   In

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[2] Robert S.  Browne, "The Freedom Movement and the War in Vietnam," in *Vietnam and Black America: An Anthology of Protest and Resistance*, ed. Clyde Taylor (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1973), 71.

[3] Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?: American Protest Against the War in Vietnam 1963-1975* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1984), 89.

[4] Martin Luther King, Jr..  "Martin Luther King, Jr., Declares His Opposition to the War, 1967," as reprinted in *Ramparts* (May, 1967), 33-37, in Robert J. MacMahon, ed., *Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War,* 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008), 404.

addition, King offered several more compelling reasons for opposing the war that were clearly based on the racial conflict going on in the United States. King opposed the war primarily because of its relation to the racial question - he would not support having "Negro and white boys kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools."[5] Many African-Americans and African-American organizations from all sectors expressed similar ideas. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (hereafter: SNCC) issued a statement in response to the murder of Samuel Younge, one of their workers, in 1966 saying that African-Americans were being "called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a democracy which does not exist for them at home."[6] On a more strategic and radical front, the Black Panther Party offered to provide troops to the Vietnamese because Vietnam was "the 'countryside' of the world" and any revolution had to begin in the countryside, only marching into the city of America as a final act of victory. The precise reasons racial struggle inspired opposition to the Vietnam War varied, but they were clearly important to many prominent African-American organizations and individuals.

The impact of these arguments on the broader public though, was not so positive. Julian Bond, a black legislator in Georgia, was denied his seat shortly after being elected when he supported the previously mentioned statement by the SNCC against the war.[7] Bond was eventually reinstated by Supreme

[5] Ibid., 403.
[6] Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, "Statement on Vietnam," in *Vietnam and Black America: An Anthology of Protest and Resistance*, ed. Clyde Taylor (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1973), 259.
[7] Clyde Taylor, ed., *Vietnam and Black America: An Anthology of Protest and Resistance* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1973), 57.

Court Decision, but the incident demonstrated the animosity the powers that be held towards arguments at the intersection of African-American rights and Vietnam. This animosity was also displayed in the reactions to Martin Luther King Jr.'s opposition to the war. Anti-war activists had hoped that bringing King into the movement would sway more moderate mainstream America to their causes.[8] These hopes were dashed by the newspaper coverage of King's speech. The *New York Times* called the speech at Riverside "Dr. King`s error" and said it would be "disastrous" to both civil rights and anti-war movements.[9] The popular press felt that linking these two complicated issues, both of which struck at the heart of institutional American values, would lead to "deeper confusion."[10]

Even when rhetoric integrating the two struggles was not actively opposed, it often failed to inspire. The most direct effort to respond to both racial conflict and the Vietnam War was the National Committee Against War, Racism, and Repression (hereafter: NCAWRR). This broad-ranging coalition, despite its lofty goals, was often belittled as the "coalition against everything."[11] NCAWRR's first Mid-West Regional Newsletter in September 1970 listed seven separate rallies to be held before the end of November on topics ranging from supporting the Black Panthers to demonstrating for welfare rights.[12] In contrast, a similar newsletter, also outlining actions for three months, from

[8] Tom Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 130.
[9] Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?*, 110.
[10] Wells, *The War Within*, 130.
[11] Wells, *The War Within*, 461.
[12] " 49. Midwest Regional Newsletter of the National Coalition Against War, Racism, and Repression", in *Mutiny Does not Happen Lightly: the Literature of American Resistance to the Vietnam War*, ed. G. Louis Heath (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1976), 187-189.

the National Peace Action Coalition (hereafter: NPAC), was tightly focused on five, definitively anti-war events.[13] According to one organizer, this lack of focus "blurred [NCAWRR's] opposition to the war to some extent."[14] Even Doug Dowd, an organizer who had previously argued for a more multi-issue campaign, compared the coalition to "a bunch of fucking vultures over a carcass" and said that it "became very, very difficult to move an inch."[15] Organizations which attempted to respond to both racial conflict and the war were either too radical or too unfocused to gather anything other than opposition.

Moreover, discourse at the intersection of race and war sometimes encouraged support of, instead of opposition to, the Vietnam conflict. This is perhaps the most direct way in which racial tension marginalized or minimized opposition to the war. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (hereafter: NAACP), a preeminent civil rights organization, supported the war for a number of reasons.[16] First, the leadership of NAACP were grateful to the Johnson administration for passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and wanted to maintain his support.[17] On a financial level, many organizations, including NAACP, were worried about "losing significant financial support from civil rights contributors who...[did] not favour popular opposition to American foreign policy."[18] Indeed, while civil rights organizations that advocated

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[13] "46. National Peace Action Coalition" in *Mutiny Does not Happen Lightly: the Literature of American Resistance to the Vietnam War*, ed. G. Louis Heath (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1976), 172-173
[14] Wells, *The War Within,* 460.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Glen Ingram, "NAACP Support of the Vietnam War: 1963-1969," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 30, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 54-61, Ebscohost.
[17] Ibid., 55.
[18] Browne, "The Freedom Movement and the War in Vietnam," 68.

against the Vietnam War (SNCC, Congress for Racial Equality, and Southern Christian Leadership Coalition, hereafter: CORE and SCLC) collectively lost more than two million dollars in funding from 1964 to 1970, NAACP gained approximately the same amount over the same time span.[19] On a wider level, many young African Americans supported the war effort and enlisted because "African-American involvement in Vietnam was economically beneficial."[20] For many African American youth, the Vietnam conflict was "their escape from the ghetto."[21] Moreover, in the eyes of these African American soldiers, Vietnam, as the first truly integrated war, allowed "the brother[s]" to prove themselves to the rest of society.[22]

Beyond encouraging some African-Americans to support the war, racial tension marginalized anti-war activism by inspiring radical rhetoric. The rhetoric of the African American rights movements was becoming increasingly radical as the anti-war movement gained speed in 1965. Major legal gains had been made by the civil rights movement up to that point but the economic and social status of African Americans proved harder to change.[23] This led many prominent black leaders, such as Stokely Carmichael, to argue for a more radical "black power" position in 1966.[24] This shift encouraged radicalism especially

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[19] Ingram, "NAACP Support of the Vietnam War: 1963-1969," 56.

[20] Ibid., 57.

[21] John Gregory Dunne, "The War that Won't Go Away," (review article), *The New York Review of Books* (September 25, 1986), http://www.nybooks.com/article/archives/1986/sep/25/the-war-that-wont-go-away/?pagination=false (accessed 20 October 2011).

[22] Ingram, "NAACP Support of the Vietnam War: 1963-1969," 57.

[23] Leon F. Litwack, "Fight the Power!' The Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of Southern History* 75, no. 1 (February 2000): 11, Ebscohost.

[24] Kalen M.A. Churcher, "Stokely Carmichael, 'Black Power'," *Voices of Democracy* 4 (2009): 138,

among students such as Carl Davidson, Vice-President of the prominent anti-war organization Students for a Democratic Society (hereafter: SDS) who argued that "while the blacks were doing their thing, we [white students] had to do our thing and that way the two movements could form a revolutionary alliance."[25] The racial origins of radical anti-war rhetoric are also clearly evident in, for instance, Muhammad Ali's resistance to the draft. Ali used strong, condemning rhetoric against the "racist institution" of the draft, and was "willingly coopted by the black liberation movement."[26] In such radical rhetoric, racially inspired frustration with unjust institutions merged with frustration in the anti-war movement over the seeming endlessness of the Vietnam conflict.

Moreover, radical rhetoric was inspired by the "limitations of non-violence in the civil rights struggle in the South."[27] This swing towards revolutionary rhetoric beginning in 1966 was, according to American historian Tom Wells, "one of the most disastrous things that happened in the movement of the sixties."[28] Many historians have called "radical rhetoric...counterproductive" and argued that this revolutionary rhetoric and the tactics that accompanied it helped to marginalize sections of the anti-war movement.[29] While racial tension was

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http://umvod.files.wordpress.com/2010/07/churcher-carmichael.pdf (accessed 28 October 2011).

[25] Wells, *The War Within*, 95.

[26] Ellen W. Gorsevski and Michael L. Butterworth, "Muhammad Ali's Fighting Words: The Paradox of Violence in Non-violent Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no. 1 (2011): 57-58, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0335630.2010.536563.

[27] Wells, *The War Within*, 96.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Tom Bates, review of *Tell Tale Hearts: The Origins and Impact of the Vietnam Anti-War Movement,* by Adam Garfinkle. *Journal of American History* 84, no. 1 (June 1997), 312, Ebscohost.

not the sole source of radical rhetoric in the 1960s, it certainly played an important role.

Radical rhetoric, in turn, promoted radical tactics, which also alienated large sections of the public. The origins of the more radical non-violent and violent tactics of the anti-war movement are clear if we examine the birth of the anti-Vietnam War movement in general. Americans opposed the Vietnam War for a variety of reasons, many of which sprang directly from the war and had no prior history. Most organizers of anti-war protest, however, were either students with civil rights history such as those in SDS or SNCC, radical pacifists who had earlier opposed nuclear proliferation like A.J. Muse and David Dillinger, or communist or socialist parties such as the Progressive Labour Party. Of these groups, it was those with a history in the civil rights movement that "added a politics of insurgent protest...to the movement.[30] SDS and SNCC had learned an "immediate sense of responsibility for institutional evil...[in] urban ghettos" and "rural Southern jails."[31] Thus, racial tension played a large role in providing the energy of the early anti-war movement, but it also, unfortunately, contributed to the use of insurgent tactics.

The use of insurgent tactics throughout opposition to the war was often, though not always, inspired by the African-American movements, directly and indirectly. In 1967, the events in Oakland, California for national Stop the Draft Week (hereafter: STDW) were one of the first examples of non-violent "mobile guerilla warfare" used by anti-war demonstrators.[32]

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[30] Chalres DeBenedetti, "On the Significance of Citizen Peace Activism: America, 1961-1975," *Peace and Change* 9, no. 2/3 (Summer 1983): 11, Ebscohost.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?,* 135.

Demonstrators attempted to shut down the induction facility in Oakland by using their bodies as physical barriers and, in doing so, were directly attempting to mirror "black street rebellion."[33] SDS organizers suggested that STDW protesters "follow the path blazed by the Black Panthers" as an attempt to "make themselves credible to the black people of Oakland."[34] These tactics were ultimately "far more unacceptable than the war in Vietnam" to the American public, once again moving opposition to the war farther from mainstream opinion.[35]

A similar pattern was repeated later in the war with the May Day actions of 1971 in Washington, D.C. Protesters engaged in widespread non-violent resistance in an attempt to "stop the Government of the United States," in the words of an unnamed protestor.[36] The May Day actions were largely supported and organized by NCAWRR, which was itself founded explicitly to "confront the interrelated issues of war, racism...and all other ills within this society."[37] Further evidence that these actions were at least partly inspired by racial tensions is the support African-Americans gave to arrested protesters. Some African Americans supplied May Day protestors with food and housing, under the belief that anything that disrupted the functioning of the state was good for African Americans.[38] Unfortunately, the support demonstrated by African Americans was not shown by the rest of society. Seventy-one percent of

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[33] Wells, *The War Within,* 173.
[34] Ibid, 174.
[35] Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?*, 135.
[36] Ibid., 345.
[37] "48. National Coalition Against War Racism and Repression" in *Mutiny Does not Happen Lightly: the Literature of American Resistance to the Vietnam War*, ed. G. Louis Heath (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1976), 181.
[38] Wells, *The War Within*, 504.

Americans were opposed to the May Day actions and a full seventy-six percent supported the mass arrests that were used to suppress the protests.[39]   Similar narratives to those given here could be told about the riots at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968.  One of the 8 people eventually charged there with inciting the riot was a member of the Black Panther party.[40] Efforts to engage with racial tension often brought mainstream opposition.

It is important to note that the support shown to radical protestors by African-Americans in Washington in 1971 was not necessarily the norm throughout the movement.  At the 1967 march on the pentagon, where Abbie Hoffman announced that protestors would make the building "rise into the air," African-Americans held their own rally, not wanting to play "Indian outside the white man's fort."[41]   Similarly, when students occupied buildings at Columbia University in 1968, African-Americans requested that white students occupy separate buildings.[42]  Moreover, when the police eventually moved in and evicted protestors, the African Americans left the buildings much more peacefully than did their white counterparts.[43]   Racial tension and racial struggle clearly divided some African-Americans from the main force of the anti-war movement, further fragmenting a movement that was already split by ideological and practical debates.[44]

Racial tension also contributed to the fragmentation of some of the main streams of the anti-war movement, as shown

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[39] Ibid., 511.
[40] Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?*, 249.
[41] Wells, *The War Within*, 180; Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?*, 135.
[42]Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?*, 166.
[43] Ibid., 167.
[44] DeBenedetti, "On the Significance of Citizen Peace Activism: America, 1961-1975," 9.

by the implosion of the SDS.  The 1969 convention of SDS was marked by theatrics and explosive conflict that essentially destroyed one of the leading organizations of student anti-war opposition.[45]  This destruction was inspired, in no small part, by the ongoing African-American movements.  An activist named Bernadine Dohrne lead the splintering under an ideology which placed alternatively "the black ghetto community, sometimes only the [Black] Panthers, sometimes the third world as a whole" in the role of vanguard for a revolution, according to a witness to her speech.[46]  This splintering was, in many ways, more about power, control, and refuting alternative Marxist ideologies and less aggressive tactics as much as it was about the racial question.  There is no doubt though, that the racial struggle gave Dohrne's group a tool they would not otherwise have had. Dohrne brought representatives from the Black Panthers to the convention to lecture delegates on how moderate factions had deviated from Marxist-Leninist ideology on the National Question," and extensively used the "radical chic" the Panthers possessed at the time.[47]  The explosion at the convention marked the demise of the SDS as one of the leading student anti-war organizations.

And in the grave of the SDS was also laid any hope of a truly powerful multi-issue anti-war movement, killed in no small part by the racial tensions of the 1960s.  This, however, was not an intentional murder, but manslaughter.  Racial tension and conflict and the multi-faceted African-American movements they created encouraged frustration with the status quo system that fed into the anti-war movement in unforeseeable ways.  Because of racial tension, many people had firsthand experience of

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[45] Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?*, 251.
[46] Ibid., 252.
[47] Wells, *The War Within,* 304; Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?*, 253.

systematic injustice. This encouraged some influential individuals and groups to lend their support to the anti-war movement, such as SDS and King. However, whenever groups tried to unify the issues of race and war they were either attacked by mainstream opposition or found themselves bogged down in sectarianism and by too diffuse a strategy. Moreover, the systematic struggles faced by African-Americans led many of them to believe the best path to success lay in discouraging opposition to the war. Within that opposition, anti-war activists of all colours, inspired by the African-American movements, turned readily to radical rhetoric and tactics which alienated mainstream Americans. By the end of the war the largest rallies were organized by organizations which entirely avoided the issue of race. NPAC, a socialist labour-based organization which had always advocated strongly for single issuism, held a rally of 500 000 in Washington in 1971, which was perhaps the largest single rally of the war.[48] The Vietnam Moratorium, the largest protest during the war, involving millions of Americans, was "as American as the stars and stripes" and was planned by a young republican and a moderate democrat.[49] This is not the complete story of the relationship between race and the anti-war movement, but the variety within that relationship demonstrated the fragmenting effect of racial tension.

One wishes that the African-American movements and the anti-war movement could have united their voices and together helped to forge a better America. But in the end, the statement by the *New York Times* in response to Martin Luther King's 1967 speech proved to be prophetic: these issues, too complex to solve individually, were far too complex to be solved

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[48] Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up?*, 168.
[49] Ibid., 269; Wells, *The War Within*, 329.

together.[50]   The logic joining the African American rights and anti-war movements was opaque to the general population. Attempting to address the racial question often made the anti-war movement more inclined to search for revolution instead of reform, for which mainstream America was not ready.   Single issue campaigns, like the early civil rights movement and the late anti-war movement, were those with the most success in reaching the majority of Americans.   This is ultimately a lesson for all those who wish to affect change: society rarely reacts well to the tactics and rhetoric of radical revolution.

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[50] Wells, *The War Within*, 130.

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# Polio and Public Health in British Columbia, 1927-1955

ALISON HOGAN

Throughout the history of public health in British Columbia, polio has presented enormous challenges to the political ministries and private organizations dedicated to social welfare. Despite the severe fiscal restraints of the Great Depression, early initiatives to monitor public health after the opening of the province's first health unit on Vancouver Island in 1927[1] led to a strong framework of public health education and the reporting of communicable disease. This essay will explore how public and political responses to polio epidemics affected health policy over time.

The bulk of the primary sources from the early period presented here comes from the files of Dr. Henry Esson Young, the province's second Provincial Health Officer, 1916 to 1937.[2] Young was a physician who served as MLA for the northern town of Atlin for three years before moving to Victoria to serve as Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education from 1907 to 1915.[3] One of the founders of the University of British Columbia,[4] he was responsible for much of the legislation involved in its creation, and he took a particular interest in the university's School of Nursing. Young also oversaw construction of the Riverview "Hospital of the Mind" (originally

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[1] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1930, p. U9.
[2] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1940, p. CC7-8.
[3] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1940, p. CC7-8.
[4] Brian J. Fraser, *The Study of Religion in British Columbia: A State-of-the-Art Review*, (Water, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press 1995): p. 4.

named "Essondale" in his honour), and the provincial Normal School in what is now the Young Building at Camosun College.[5]

Young's annual reports in the Sessional Papers of the Legislative Assembly provide ample evidence that public health was placing heavy demands upon the provincial coffers. The statistics reflect a preponderance of serious diseases afflicting the population, ranging from the ever-present tuberculosis to diptheria, scarlet fever and other ubiquitous childhood afflictions.[6] Perhaps one of the most important developments during his tenure as Health Officer was the implementation of a system for tracking reportable diseases. By the end of 1929, every physician in the province was provided a set of pre-stamped cards which were to be mailed back to Victoria each week, on which all cases of disease for the previous week were noted.[7]

Although polio does not appear in the annual reports quite as dramatically as did other reportable diseases, the early records of correspondence show that infantile paralysis proved to be a particularly frustrating challenge for patients and medical professionals, especially for those living in the more remote rural areas of the province in the years leading up to the Depression. Given its geography, British Columbia is no stranger to the urban/rural divide. What factors influenced the eventual concentration of medical services for polio and other epidemic diseases in the Lower Mainland? What roles did poverty and geography play in the outcomes for those who required treatment for these diseases in B.C. during this time? I will argue that the evolution of a strong provincial response was driven by a

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[5] G.P.V. and Helen B. Akrigg, *British Columbia Place Names,* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 1997): p. 76.
[6] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1930, p. U6.
[7] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1930, p. U20.

combination of happy circumstance, as evidenced by a generation of extremely competent and well-connected "medical men" who found themselves in charge of setting up provincial medical health systems and formulating public health policy in the late 1920s.[8] Without these early efforts at a provincial level, one can only speculate how these epidemics would have been dealt with.

Polio historian Christopher Rutty argues that the 1927 epidemic galvanized the provinces to respond in a unique way:

> In most provinces, and to varying degrees, provincial polio strategies expanded during serious epidemics with the development of specific preventive, treatment and hospitalization services that were freely available to all polio cases, regardless of income. No other disease generated such a broad and unconditional response from Canadian governments during this period – and with the blessing and co-operation of the medical profession. In the absence of any effective treatments for polio, the assumption of responsibility by provincial governments helped to relieve some of the extraordinary frustrations and pressures polio increasingly placed on private physicians. Bearing the brunt of Canada's worst epidemics, Alberta, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan developed the most sophisticated and generous polio policies in this period. [9]

While most of the western provinces worked with extraordinary speed to provide a broad range of services to all polio victims regardless of ability to pay, British Columbia's early response

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[8] Christopher J. Rutty, "A Middle Class Plague, Epidemic Polio and the Canadian State 1936-37," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, Volume 13 (1996): p. 284.
[9] Rutty, "A Middle Class Plague," p. 279.

was more haphazard, and it would not be until the mid-1950s that such things as contributory hospitalization schemes and rehabilitative services would be available to all residents. By the late 1940s, the B.C. Polio Fund – the non-profit society which had been managing much of the aftercare for polio patients since the first epidemic in 1927 – was close to becoming overwhelmed by the demands of the postwar population boom.

**Polio: the first wave**

Poliomyelitis, more commonly known as infantile paralysis, first appeared in Canada in the late 1800s,[10] but the first major epidemic did not appear in British Columbia until September 1927.[11] This "first wave" epidemic came to the province on the heels of a major outbreak on the east coast of the United States where it sickened 27,000 people and killed 6,000 in 1916.[12] It was initially reported as a cluster of symptoms – "upset stomach, headache, fever, rapid pulse and stiffness in the neck or back,"[13] – which could easily be misconstrued as influenza. What set polio apart from other contagious diseases, however, was the fearsome speed with which it could ravage the nervous system, resulting in partial or complete paralysis within a couple of weeks of initial infection, assuming the patient survived the initial viral attack. [14]

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[10] Joy Jaipaul, "In the Shadows: Poliomyelitis Epidemics and Nursing Care in Edmonton 1947-1955," *Alberta History* 53.3 (Summer 2005): p. 3.
[11] "Infantile Paralysis Epidemic in West: 14 Children Dead and More Than 70 Are in Hospital," *The Globe*, September 9, 1927, p. 3.
[12] Gould, "*A Summer Plague: Polio and its Survivors,*" (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 28.
[13] Rutty, "A Middle Class Plague," p. 287.
[14] Jaipaul, "In the Shadows," p. 3

Today, the polio virus discovered by Dr. Karl Landsteiner at the Rockefeller Institute in 1908, is known to have several different strains which can be transmitted by fecal-oral contact between humans.[15] Until the mid-1930s, however, there was much speculation as to the methods of transmission, as it was commonly thought to be a single virus transmitted via the nasal passages.[16] This theory was abandoned after some disastrous experimentation with nasal spray trials resulted in irreversible damage to the olfactory nerves of a number of test subjects.[17] By 1927, however, doctors had a small weapon in the form of a convalescent serum which could be taken from the blood of a recovered polio victim.[18] If the serum could be administered within the first 24 hours of the onset of symptoms, the viral invasion of the spinal fluid could be arrested and serious complications such as paralysis and death could be prevented.[19]

The viral infection took place in three stages: acute, convalescent and chronic.[20] Medical historian Daniel J. Wilson describes the progression of the disease:

> In the classic case described by George Draper, the patient exhibits a period of feverishness possibly accompanied by vomiting and diarrhea. This is followed by a period of remission when the patient seems to be recovering. However, in many cases the disease then proceeds to a second phase of central nervous system

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[15] Christopher J. Rutty, "The History of Polio," *Health Heritage Services,* (Originally prepared for Sanofi Pasteur) 2002: p.1.

[16] Gould, *A Summer Plague*, p. 65-66.

[17] Rutty, "The History of Polio," p.7.

[18] Christopher J. Rutty, Luis Barreto, Rob Van Exan, Shawn Gilchrist, "Conquering the Crippler: Canada and the Eradication of Polio," *Canadian Journal of Public Health*;" 96:2 (Mar/Apr 2005), p. 6.

[19] Gould, *A Summer Plague*, p. 22-23.

[20] Gould, *A Summer Plague*, p. 25.

involvement in which the fever returns accompanied by sensitivity to touch, stiffness (especially in the back and neck), and paralysis. Poliomyelitis could be confirmed by a spinal tap, though in most cases paralysis was sufficient confirmation.[21]

The patient would be quarantined during the infectious period of two weeks, which was sufficient time to monitor for symptoms of paralysis. In the worst cases where paralysis was the outcome, a convalescent period of up to two years of rest and physical therapy was to be expected. There was no simple cure for polio, however, and the complexity of the required aftercare was staggering: depending on which type of virus was involved, treatments could range from relatively simple physiotherapy with hot compresses and gentle exercise (the "Sister Kenny" method) to invasive and often horrifically unsuccessful orthopedic surgery attempting to correct deformities such as severe scoliosis.[22] Thus it is easy to see why polio was viewed with such fear in the years leading into the Great Depression. The enormous fiscal costs aside, it took a great toll on caregivers and taxed the resources of communities it invaded.

The situation became even more dire when the virus shut down the respiratory system (severe bulbar poliomyelitis), placing more demands on nursing staff who were required to monitor and care for their patients around the clock, often at great risk to themselves.[23] Nurses were faced with wards filled with helpless patients in rows of iron lungs, a device invented in

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[21] Daniel J. Wilson, "A Crippling Fear: Experiencing Polio in the Era of FDR," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72:3 (1998), p. 472.
[22] Sass, Gottfried and Sorem, *Polio's Legacy: An Oral History,* p. 43-48 . See also Gould, *A Summer Plague*, Chapter 5: "An Angel Abroad," p. 85-110).
[23] Jaipaul, "In the Shadows," p. 5-6.

1928 but so prohibitively expensive that it was not always available to all who needed one, forcing some physicians to make agonizing choices about who should live or die.[24]

## Dr. Henry Esson Young, Medical Health Officer

The early polio experience in British Columbia can be found in the records of the province's medical health officer.   In May 1928, the health department of Dr. Henry Esson Young had approved the expenditure of funds to send Dr. C.  Wace of the Queen Alexandra Solarium for Crippled Children in Victoria to tour the southern interior of the province "to acquaint the medical men with the facilities provided at the Solarium for the treatment of such [polio] cases and to discuss with the profession the treatment during and immediately after the attack."[25]   In his letter of invitation, Dr. Young referred to the ferocious 1916 epidemic which had struck particularly hard in New York City,[26] mentioning that since that time "it has been gradually crossing the continent, and will undoubtedly be seasonable."[27]   The doctor's itinerary would take him into the Okanagan and Kootenay regions, which had taken the brunt of the epidemic of 1927.[28]  This particular junket, aside from being a useful tool for keeping area doctors informed about the latest treatment protocols for polio patients, was also meant to raise awareness

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[24] Gould, *A Summer Plague*, p.  91-92.

[25] Letter from Dr. H.E.  Young to Dr. C.  Wace, Secretary, Queen Alexandra Solarium for Crippled Children, Victoria, May 2, 1928.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

[26] Christopher J.  Rutty, "The History of Polio," *Health Heritage Research Services* (2002): p.  3.

[27] Letter from Dr. H.E.  Young to Dr. C.  Wace, May 2, 1928.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

[28] Undated report: *Poliomyelitis, Cases & Deaths, July – Dec.  1927*.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

among the general public that the government was taking an interest in its welfare.[29]

Meanwhile, a small crisis was being documented in Coal Creek, the news arriving in a memo from the Fernie RCMP detachment. The family of the first reported polio case of June was in dire straits and desperate for further assistance:

> Re: J*** K****** B**** & Familey [sic] (Sick & Destitute) Coal-Creek.
>
> I beg to report that the above named family where [sic] placed in quarantine on the 16th day of June upon instructions of the Medical Officer (Dr. Corson) of Fernie, B.C. for Infantile Paralysis on M***** B**** aged 16-months.
>
> On account of the mother suffering from fits it has been found advisable to have the husband remain at home or otherwise provide a nurse to look after the children during the period of confinement. This was found to be not practical with the household equipment that they have.[30]

The response of the Government Agent was immediate. A request was to the local general store "to supply this family with staple foods not to exceed $30.00 per month, and I also have, in accordance with doctor's orders, allowed a supply of fresh milk daily."[31]

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[29] Letter from Dr. H.E. Young to Dr. C. Wace, Secretary, Queen Alexandra Solarium for Crippled Children, Victoria, May 19, 1928. PABC GR-2586: Box 1, *File* 2.

[30] Memorandum *from* F.N. Emmott, Fernie RCMP Detachment, to Government Agent, Fernie, June 21, 1928. PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

[31] Letter from E.T. Cope, Government Agent, to Dr. H.E. Young, Victoria, June 22, 1928. PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

A diagnosis of infantile paralysis in a young child was truly a dreadful thing. The "necessary precautions" were relatively simple: disinfection of living quarters and personal items, bed rest, quarantine and monitoring the fever. In the absence of a dose of convalescent serum, which was extremely difficult to obtain in such a remote area at that time, all parents could do was wait to see if the child developed paralysis. With luck, the fever would die down and the family could return to normal life. The alternative was simply too awful to contemplate: paralysis, permanent disability or death, not to mention the extreme risk of transmission of the disease to others in the house. For these reasons, there was no disease that frightened parents – and impoverished families in particular – in the early decades of the twentieth century quite so much as infantile paralysis.

Telegrams continued to arrive at Young's office throughout the late summer and fall of 1928 from physicians in outlying areas pleading for convalescent serum. The main local source of serum was the provincial laboratory at Vancouver General Hospital, but most of that supply was designated to treat local cases. Young often had to reply "Sorry, no serum available."[32] News came from Fernie that, despite the quarantine measures taken in the first instance, two more cases had developed, one in a five-year old child and another in a man in his late twenties who rapidly developed acute anterior poliomyelitis (or "true polio," the the most feared of the viral infections, attacking the anterior horns of the spinal cord and the lower brain, often resulting in full or partial paralysis).[33] Dr. Young, now alarmed at this new development, had to inform the

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[32] Telegram from Dr. H.E. Young to Dr. Corsan, July 23, 1928. PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

[33] Sass, Gottfried and Sorem, *Polio's Legacy: An Oral History,* p. 2.

local doctor that there was no convalescent serum available, and warned against the use of commercially available remedies of dubious origin.[34]  By now, much of his department's business dealt with securing a reliable supply of the precious serum, and the Vancouver laboratory was canvassing patients who had had the disease to step forward and donate blood, for a fee.  In 1928, donors were paid between $6.00 and $16.50 per donation, depending on the quantity, which was ironically well in excess of what doctors were being paid to treat their patients.[35]

As polio season wore on, with the serum shortage becoming critical, Dr. Young began urging the local physicians to do all they could to obtain a supply of blood from patients who recovered, but there was a problem.  The donor was required to bear the cost of a Wassermann test for syphilis, unless the specimens could be sent to the provincial laboratory at Vancouver General Hospital, where testing was subsidized.[36] This factor alone must have represented a disincentive to donate among the rural population, but local businesses came up with some ingenious solutions.  In Kelowna in 1934 children were offered free movie passes if they gave blood for the cause.[37]

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[34] Letter from Dr. H.E.  Young to Dr. D.  Corsan, July 28, 1928.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

[35] Letter from Dr. H.E.  Young to Dr. R.E.  Coleman, Vancouver General Hospital, September 8, 1928.  Letter from Young to Dr. W.  Workman, Coal Creek, July 17, 1928.  See also undated *Report on Infantile Paralysis* by H.W. Hill, Professor of Bacteriology and of Health, UBC; Director, Vancouver General Hospital Laboratories, Vancouver, BC.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2, p.  7-8.

[36] Letter from H.W.  Hill, Director, Provincial Board of Health Laboratories, Vancouver, to Dr. H.E.  Young, August 17, 1934.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

[37] Letter from G.A.  Ootmar to H.E.  Young, October 8, 1934.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 4.

## Contagion in Schools

Apart from the almost complete absence of convalescent serum, there was the question of what to do about school closures.  In the presence of an epidemic, it was thought, those at risk should be isolated from those who were contagious.  As more cases began to surface throughout the southern region, word of mouth usually arrived in town before official instructions from Victoria could be issued, and over-cautious doctors often took it upon themselves to close schools at the first appearance of an outbreak.[38]  Throughout September as new cases began to arise, Young fielded many telegrams from physicians in outlying areas reporting that they had decided to send children home and shut down schools and other gathering places as a precaution.  Young firmly believed that closing the school was more of a detriment, considering that allowing children to circulate through the community increased the risk of contagion and did more harm than good.[39]  A doctor in Vernon went so far as to consider banning students from polio-prone regions from attending the local school, and sent a telegram to Victoria to request data:

> Kindly inform me what districts in Western Canada infected with infantile paralysis.  Children from such districts cannot attend school here.[40]

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[38] Telegram from Dr. J.E.H.  Kelso, Edgewood, BC, to Dr. H.E.  Young, December 5, 1930.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 3.

[39] Letter from Dr. H.E.  Young to Dr. R.  Gibson, Ashcroft, BC, September 18, 1928.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

[40] Telegram from Dr. O.  Morris, Vernon, BC, to Dr. H.E.  Young, September 7, 1928.  PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

That a local physician would make such a unilateral gesture is indicative of the level of paranoia developing in the community regarding what was essentially a non-event. Young was quick to question the legality of the doctor's actions and informed him that the Board of Health had no intention of declaring a formal polio epidemic in this instance.[41]

As fall turned to winter, another heartbreaking message arrived in Young's office from the local doctor in Golden, inquiring whether a young father of three small children could be treated at the Queen Alexandra Solarium for Crippled Children in Victoria. Young wrote back:

> There is no institution in the Province devoting itself to this work.
> …
> I … would suggest that you try and get the man down to the Vancouver General.…
> He could enter the hospital as an indigent and would be entitled to hospitalization.
> …
> You had better have the Government Agent certify to the fact that the man is indigent.[42]

Like the memo from Fernie in June, this exchange shows how swiftly lives could change from productivity to dependency when polio was involved. Without access to adequate hospital facilities for ongoing therapy, the misery was magnified beyond imagination. Despite the best efforts of officials like Dr. Young

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[41] Telegram from Dr. Young to Dr. Morris, September 8, 1928. PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

[42] Letter from Dr. Young to Dr. Ewert, November 26, 1928. PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 2.

and his peers, the sheer size of the province[43] (and the absence of a provincial hospital insurance plan) was proving to be an enormous handicap in establishing an equitable system of treatment for all who needed it.

A 1934 report from the medical officer in Kelowna gives a sense of the demands polio was making on available medical resources in a small community:

> As Miss M**** had orders from me to watch all the children who were living in the area where the two children were living and watch the other children in the quarantined family I could not ask her to do more. She had her hands full, and Mrs. G****** was ill after the Clinic, in bed overworked. So I asked the Council for a nurse, which request was granted. *There are 38 houses to visit twice a day, in some are as many as 6 children.*[44] [emphasis added]

This report clearly indicates that the crisis of polio contagion (even in the absence of a formally declared epidemic) represented a significant strain on remote communities whose only access to public health resources might be a single doctor and a nurse or two at a small clinic.

## Post-War Epidemics

In Young's annual report to the Provincial Secretary that year, he noted that "the lack of finances to carry on any elaborate plan of prevention has been a serious handicap."[45] Despite the

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[43] British Columbia Sessional *Papers*, 1952, Fifty-Fifth Report of the Provincial Board of Health, p. X21.

[44] Letter from Dr. G.A. Ootmar, Kelowna, BC, to Dr. H.E. Young, September 30, 1934. PABC GR-2586: Box 1, File 4.

[45] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1934, p. Z7.

fiscal restraints, his vision of a consistent, centralized system of delivering medical care and sharing information did much to quell the annual polio panic and inform the public about appropriate measures of control. However, the disease would continue to tax the resources of remote communities and health care providers even in the years after the discovery of a viable vaccine.[46] By the 1950s, it was all the province could do to keep up.

Three more serious polio epidemics struck the province, the first in 1947, with far worse situations occurring in 1952 and 1953.[47] The later attacks were particularly virulent and there was a great deal of speculation as to why this happened. Two new strains had been discovered, and the theory was that the population which had developed immunity to the first occurrence remained vulnerable to infection by the new arrivals.[48] By 1953, the two major hospitals in the province – Vancouver General and the Royal Jubilee in Victoria – were operating at capacity.[49]

In Victoria, medical officials issued urgent appeals for volunteer nurses (retired, graduate or married) to come forward, and respirators were being shuttled back and forth to the mainland in order to meet demand.[50] So great was the concern that year that a federal state of emergency was considered in order to address a critical shortage of medical staff in the hardest hit areas, particularly British Columbia.[51] Although a state of

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[46] D. Kubryk, "*Paralytic* Poliomyelitis Trends, Canada, 1958," *Canadian Medical Association Journal,* 1959, August 15; 81(4): p. 228-231.

[47] British *Columbia Sessional Papers*, 1956, p. N44. Statistical table lists 421 cases for 1931, 312 cases in 1947, 584 in 1952, and 787 for 1953.

[48] British *Columbia Sessional Papers*, 1954, p. Y31.

[49] "Polio Incidence Up Over Past Six Days: 14 New Cases Tax Facilities," *Victoria Daily Times*, September 25, 1953, p. 13.

[50] "City Polio Outbreak Needs More Nurses," *Victoria Daily Times*, September 17, 1953, p. 15.

[51] House of Commons *Debates*, December 3, 1953, p. 575.

emergency was never officially declared, Royal Canadian Air Force Air-Sea Rescue personnel were assigned to bring polio victims into the city from remote areas often inaccessible by road.[52]  Flights equipped with portable respirators and military medical personnel were a godsend for these patients who were transferred to iron lungs in moving vans on arrival at the Vancouver airport on Lulu Island.[53]  These evacuations were often undertaken at great risk, often at night in dangerous weather.[54]

In response to the epidemic of 1953, poliomyelitis committees were set up at both Vancouver General and Royal Jubilee Hospitals composed of physicians specializing in the various branches of medicine.  Members of the Committee were assigned as consultants to polio cases referred to the hospitals by private physicians for the proper care and rehabilitation of their patients.[55]  In the absence of a purpose-built facility, polio was managed on a case-by-case basis, putting nearly unbearable pressure on existing resources.  Fortunately, a plan was in the works for a new addition to the Pearson Tuberculosis Hospital in Vancouver which would help alleviate the problem.

## The Pearson Pavilion

On June 28th, 1955, after a series of frustrating delays due to rising costs and other issues, the Pearson Poliomyelitis Pavilion was opened in Vancouver.  The Pavilion, designed as a

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[52] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1954, p.  Y32-33.
[53] Letter from G.R.F.  Elliot, Assistant Provincial Health Officer, to Dr. J.L. Murray Anderson, Medical Administrator, Royal Jubilee Hospital, Victoria, June 10, 1955.  PABC GR 0123: Box 28 File 8.
[54] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1953, p.  BB33.
[55] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1954, p.  Y32.

"special unit for the care of convalescing patients,"[56] was built to accommodate polio patients suffering from a variety of crippling after-effects of their disease.  The new unit was quickly filled to capacity, with more patients waitlisted for the male wards in particular.[57]  Prior to their arrival at the Polio Pavilion, many of these patients had spent time in acute care beds at hospitals in Vancouver and Victoria, with less acute cases transferred from the Western Society for Physical Rehabilitation Centre on West 27th Avenue in the Vancouver.  The Society, incorporated in 1947, oversaw the construction of a post-war rehabilitation facility designed

> …as a school for the physical rehabilitation of the orthopedically disabled, including paraplegics, polios with permanent paralysis, arthritics, leg amputees, cerebral palsied children (spastics) and kindred cases.[58]

The state-of-the-art unit of Pearson Pavilion was a much more suitable environment for polio patients, featuring gender-specific lung wards (for those requiring respirators and iron lungs), a ward for paralytics, therapy equipment, an operating room, isolation unit and a "respirator park" where patients in iron lungs could be transferred in the event of an emergency.  The building was also equipped with a generator to keep respirators running during a power failure.  The facility was designed to provide "good food, plenty of light, and a friendly atmosphere

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[56] Official programme of the *Dedication and Official Opening of the Poliomyelitis Pavilion*, June 28, 1955.  PABC GR 0123: Box 28 File 8.

[57] Memorandum from Dr. C.  McIver, Pearson Hospital, to Dr. H.S.  Stalker, Medical Superintendent, Pearson Tuberculosis Hospital, May 18, 1955. PABC GR 0123: Box 28 File 8.

[58] Brochure: *Western Society for Physical Rehabilitation*, 1951.  PABC GR 2652: Box 2 File 25, BC Polio Fund.

[to] contribute to the feeling of well-being"[59] for polio patients requiring intensive, often lifelong, medical care and therapy. The facility was not without its problems, though; growing pains included an acute shortage of orderlies who were young and strong enough to manage the demands of attending to polio patients. The fact that they were paid less than the cleaning staff at the time did not sit well. Another issue was the disparity between the comfort allowance (covering major items such as shelter and food, and minor — but no less important — items such as eyeglasses and dentures) allocated to polio victims and those enjoyed by tubercular patients.[60] It is interesting to note that the Poliomyelitis Pavilion was an extension of the Pearson Tuberculosis Hospital and reported to the Division of Tuberculosis Control.[61] By marrying the two divisions, the province was able to carry forward Dr. Young's vision of centralization of services, focusing on research, prevention, public education and outpatient follow-up. While polio was about to be brought under control, tuberculosis remained an insidious enemy yet to be conquered.

## Beginnings of State Medicine

Historian Megan Davies discusses the convergence of circumstances which allowed Dr. Young's department to

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[59] Official programme. PABC GR 0123: Box 28 File 8.

[60] Memorandum from Mr. B. Elshaw, Chief Orderly, Pearson Hospital, to Dr. H.S. Stalker, Medical Superintendent, Pearson Hospital, October 3, 1955. Letter from Enid S. Wyness, Provincial Supervisor, T.B. Social Services, to Mr. C.W. Lundy, Deputy Minister of Welfare, Victoria, August 31, 1955. PABC GR 0123: Box 28, File 8.

[61] Memorandum from Dr. C. McIver, Pearson Hospital, to Dr. H.S. Stalker, Medical Superintendent, Pearson Tuberculosis Hospital, May 18, 1955. PABC GR 0123: Box 28 File 8.

continue and even expand its public health work in the Depression years. She posits that the fortuitous election of forward-thinking Liberals in 1933 was a catalyst for even greater things to come, and makes note of British Columbia's "cadre of health and social welfare professionals" who

> envisioned state medicine as acting in innovative and path-breaking ways, rather than merely continuing with established programs and reacting to outbreaks of disease.[62]

The parallel role of philanthropy cannot be ignored; Canadian women's associations in particular have a prominent place in the history of health in the country, and British Columbia was no exception. The indispensible fundraising and volunteerism of women's associations, forging links between communities and their health departments in myriad ways, was formally and publicly acknowledged by the men in charge from the outset.[63] As early as 1929, women's groups from British Columbia and Alberta were petitioning the federal government to provide grants to permanently replace Rockefeller Foundation funding of provincial health units.[64] By the mid-1930s, however, much of the important committee work had been taken over by male professionals as the reorganization of the health department became more scientific and controlled.[65] The predominance of women in public health nursing is, of course, another topic for further exploration.

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[62] Megan J. Davies,"Competent Professionals and Modern Methods: State Medicine in British Columbia during the 1930s," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 76:1 (Spring 2002): p. 62-65.

[63] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1927, p. M9.

[64] House of Commons *Debates*, April 5, 1929, p.1328-29.

[65] Davies, "Competent Professionals and Modern Methods," p. 72.

It should also be noted that the contributions of the Rockefeller Foundation were invaluable in maintaining regional health units during the worst of times, extending funding of a quarter of the budget for two North Vancouver districts beyond its original three-year commitment in the mid-1930s.[66] The Foundation had been forthcoming with grants to the province's health department since the early 1920s, with the provincial government providing half and municipalities contributing a quarter share unless, as in this instance, the municipal budget was unable to bear the cost during the lean years. This arrangement would continue until the post-war federal program took effect.[67] As late as the 1950s, British Columbia's troubled hospitalization plan was providing care for polio patients only during the early contagious stage of the disease (a period of two weeks), after which time patients had to pay their own way, a situation which created acute hardship for many and represented an inexorable drain on charitable services. This came to light during the outbreak of 1952, and benefits were quickly allocated to match subsidies which had been in place for TB patients for quite some time.[68]

Universal health insurance was clearly on the minds of many in the Depression years, as it was an obvious solution to the problems of poverty and accessibility in remote rural communities far from the urban centre. British Columbia was among the first to attempt to institute a hospitalization insurance scheme in 1935, legislation that was sidelined after an exhaustive

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[66] British Columbia *Sessional Papers*, 1936, p. FF14.

[67] House of Commons *Debates*, March 3, 1930, p. 217.

[68] Letter from Mrs. Martha Allaire, Executive Secretary, BC Polio Fund, to Mr. E.L. Rimmer, Division Administrator, Region #1, Provincial Social Welfare Dept., Social Welfare Branch, Victoria enclosing outline of BC Polio Fund services to polio patients. November 20, 1952. PABC GR 2720: Dept of Health and Welfare – BC Polio Foundation.

province-wide survey in 1932 and much debate in the Legislature in the spring of 1936. Saskatchewan succeeded with its own hospitalization insurance plan in 1947, the first of its kind in Canada,[69] but comprehensive insurance schemes would not begin to become reality until the passage of the federal *Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act* of 1957.[70] Geography continues to challenge accessibility to services in many parts of the province, with regional health care in rural regions still extremely susceptible to fluctuations in fiscal policy. As services are cut, patients must still travel long distances for treatment, and a solution to this problem is still to be found. While a complete medical services plan (apart from hospitalization services), would be some time in coming, the systems and policies created by the first public health professionals constituted a viable template for modern medical care in British Columbia, and their contributions are very much a part of the fabric of the province today.

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[69] C.S. Houston, *Steps on the Road to Medicare: Why Saskatchewan Led the Way,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002): p. 84.

[70] Paul A. William, Eugene Vayda, May L. Cohen, Christel A.Woodward, Barbara M. Ferrier, "Medicine and the Canadian State: From the Politics of Conflict to the Politics of Accommodation?," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 36:4 (Dec. 1995): p. 305.

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# Philip of Spain, English King? The Iconography of an English Royal Charter

CARLEIGH NICHOLLS

   In 1553, Mary Tudor came to the throne of England after years of personal, political and religious turmoil.  Her father, King Henry VIII, had broken from the Roman Catholic Church in order to divorce her mother, the Spanish Catherine of Aragon, and marry Anne Boleyn.  He had himself proclaimed the Head of the newly created Church of England.  When Mary became queen, her personal mission was to restore England to the 'true faith': Catholicism.  As she was England's first regnant queen, she had to contend with preconceived notions that a woman was not fit to rule.  In 1554, she married Philip II of Spain, which only served to increase agitation about female authority.  Philip was a member of the great Hapsburg dynasty which ruled over much of Europe.  Would Mary's Hapsburg husband be willing to take on the role of king consort, or would England be absorbed into the Spanish empire? These were problematic questions that the union brought on.  After the marriage, Philip's image became synonymous with Mary's throughout England.  The couple was presented together on numerous documents and paintings as co-monarchs.  This paper examines a Marian Royal Letters Patent and utilizes it as a case study for analyzing the larger historical issues of the reign through an examination of the iconography which decorates the charter and the attached Great Seal.  The charter in question grants to William Babington lordship over the Manor of Broadway in Worcestershire (Figure 1).  The charter is dated July 27, 1558, and Mary and Philip are both depicted

within the historiated initial.[1]  This paper argues that Philip's prominence on a legal document helped to ignite insecurities surrounding female rule and further decreased Mary's popularity. This particular charter itself was not necessarily significant; however, the images found on it reflect the greater political picture in England and highlight the importance of royal public image.
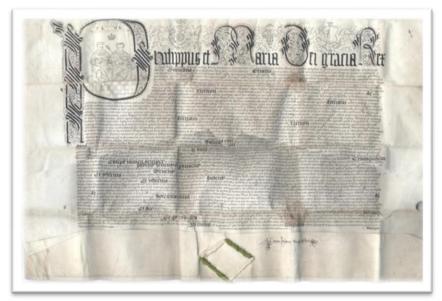


**Figure 1.**  Royal Letters Patent: King Philip II of Spain and Mary Tudor granting lordship, 1558 (Doc.Brown.7).

Compared to earlier charters, William Babington's document can be considered quite plain.  Babington was an

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esquire of the body, which was a ranking among the lower gentry, meaning that he would have been relatively less wealthy and his charter would have been of lesser importance. Obtaining a royal grant, however, was a tiresome and expensive process so he would have held some influence in his community, no matter the quality of his document. Indeed, royal charters were "the most solemn form of Chancery instrument under the Great Seal," as they granted privileges to select individuals or boroughs directly from the monarch.[2] Charters and Letters Patent were public documents and were often put on display "as valuable evidence of royal favour and enhanced status."[3] Furthermore, they enforced land rights; thus, publicly displaying them also emphasized one's wealth and power. Because of their public usage, the images depicted on charters would have been significant, as many eyes viewed them. The practice of decorating English charters began as early as the mid-thirteenth century. They were either decorated plainly with pen and ink, like Babington's, or the more important ones were finely illuminated and coloured.[4] The most popular image that decorated a charter was that of the king seated alone in majesty, holding his sceptre and royal orb. Charters and Royal Letters Patent were seen as a "vivid link between the crown and the community."[5] These charters provided a person or a borough with a legal status, granted to them by the king himself. This

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[2] Shelagh Bond and Norman Evans, "The Process of Granting Charters to English Boroughs, 1547-1649," *The English Historical Review* 91, no. 358 (Jan. 1976): 102.

[3] Elizabeth Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England, 1250-1509: An Introduction," *England and her Neighbours 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, eds., Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London: The Hambleton Press, 1989), 157.

[4] Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters," 159.

[5] Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters," 179.

would perhaps be the only direct contact an individual would ever have with his monarch. By leaving them on public display, "many people who would never have had the chance to see the king in person may well have formed their idea of majesty from the only representation widely circulated; namely the great seal which authenticated royal orders and grants."[6] Babington's charter would have helped to reinforce Mary's image as a dual monarch with Philip. After 1399, most charter artists began to emphasize the king's personal connection with the grants being given, not only through the portrait initial, but also through the incorporation of royal mottoes, badges and arms.[7] Mary's badges and mottoes are included on the Babington charter, as well as Philip's titles. Philip's inclusion would have served to instil the idea that he himself had played a part in granting the privileges that came along with the charter.

As Mary I was the first regnant queen of England, there was no English precedent for her to evoke in regard to her image as ruler.[8] Because of these uncertainties, anxiety about female rule was widespread. Her marriage to the foreign Spanish prince only helped to increase agitation. When women married, in general, their wealth and property transferred to their husbands and they became their subordinates. The "separation of wifely and queenly roles was very difficult for Englishmen to comprehend."[9] There was no question that Mary should marry

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[6] Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters," 169.

[7] Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters," 173.

[8] During the twelfth century, there was the brief 'reign' of Empress Matilda. However, she was not an ideal role model for female rulers to follow, as she was often ill-remembered by early modern contemporaries due to her association with civil war.

[9] Judith M. Richards, "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule': Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 121.

and produce offspring, but marriage to a foreign prince was a
different question.  There were worries that a foreign prince
would alter English administrative laws and customs, allow
foreign advisors to 'intrude,' and cause the loss of royal favour to
previously established court favourites.[10]  Some subjects openly
opposed the Spanish marriage such as Thomas Wyatt the
Younger, who led a rebellion against it in 1554.  In response to
this rebellion, parliament created a statute which granted Mary
the full regal rights held by male monarchs and, in turn, restricted
Philip's authority.[11]  The statute was redundant as the marriage
treaty already dealt with these issues; however, it "indicated a
continuing uncertainty about the powers of queens regnant."[12]
After the marriage, Philip's presentation could hardly be viewed
as ceremonial.  The regnal year was named for the reigns of both
Philip *and* Mary, and Philip appeared on coins and documents
alongside his wife.[13]   These images were seen odiously by
Mary's enemies.  One exile remarked:

> the prince of Spain hath optainid to have the name of the
> king of England and also is permittid in our English coins
> to join our English armes with the armes of Spain and his
> fisnamy the quenes, the crowne of England being made
> over both ther heds in the midest, and yet upon nether of
> them both.[14]

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[10] Judith M.  Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor
Monarchy," *The Historical Journal* 40, no.  4 (Dec.  1997): 905-906.

[11] Retha Warnicke, "Queenship: Politics and Gender in Tudor England,"
*History Compass* 4, no.  2 (March 2006): 215.

[12] Warnicke, "Queenship: Politics and Gender in Tudor England," 215.

[13] Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?," 915.

[14] *A supplicacyon to the quenes maiestie* quoted in Richards, "Mary Tudor as
'Sole Quene'?," 915.

Although there was a conscious effort at their wedding ceremony and entry into the city to reinforce Mary's "precedence," authoritative images of Philip gradually increased throughout the short years of her reign.[15]

The royal titles also changed after Philip and Mary's marriage. After 1555 with Philip's acquisition of some of the titles of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, royal charters, such as Babington's, proclaimed:

> *Philippus et Maria, Dei gratia Rex et Regina Angliæ, Hispaniarum, Franciæ, Utriusque Siciliæ, Jerusalem, et Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensores, ArchiducesAustriæ, Duces Burgundiæ, Mediolani, et Brabantiæ, Comites Haspurgi, Flandriæ, et Tirolis.*

> (Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy, Milan and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders and Tyrol.)[16]

The fact that Philip's name is presented before Mary's is noteworthy. Mary's councillors had resisted this placement; however, it was reported that the Spanish disagreed stating "that no law, human or divine, nor his Highness's prestige and good name, would allow him to be named second, especially as the treaties and Acts of Parliament gave him the title of King of

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[15] Alexander Samson, "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554,"*The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 783.

[16] Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Chronology of history: Containing tables, calculations and statements indispensable for ascertaining the dates of historical events*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1833): 378.

England."[17]  Of particular note is the placement of the titles on William Babington's charter.  The words "*Philippus et Maria, Dei gratia Rex,*" are decorated profusely and act as a title to the page.  The inclusion of "*et regina*" is placed on the first line of text, and not emphasized at all.  A quick glance upon the page, and one would simply read "Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, *King*." The stress on Philip's title as King is hard to ignore. Furthermore, the titles reinforce Philip's status as *King* of England.  Indeed, Mary is credited with titles to Philip's lands; however, Mary's role as ruler is downgraded amidst all of Philip's claims.  The position and the prominence of his titles do not suggest Philip's position as king consort.

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[17] Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?," 913.

**Figure 2.** Detail of historiated initial (Doc.Brown.7).

An examination of the historiated initial within the Babington charter further enhances Philip's position (Figure 2). Within the 'P' initial are Queen Mary *and* King Philip, rather than the popular image of the lone monarch in majesty. Instead, they are both portrayed in majesty. They are seated side by side each holding their own royal orb. Mary holds a sceptre while Philip holds a sword, signifying his own importance. A single crown rests above both of their heads serving as a symbol of their joint rule. Additionally, the royal initials *PR* and *MR* are placed above them in the frame. There appears to have been a conscious effort to represent the monarchs equally. The two monarchs are depicted rather symmetrically within the image.

Their heights are equal, and the sceptre and sword are at equal angles. Instead of sharing an orb, they each hold their own. It must be noted, however, that "whatever the unpopularity of this match," the "representation of Philip and Mary as joint custodians of the realm was effectively the only choice available to [Mary]."[18] There was no precedent to fall upon for images of a king consort, and the strong Hapsburgs would not allow Philip's role to be downgraded. Mary needed their support in order to re-establish Catholicism in her realm.

The depiction of the joint rulers was not unique to this charter. Philip and Mary were represented together on many other documents. For instance, as early as 1554, they were both portrayed within the historiated initial of an illuminated Michaelmas Plea Roll (Figure 3).[19] As in the Babington charter, they both hold their own orbs, while one holds the sceptre and the other the sword. The floating crown and royal initials, however, are absent. Mary looks straight ahead while Philip glances towards her. In an Easter Plea Roll from 1556 (Figure 4), Mary and Philip are once again enthroned wearing a mixture of English and Spanish costuming. They both look at each other, and their sceptre and sword "gesture to the crown they now share."[20] Interestingly, both of these images place Mary on the left side with Philip on the right. It has been noted that images created after 1556 began to place Mary on the right side, which is "the normal focus of the observer's view," while Philip was

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[18] Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009): 282.

[19] Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography- Vol.1*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1995): figure 51.

[20] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 275.

placed on the left.[21]  Indeed, the couple is placed this way on the Babington charter.  The change in placement suggests "deliberation" perhaps intending "to highlight Mary in the face of criticism of Habsburg influence."[22]  Despite this change, however, in the later images, there was a "greater attention to likeness, to representing the two rulers not just as monarchs, but as Philip and Mary regnant whose initials PR and MR adorn the canopy over their heads."[23]  The Babington charter can be seen as the culmination of the couple's iconography.  The joint rulers both stare ahead at a central point, with the crown and initials above them.  There is no question about Philip's role.  The image of the dual monarchy had been perfected.
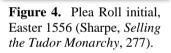
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[21] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy* 275.
[22] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 276.
[23] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 276.

**Figure 3.** Plea Roll initial, Michaelmas 1554 (Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy*).



**Figure 4.** Plea Roll initial, Easter 1556 (Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 277).

Attached to the Babington Charter, the Great Seal remains perfectly intact aside from the normal scratches and dents acquired throughout the centuries on the wax (Figures 5 and 6). The Great Seal was a practical tool as well as a symbolic one, as it symbolized the monarch's personal approval of the document it was attached to. In general, monarchs would choose the design of their own seal and use the same one throughout their reign.[24] Mary's original seal depicted her enthroned with a sceptre, and on the reverse, she was on horseback. It was not

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[24] Queen Elizabeth II has had two Great Seal designs due to the longevity of her reign, the second depicting her in older age.

used for very long, however.  Shortly after her marriage in 1554, she commissioned a new Great Seal including Philip on it, which created a "complex re-presentation of her role."[25]  On the seal, both Mary and Philip are enthroned with each placing a hand on the central orb.  Mary holds a sceptre, which is "symbolic of sovereign authority," while Philip carries a sword signifying "his titular authority as king."[26]  The initials P and M are intertwined on the plinth carrying the orb, and the border inscription lists the joint titles of the rulers.[27]  The "possibility that England might eventually be incorporated among Hapsburg domains should the royal couple bear issue is suggested by the heraldic shield, on which the Spanish royal arms impale those of Mary."[28]  On the reverse side of the seal are Philip and Mary each on horseback.  Interestingly, Philip is placed in front of Mary and he dominates the image; along the borders, Philip's titles are also inscribed.[29]  The emphasis is on Philip's role.  This inclusion of the Spanish titles and arms on the English Great Seal created a bold statement: Mary's loyalty was with the Spanish.  The artist of the Babington charter would have no doubt been influenced by the Great Seal's iconography, and the historiated initial reflects these ideas.  As the Great Seal held such symbolic power, Philip's prominent placement on it showcased his joint authority over the English realm.

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[25] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 276.
[26] John N.  King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989): 212.
[27] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 276-277.
[28] King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 212.
[29] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 277.

**Figure 5.** Drawing of the Great Seal (Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 279).



**Figure 6.** Great Seal (Doc.Brown.7).

Decorating the Babington Charter are Mary's badges and mottoes. Atop the titular proclamation are a Tudor Rose, a fleur-de-lis and a pomegranate. The Tudor Rose is not a surprising inclusion as Mary always thought of herself as a proud Tudor daughter of King Henry VIII. The other two objects, however, pose interesting questions. When Mary came to the throne, she resurrected her mother's badge, the pomegranate, as her

"personal device."[30]  Although Catherine of Aragon was popular during her lifetime, Mary's use of the badge was a further reminder of her Spanish, Catholic background.  People began to question Mary's loyalty to England.  The Venetian ambassador remarked that Mary, "being born of a Spanish mother, was always inclined towards that nation, scorning to be English and boasting of her descent from Spain."[31]  The pomegranate served to remind the English people of the Spanish influences that were prominent throughout the Marian court.  The inclusion of the fleur-de-lis is not necessarily surprising as well.  Ever since the Middle Ages when England owned much of France, the French symbol was common among English royal iconography.  At the beginning of Mary's reign, Calais remained the only English possession in France; however, in January 1558, the French forces took Calais.  This was a great ideological loss and served to diminish Mary's prestige.  As early as 1557, there were rumours that Mary had urged her councillors to join the Spanish war against France "not least because of 'the obedience which she owed her husband and the power he had over her as much by divine as by human law.'"[32]  An opponent of Mary, Robert Parnell, wrote in *An Admonition to the Town of Calais*, which warned the English that "the Spaniard who ruled England sought Calais to bridle France," and that "the idolatry that had overrun the English church threatened Calais too."[33]  The loss of Calais propelled anti-Marian sentiments.  The Babington charter was created only seven months after the loss of the French city.  Perhaps the prominent position of the fleur-de-lis upon the

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[30] King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 185.
[31] Giacomo Soranzo quoted in Samson, "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip," 781.
[32] Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?," 915.
[33] Robert Parnell, quoted in *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 307-308.

charter served to remind those who viewed it of Mary's great loss and Philip's influence over English politics.

        Mary Tudor created an image of herself as a "godly queen of a true church, who, in union with her husband and with Spain, would bring peace and harmony to her people."[34]  History has pronounced that this image of herself as a joint monarch was an utter failure; however, "history has not remembered the person as she was represented," but rather as the person overshadowed by her colourful reputation.[35]  Mary's intentions were not sinister.  She was proud of her marital status and loved Philip greatly.  For her, the Spanish relationship could only serve to re-establish the true faith in England, and Philip's image increased Catholic authority.  After the marriage, Philip's image was included on numerous legal documents alongside the Queen's, including the Royal Letters Patent granting lordship to William Babington.  By using this charter as a case study, one can understand the greater political picture in England.  Philip's inclusion on a public and legal document reinforced anxieties about female rulership.  The concept of a king consort did not work in England's highly gendered society.  The emphasis on Philip within the charter created the illusion that Philip was directly involved in government and law-making, which served to undermine Mary's popularity, as people viewed her as a Spanish puppet.  Mary's younger half-sister, Elizabeth, learned from Mary's foreign marriage.  As Englishmen had trouble distinguishing between wifely and queenly duties, the only other alternative was that of an unmarried female monarch.[36]  Elizabeth ensured that her iconography depicted her as the sole monarch in majesty.  Although Babington's charter itself was not

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[34] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 282.
[35] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 283.
[36] Richards, "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule,'" 121.

necessarily significant in the long run, the iconography portrayed within it had significant consequences for the political workings at large in England.

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# Forgotten Victims? The Historiography of the Nanking Massacre

COURTNEY REYNOLDSON

The Nanking Massacre, also known as the Rape of Nanking, was conducted within a six week period following the fall of Nanking, China's capital city, to the Japanese army on 13 December 1937 during the second Sino-Japanese war. This conflict would soon become encompassed in the larger context of the Second World War. Despite the vast array of primary sources related to this incident, concrete details, such as what happened, why, and who was responsible, have been seriously disputed since it occurred. Histories of the Massacre range from complete denial of it ever occurring, to graphic accounts relegating the atrocity to the same level as the Holocaust or the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Even something as seemingly concrete as the death toll ranges wildly, from estimates of 300,000 to less than 3000.

Indeed, the history of this massacre tends to be exceedingly complicated, and much of what has been written about it has arguably been designed to fit neatly into a specific agenda, political or otherwise. Because of this, the truth about the Massacre is still difficult to grasp. Most of the major histories of the Nanking Massacre are inextricably intertwined with the biased concepts of nationalism and self perception. Although these histories appear to frequently set out in an effort to illuminate the shadows covering the truth of this dark period in Chinese-Japanese relations, they do so in an effort to establish one country as a victim of the other, sometimes skewing the facts accordingly. Surprisingly, this victim/victimizer approach can be

made to go both ways, with some accounts implying that it is in fact the Japanese who have suffered the most on account of the Massacre. To this day, the history of the Massacre remains a victim itself, a victim of multiple national and personal agendas. Because of these nationalistic biases and interferences of different political agendas, the truth about this massacre seems to remain out of reach.

Serious interpretation of the events at Nanking began in 1946 with the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), a war crimes trial similar to the Nuremberg trials, set up by the Americans in order to prosecute the Japanese for war crimes committed in the Pacific. The IMTFE set the death toll of civilians and prisoners of war killed by the Japanese at 200,000, and the number of rapes committed by the same forces at 20,000.[1] The manner in which the Rape of Nanking was portrayed followed the general aim of IMTFE war trials narratives: "the prosecution seeks to demonstrate that the losers lost ... [partly] because their cause was unjust and their means illegal. The defense must then make its case by challenging that narrative."[2] Immediately, the events at Nanking were interpreted in a way that would serve American and Chinese interests. Because of this, historical truth may have been lost in favor of victor's justice. Furthermore, the events were used to bolster the larger aims of both America and China at the IMTFE as a whole. For the Chinese, the Rape of Nanking was used "to epitomize all Japanese misconduct in China: it was made to stand as the

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[1] Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the "Rape of Nanking"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 51.
[2] Timothy Brooks, "The Tokyo Judgment and the Rape of Nanking," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (August 2001): 675, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2700106.

greatest and most representative atrocity."[3]  As such, the events at Nanking would by necessity have to be magnified or sensationalized in order to make the Rape outweigh the multiple other atrocities committed by the Japanese forces in China.  The Americans chose to approach the narrative a different way, using the event as a "linchpin for the argument that Japan conspired to commit war crimes throughout the region from 1937 to 1945."[4]  For the Americans, Japanese conduct at Nanking was representative of Japanese conduct in the Pacific as a whole.  Again, the event needed to be portrayed in the most atrocious light possible in order for this narrative to work in the American's favor.  The IMTFE set out with two national agendas which aimed to portray the Rape of Nanking in the harshest light possible in order to fulfill the post-war aims of both the Chinese and the Americans.  The search for a victim and a victimizer likewise began.  For the most part, the assertion that China was the victim remains uncontested, as it was the Chinese who suffered astounding amounts of rape and murder at the hands of the occupying Japanese soldiers.  However, the victim/victimizer debate can be taken too far in either direction, sometimes skewing history to aid one side or the other of the debate.

Following World War II, Japan was put under American occupation.  The American forces which arrived in Japan for this occupation brought with them the American perception of the Rape of Nanking, and soon "the Nanking Massacre became a subject of broad discussion in Japan."[5]  It was in the Americans' best interest to keep the Rape of Nanking in Japanese memory, and they continually did so.  The Supreme Allied Powers (SCAP) occupying Japan "fostered the integration of Nanking

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[3] Ibid.,  676-77.
[4] Brooks, "The Tokyo Judgment," 677.
[5] Yoshida, *The Making of*, 45.

into Japan's official history," with a focus on the Japanese as aggressive victimizers.[6]  During the occupation SCAP prohibited public criticism of the IMTFE judgment and the victim/victimizer perception by Japanese historians.[7] The people of Japan were made well aware of the events which took place at Nanking immediately following the end of World War II.  The Rape of Nanking was taught in schools and advertised under occupational forces.[8]  It wasn't until the Cold War began that things began to change from the traditional perception of the Massacre to a more revisionist approach.

Immediately following the withdrawal of occupational forces from Japan, Tanaka Masaki, an acquaintance of Matsui Iwane, the commander of Japanese forces at the time of the Rape of Nanking who was hanged for his involvement in the Massacre, published a book called On Japan's Innocence: The Truth On Trial, in which Masaki "argued strenuously that Japan was innocent and that it was the Allied countries that were responsible for war crimes."[9]  He bases his argument on the dissenting opinion of a juror at the IMTFE, Radhabinod Pal, although he twists Pal's opinion to serve his own agenda, abandoning the true reasoning of Pal's dissent in an attempt to cast Japan as the victim of the Nanking legacy.  This argument was based on the fact that the Allies were not tried for their war crimes; instead they used the IMTFE to ignore their own faults and victimize Japan.[10]  At the same time, conservative war time leaders who had earlier been purged by the occupational forces returned to the Japanese government in an effort to keep

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[6] Ibid., 45.
[7] Yoshida, *The Making of,* 51.
[8] Ibid., 47.
[9] Ibid., 52.
[10] Ibid., 52.

communism out of Japanese politics. During this period, "the Nanking Massacre … disappeared almost completely from history textbooks."[11] As a result of the fear of communism, wartime leaders who had no wish to relive the atrocities of the past were allowed back into government and were in a position to remove the Nanking Massacre from Japanese memory. At the same time, American interest in the Massacre diminished in order for the country to distance itself from Communist China. Knowledge and understanding of the Massacre, however, never did disappear from Japanese memory.

By the 1960s, Japan had developed a postwar identity based around the idea that the country had "moved beyond armed conflict," in contrast to the militaristic nationalism of the 1930s and 1940s. By the 1970s, the "images of Japanese troops as victimizers" were a part of mainstream Japanese culture.[12] In the 1960s, a series on the History of Japan was published and aimed at popular audiences. It included a detailed account of the Rape of Nanking, and continued to represent the Japanese as victimizers.[13] Therefore, Japanese knowledge of the Rape of Nanking was never nonexistent. History textbooks included the Rape, and books aimed at popular audiences did as well. Despite the nationalistic agenda of a government which wanted the Rape of Nanking suppressed, memory of the event continued as part of a stronger agenda: the move towards an anti-war theme that helped to shape postwar Japanese identity.

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[11] Ibid., 53.

[12] Matthew Penney, "Far From Oblivion: The Nanking Massacre in Japanese Historic Writing for Children and Young Adults," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 22, no.1, (Spring: 2008): 31, http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/journals/holocaust_and_genocide_studies/v022/22.1.penney.html

[13] Ibid., 30.

If any country should be accused of forgetting or altering the incident, that country is China. With the Communist takeover in 1949, the Chinese government set about rearranging the history of the Nanking Massacre to fit their own nationalistic agenda. Contrary to the Chinese approach to the Massacre at the IMTFE only a few years prior, the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) "did not emphasize the uniqueness in scale and brutality of the massacre."[14] Until 1971, China barely acknowledged the Massacre unless it contributed to a nationalistic agenda. The Chinese Nationalist government ignored the victim/victimizer debate because it was attempting to form an alliance with Japan, while the Communist government focused on fostering "an image of national pride and strength among its people" and therefore was not interested in appearing victimized.[15] In fact, the PRC preferred to cast a negative light on the US during this period, accusing the Americans living in Nanking who had helped save lives during the Massacre of "being more concerned with preserving American property than saving Chinese lives" and arguing that they had set up the safety zone as a "convenient slaughtering pen … enabling the Japanese invaders to kill [Chinese civilians] more efficiently."[16] Once again, the truth of the Massacre was shunned in an effort to further a national agenda, this time an agenda aimed at establishing communist China as strong and noble in contrast to the scheming, corrupt, democratic USA. Interestingly, the PRC does still admit to being the victim despite its attempts to appeal to national strength. By switching the role of victimizer from Japan to the USA all China did was reiterate its victimization in terms of the Cold War as opposed to World War II. It was not

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[14] Yoshida, *The Making of*, 69.
[15] Ibid., 70.
[16] Ibid., 68.

until 1987, following a decade of revisionist publication in which China again became a victim of terrible Japanese aggression, that the original interpretation of the event as it was at the IMTFE again became part of Chinese national memory.[17]

The scholarly interpretations of the Nanking Massacre have always been attached to these nationalistic agendas and the need to portray a victim and a victimizer as starkly as possible. On one end of the spectrum sit the conservative revisionists. Carrying on the tradition and beliefs of Tanaka Masaki, they categorically deny that atrocities were carried out on a large scale against Chinese civilians by the Japanese troops.[18] The other end is home to the traditionalists, those who take their cue from the American interpretation of the Nanking Massacre at the IMTFE and argue that the Japanese army committed atrocities in Nanking so terrible as to place the Nanking Massacre among the other most atrocious acts of World War II, such as the Holocaust. This side argues for a death toll of over 300,000, making the scale of civilian death greater than that caused by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and thus once again painting the Chinese as greater victims than the Japanese when it comes to war crimes and atrocities as a whole.

The conservative revisionists have been largely discredited. In March 1985 the journal *Kaikôsha* asked for testimony from Japanese veterans who had served at Nanking in an effort to establish the conservative revisionist side as correct by "publishing great numbers of eyewitness testimonies that denied major misdeeds."[19] The testimonies they received,

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[17] Ibid., 107-113.
[18] Fujiwara Akira, "The Nanking Atrocity: An Interpretive Overview," in *The Nanking Atrocity 1937-38: Complicating the Picture*, ed. Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 47.
[19] Ibid., 52.

however, only affirmed that wanton rape and murder had indeed taken place in the conquered city. The editors published the magazine and admitted that the Massacre had indeed taken place. As Fujiwara Akira, a leading traditionalist, states, "as a scholarly argument, denial was dead."[20] A brief but dismissible resurgence of this school of thought returned in the 1990s, but only insofar as it again served Japan's national self interest. This time the Japanese had to deny the atrocities by necessity. They again wished to assert themselves as a world military power, and could not do so until the postwar Japanese identity of anti-militarism was dissolved. This in turn cannot be done until the Nanking Massacre became an illusion created by the Allied forces as opposed to the symbol of Japanese aggression it had been for years, a symbol which helped create the Japanese aversion to war in the first place.[21]

One of the most ardent champions of conservative revisionism in recent years is Higashinakano Shudo, a Japanese historian who has written extensively on what he believes to be inflated myths of Japanese aggressiveness. He implies that it is in fact Japan who is the victim of the Nanking Massacre, as its legacy continues to haunt the country to this day. The idea that Japan's world standing is suffering at the hands of China and America for something the country did not do is self evident throughout his works. Shudo is one of the last deniers of the Nanking Massacre. He argues that "no records exist to confirm evidence of a "Nanking Massacre. Anyone who insists that a

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[20] Ibid., 52.
[21] Akira, "The Nanking Atrocity," 52-53.

"Nanking Massacre" occurred must present proof" that Chinese POWs and civilians were massacred by Japanese forces.[22]

Shudo's logic is shaky at best. Throughout his article lie multiple logical failures, two of which signal what could only be described as willful ignorance on his part. Shudo states that "almost all the citizens inside the city wall had taken refuge in the Safety Zone … this means that any persons found "outside" the Safety Zone would have been Chinese soldiers."[23] By Shudo's reasoning in regards to Japanese acts of war in the city, this means that anyone found outside the Safety Zone was summarily executed on legal grounds. However, he says "almost all." Nanking was a large city and was under fire. The possibility of all citizens making it to the Safety Zone before the Japanese forces began their "mop-up operations"[24] is nonexistent. This does not mean that citizens still trying to make it to the Safety Zone were automatically soldiers and therefore casualties of war, although that is in essence what Shudo argues here.

Furthermore, he argues that only seven cases of rape could reasonably have occurred because most cases were reported to Europeans and not the Japanese forces.[25] The fact that the rapes were carried out by those same Japanese forces, and thus anyone raped would not have been likely to approach them hoping for aid, does not figure in his analysis. Nonetheless, the Japanese Embassy did hear about these rapes, from a missionary and professor at Nanking University named Miner Searle Bates. In his letters to the Japanese Embassy between 14-27 December 1937 from his position within the Safety Zone,

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[22] Higashinakano Shudo, "The Overall Picture of the 'Nanking Massacre,'" in *Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing,* ed. Fei Fei Li, Robert Sabella, and David Liu (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 114.
[23] Ibid., 96.
[24] Shudo, "The Overall Picture," 96.
[25] Ibid., 110.

Bates accounts for forty nine specific incidences of rape and refers multiple times to other groups of women being taken from the Safety Zone and not returned. In his letter on Christmas day he writes, "in our Sericulture Building alone there are on the average of more than ten cases per day of rape or of abducting women."[26]

Shudo alleges that there were few, if any, actual accounts of rape and murder at Nanking during the period that it was under Japanese occupation. He twists some facts and ignores others in an attempt to disprove the "myth" of the Nanking Massacre. He claims there is no evidence for such high handed claims dealt out at the IMTFE, that if anything did happen at Nanking, it was on a miniscule scale. He wants proof. But not enough to go to the Japanese veterans who were there and ask them what occurred. If he wants proof, he need look no farther than the Kaikôsha, the journal that stood on his side of the debate until it was forced by the veterans to admit that the conservative revisionist view is itself a belief in a myth.

The Kaikôsha, however, did not move all the way to the traditionalist side. Instead, it became a part of the emerging centrist schools, which include traditionalist centrists, revisionist centrists, and moderate revisionists. The Kaikosha belongs to the moderate revisionist camp, claiming approximately 50,000 – 70,000 deaths.[27] The centrist schools are still largely attacked by both the traditionalists and revisionists, especially in the west, where "the few Westerners who have paid attention to the

[26] Zhang Kaijuan, ed., *Eyewitnesses to Massacre: American Missionaries Bear Witness to Japanese Atrocities in Nanjing*, (New York, M.E. Sharpe, 2001), 6-10.
[27] Masahiro Yamamoto, *Nanking: Anatomy of an Atrocity,* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2000), 254.

Japanese revisionist and centrist positions have refused to accept them."[28]

On the other end of the spectrum sits Iris Chang's monumental work, The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II. Chang relies on eyewitness accounts, survivor interviews, and other primary documents from the event to paint a picture of devastation and terror. She investigates the claims of multiple different historians who have examined burial records and other evidence, and leans towards a death toll upwards of 300,000.[29] While Chang certainly does not attempt to hide the truth in the manner of Higashinakano Shudo, she does have some faults. While Shudo tried to turn the tables to make Japan out to be the victim of the "myth" of Nanking, Chang sets out to establish how tremendously victimized the innocent Chinese civilians and POWs were at the hands of the Japanese. The extent of her research is insurmountable and she surely has done one of the best jobs of presenting the Nanking Massacre to the public at large, but in her quest to establish a clear victim and a clear victimizer she skews some pertinent details.

Chang claims in her epilogue that the truth of the Massacre is not known in Japan. In fact, that the Massacre is barely known at all and that the government must "educate future generations of Japanese citizens about the true facts of the massacre."[30] Even leaving the Massacre itself behind, she still signals Japan as a victimizer for ignoring the past, but this is simply not true. Japanese citizens have been made aware of their part in this massacre through the IMTFE, the Kaikôsha, and

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[28] Ibid., 262.
[29] Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 103.
[30] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 225.

multiple other magazines and journals aimed at popular consumption. It seems Chang would like her readers to believe that all of Japan is happily ignorant of the past. This is simply not the case.

Another issue is her assertion that Nanking is the "forgotten Holocaust of World War II."[31] The Holocaust was a racial war meant to murder every man, woman, and child of the Jewish faith. It was systematic and purposeful in its wanton destruction of a group of people for no other reason than that it was a group different from the Nazi "Aryan" ideal. As Ian Buruma points out, "even the most ferocious Japanese ideologue wanted Japan to subjugate China, not kill every last Chinese man, woman, and child."[32] What happened in Nanking was an atrocity, but by no means was it a "forgotten Holocaust." It is this type of sensationalizing that situates Chang slightly farther to the left than the rest of the traditionalists. Overall, however, her facts and book do represent the general popular understanding of the Massacre, at least in the West, today.

Masahiro Yamamoto marks a slight mediation point between Shudo and Chang. He falls close to the centrist revisionists. Yamamoto concludes in his book, Nanking: Anatomy of an Atrocity, that during the six weeks of the Rape of Nanking 15,000 to 50,000 people, mostly adult men, were killed.[33] Although he does rightly criticize the attempt of some traditionalist historians to establish parallels between the Rape and the Holocaust,[34] his conclusions as to what happened and why still lie far from the beaten path, and he has been criticized

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[31] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, np.

[32] Ian Buruma, "The Nanking Massacre as a Historical Symbol," in *Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing,* ed. Fei Fei Li, Robert Sabella, and David Liu (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 7.

[33] Buruma, "The Nanking Massacre," 282.

[34] Ibid., 283.

for lack of research[35] and his assertion that the actions of the Japanese were "criminal" but were "engaged in as individuals outside the supervision of the military command and did not result in a huge number of deaths."[36]  Although Yamamoto does, unlike the other two authors examined, work away from a nationalistic agenda and victim/victimizer perspective, he, as any other, still has faults.  As such, his stance on the conservative side of the debate is still in the minority, although he certainly does not lean towards denial like many of his colleagues in that camp.

Perhaps the most telling account of where the Nanking Massacre sits in the victim/victimizer debate today is not found in the works of a historian, but rather in a blockbuster film. World famous Chinese director Zhang Yimou, known for such films as *House of Flying Daggers* and *Hero*, recently released *The Flowers of War*, which takes place during the Nanking Massacre.  The film focuses on a group of schoolgirls who take shelter in an abandoned church outside the Safety Zone with an alcoholic American mortician who poses as a priest to protect himself and, eventually, them.  The church also becomes home to a group of prostitutes, and conflict constantly arises between the two groups of young women.  Japanese soldiers invade the church and attempt to rape the schoolgirls, unaware of the prostitutes hiding under the floorboards.  They are stopped by their commanding officer, who provides a civil figure in an army of brutes.  However, he later requisitions the girls for use at a "party."  Knowing what will happen to the schoolgirls, the

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[35] See Joshua Fogel, review of *Nanking: Anatomy of an Atrocity,* by Masahiro Yamamoto.  *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no.2 (May 2001), 519, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2659717; James L.  Huffman, review of *Nanking, Aanatomy of an Atrocity,* by Masahiro Yamamoto.  *Historian* 64, no.3/4 (Spring/Summer 2002), EBSCOhost.
[36] Yamamoto, *Anatomy of an Atrocity*, 7.

prostitutes cut their hair, don school uniforms, and go to their brutal deaths in the schoolgirls' place. The American and the girls then escape the city.

From the outset it is clear who the victims in this situation are. The movie is filled with exceedingly graphic depictions of rape and murder all perpetrated against innocent civilians by unruly and unrepentant Japanese soldiers. Of the three nationalities presented, two make progress and one retreats into the dark ages. The American gives up drinking and becomes a strong leader and role model. The prostitutes put aside their selfishness and sacrifice themselves, and the schoolchildren put aside their ideas about societal standing and mature intellectually. The Japanese dissolve into ruthless barbarism. Even the token civil Japanese commander moves backwards, from saving the girls from rape at the beginning to demanding they be handed over at the end, even though he could have chosen to keep them safe instead. The movie has no qualms in establishing that there is a very clear line between the victims and the victimizers and there are no exceptions on either side. The American, the schoolgirls, the prostitutes, and the army official are all given a test. Only the Japanese official fails.[37]

This movie was tremendously well received in China and won multiple awards.[38] It is clear that this victim/victimizer perspective is still extremely prevalent when examining the Rape of Nanking, regardless of whether it is examined historically or artistically. Furthermore, the fact that multiple Japanese actors took part in the film speaks to the fact that, contrary to what Chang believes, the Japanese public is aware of what happened

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[37] *The Flowers of War,* DVD, directed by Zhang Yimou (Beijing New Pictures Film Company, 2011).

[38] IMDB, "Awards for *The Flowers Of War*," http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1410063/awards (accessed 3 November 2012).

at Nanking and repentant of their actions.  This comes as a result of years of publications teaching the Japanese population about the Rape.  If this were not the case, surely Japanese actors would not have chosen to portray their veterans and countrymen in such a light as seen in this movie.

The historiography of the Nanking Massacre is exceedingly complicated.  The scale and barbarism of the atrocity, how it occurred, and why, are still hotly debated.  While the traditionalist view is generally the most accepted and has been ever since the IMTFE in 1946, conservative revisionists do still appear on occasion to assert that the Massacre never happened or, if it did, that it was by no means on such a grand scale as is popularly believed.  The emerging centrist schools provide a relief from these polarized standpoints, but are still in the process of establishing themselves completely.

Today, especially in China and the West, the prevailing view of the Massacre generally falls into the traditionalist camp.  While Japan does contain some historians and politicians who hold the conservative revisionist viewpoint, years of publications aimed at popular consumption have shaped a populace which does not deny and is often repentant of the events perpetrated at Nanking.  This does not mean that Japan is as far to the left as the West and China, however.  Textbook controversies and recent calls for "a more patriotic education," along with a mass media that has started to lean towards conservatism,[39] situates Japan more in the middle of the spectrum.

Masahiro Yamamoto is not far from the mark when he states that "the absence of solid historical study has so far reduced all the discussion about the Rape of Nanking to a simple

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[39] Claudia Schneider, "The Japanese History Textbook Controversy in East Asian Perspective," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617, no. 1 (May, 2008), 119.

moral outcry, resulting in less clarification of the truth."[40] The Massacre's history has by now been a pawn of several nationalistic and victimizing agendas. It has been completely denied both to allow Japan to once again assert herself as a world military power and to allow communist China to appear united and strong. It has been exploited to help America win a war crimes trial and to provide an Asian equivalent to the Holocaust. Regardless of the multiple interfering biases which plague the historical study of the Nanking Massacre, there can be no doubt of at least one thing: something terrible happened during those six weeks, and no amount of politically inspired revisionism or traditionally inspired victimization can refute that.

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[40] Yamamoto, *Anatomy of an Atrocity*, 284.

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# Historical Capitalism and the Rise of the Global Approach to Chinese Economic History: Giovanni Arrghi, Arif Dirlik and Wang Hui

ANDREW CHUN WONG

The emergence of global history, which aims at searching for patterns and developmental trends across different civilizations, has become increasingly influential in academic history since the 1980s.  Jerry Bentley, the founding editor of the *Journal of World History*, defines global history as an analytical paradigm to "deal with historical processes that have not respected national, political, geographical, or cultural boundary lines, but rather have influenced affairs on trans-regional, continental, hemispheric, and global scales."[1]  This approach advocates the importance of positing the histories of global economic development, cross-cultural trade, diaspora and migration, and biological exchanges, beyond the nation-state framework.  Following this trend of the development, a number of historians, including Andre Gunder Frank, Kenneth Pomeranz, and R. Bin Wong, have emerged since the 1990s and have been advocating the need for de-Eurocentrization in the studies of the global economic history.

Sometimes referred as the "California School" historians, they put heavy focus on the economic comparison between Western Europe and China in the early modern period (c.1400-

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[1] Jerry H.  Bentley, "The New World History," in Lloyd Kramer & Sarah Maza (eds.), *A Companion to Western Historical Thought* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006), 393.

1800), urging examination of the economic changes in late Imperial China from a global perspective and refusing to view the developmental experience of Ming-Qing China as a failure in order to provide rationales to contrast the rise of the capitalist West.[2] This essay aims to explore the arguments of three scholars, namely Giovanni Arrighi, Arif Dirlik and Wang Hui, who focus on the implications of this historiographical shift, particularly in terms of shaping our contemporary understanding of historical capitalism and the resurgence of East Asia. Drawing from the arguments of these three scholars, although this global historical narrative is leading to a new paradigm of historical analysis that has profound implications on the conceptualization of the present, we have to be aware of the consequences of universalizing and homogenizing the diversity and dynamics of historical capitalism. I will argue that while the rewriting of global economic history may have successfully discredited the Eurocentric explanation of the rise of the West, the construction of this very same narrative of global capitalism has suppressed or marginalized other traits that are independent from the European path to modernity and their contribution to the making of historical capitalism.

Trained as an economic historian under Chicago economist Milton Friedman, Andre Gunder Frank is one of the most influential world-systems theorists as well as an early advocate of this global historical approach to re-conceptualize the making of the world system from a *longue durée* globological perspective. Rejecting Immanuel Wallenstein's world-system theory that the modern world-system is a

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[2] For the categorization of California School historians, see Peer Vries, "The California School and Beyond: How to Study the Great Divergence," *History Compass 8* (August, 2010), 730; Edward Q. Wang, "The 'California School' in China," *Chinese Studies in History 45* (Fall 2011), 4.

phenomenon uniquely originating in Western Europe and that revolutionarily changed the course of capital accumulation; Frank's world-systems expands the scope of the Wallenstein's world system and suggests that capitalist accumulation is a much longer historical phenomenon that can be found in different core regions across Afro-Eurasia for at least five thousand years. Although location of the core shifted overtime, for example the Yangtze Delta, Edo-Kansai, midland England and the lower countries in the early modern would be considered as the core, this historical phenomenon of capitalism accumulation continued. This stand advocates that the transition from feudalism to capitalism in early modern Europe was a continuity of this longstanding structure of world-systems that was created and continuously modified by the core regions of the world.[3] This perspective deepens and extends the critiques to European exceptionalism while aiming to unify different civilization-centred narratives in diversity. The deconstruction of Eurocentric interpretation of historical capitalism is realized through the demonstration of the active participation of the non-European agents in shaping this world-wide historical capitalist system.[4] While this universalization of European exceptionalism allows Frank to make the argument that the world-systems had enabled Europe to become dominant in the last few centuries, the conceptualization of the world-systems of the ancient and

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[3] For Frank's argument, see Andre Gunder Frank & Barry K. Gills "The 5000-Year World System: An Interdisciplinary Introduction," in Andre Gunder Frank & Barry K. Gills (eds.), *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 6. For a comparison of the world-system(s) theory between Frank and Wallenstein in relation to historical capitalism, see Christopher Chase-Dunn & Peter Grimes, "World-Systems Analysis," *Annual Review of Sociology 21* (1995): 393-394.
[4] Andre Gunder Frank, *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 3.

medieval world, which were fundamentally different from the contemporary world in many aspects, becomes subordinated to the contemporary understanding of historical capitalism. In other words, as much as the present is the continuity of the past, the past is being imagined based on the order of the socioeconomic structure of the present. It is crucial to be aware of the limitations of the use of modern economic theory to reconstruct the past. As much as the Kondratieff economic cycle is a powerful analytical tool to understand the rise and fall of civilization throughout human history, it may not be capable of explaining the transformative changes such as the industrial revolution. The deeper question of how to understand the evolution of historical capitalism without exclusively using the contemporary nature of capitalism as the reference point of comparison becomes the most urgent issue to be resolved.

Kenneth Pomeranz's *The Great Divergence* (2000) and R. Bin Wong's *China Transformed* (1997) are two other influential books that compare the history of socioeconomic development between China and Western Europe. Pomeranz concludes that the Yangtze Delta and Midland England, two of the most prosperous regions in the early modern world, had experienced extremely similar growth patterns. Midland England was only able to outperform the Yangtze Delta because of its proximity to coal deposits and the exploitation of the resources in the New World, thereby allowing it to escape from the ecological constrains that the Yangtze Delta faced. Pomeranz coins the term "East Asia miracle" to argue that the shift to a labour intensive path of development that enabled sustainable population growth throughout the Ming-Qing dynasties is fully

comparable to the "European miracle" of industrialization.[5] This is an attempt to illustrate that the skill-oriented production method used in East Asia is not inferior to the capital-oriented method of production used in Western Europe in generating economic growth, at least until the onset of the industrial revolution.

In order to challenge the exclusive use of a European reference point in understanding the early modern world, Wong employs a Chinese perspective to compare the early modern European states to the Imperial Chinese state in terms of their similarities and differences in socioeconomic development. He concludes that in some ways the Chinese state outperformed the European states, while acknowledging that the Chinese state lacked some of the important features that allowed it to be considered "modern" by the modern standard. By employing the traditional Chinese way of measure as the reference point of comparison, Wong argues that this symmetric comparison allows historians to recognize that there is more than one mode of state formation and transformation possibility, even though he admits that:

> We cannot entirely escape judging Asian state making by European standards because there is no metatheoretical ground on which to base our comparisons. Instead, we must achieve symmetry by looking at Europe from a Chinese perspective. If we do, a distinctive set of absences and commonalities emerges,

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[5] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 12.

not at all the same as the ones highlighted in looking at China from a European perspective.[6]

On a website co-authored by Pomeranz and Wong, designed for history educators, Wong makes the effort to understand the "East Asian miracle" in the last few decades in a broader historical perspective, in which he argues the early modern world can inform us in two ways. Firstly, our conceptualization of economic development and categorization of different models of growth is largely determined by the understanding of the economic relations between states at a particular point of history. For example, if history ended in 1820, then world economic historians would probably celebrate the growth model in East Asia; whereas, if the world ended in 1945, little attention would be given to the Asian economic model. Secondly, the "miracle" in East Asia should not be treated as an alternative to the North Atlantic path to "development." Different developmental paths should be treated equally in order to understand the interconnectedness between different growth models.[7] On the one hand, the emerging global historians on Chinese economic history are well aware of the role of the contemporary bias on the conceptualization of historical capitalism in the construction of global economic history; on the other hand, critics to this approach to history argue that the discourse to historical capitalism has not gone far enough to deconstruct the depth of the capitalist paradigm in historical practice.

Deeply influenced by Fernand Braudel's *longue durée*

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[6] R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 282.

[7] Kenneth Pomeranz and R. Bin Wong, China and Europe: 1500-2000 and Beyond: What is Modern, "Conclusion: Common Development Patterns," URL: http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/chinawh.

approach to history and world-systems analysis, Giovanni Arrigh centres his research on the transformation and evolution of global capitalism. For Arrigh, the new discoveries on Chinese economic history from the global historians have great theoretical and practice significance in understanding not only the relative decline of the world's most advanced region centuries ago, but the sharp resurgence of the very same region as a whole in contemporary times. As Arrigh points out:

> The really interesting and difficult question is not why it has taken so long for the Yangzi delta, China, and East Asia to regain the economic ground they had lost vis-à-vis the West since the mid eighteenth century. Rather, it is how and why China has managed to regain so much ground, so quickly *after* more than a century of political-economic eclipse. Either way, a model of the Great Divergence must tell us something, not just about its origins, but also about its development over time, its limits, and its prospects.[8]

Arrigh builds his argument upon Sugihara Kaoru's framework of "Industrious Revolution," which argues that East Asia had established a distinctive path to technological and institutional development since its early modern era, and in turn, helped the region to industrialize in a hybrid developmental path of "labour intensive industrialization." Once the world market was open to the poorly resourced East Asia, the region first took advantage of its cheap and abandoned labour and moved toward to a labour-driven, energy-saving path to industrialization, distinctly

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[8] Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Verso, 2007), 32.

different from the Western experience.[9]

      This stand incorporates conflicting theories from historians on early modern Chinese economic history by viewing the consequences of labour intensification as a long-term historical process that lasts at least until the present. While most historians identify that China was heading toward a labour intensive developmental path, the debate for them is whether it should be categorized as a form of development like the West or involuntary growth leading to stagnation. Pomeranz and Wong favour the former and believe there was an "East Asian miracle" from 1600 to 1800, because this developmental path was not inferior to the West at least until the onset of the industrial revolution, and therefore the industrial revolution would have occurred based not on the mode of production but on other factors such as ecological and geographical factors that were largely out of human control. For Philip Huang and Mark Elvin, although labour intensification leads to impressive levels of communalization, the growth was involuntary because the standard of living in China had not improved for centuries prior to the reform era.[10] For Arrighi and Sugihara, labour intensification, the basis of the "industrious revolution" in the early modern era, enabled the region to emerge as a late industrializing region in the latter half of the twentieth century and is expected to have greater influence in the years to come.[11]

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[9] Kaoru Sugihara, "The East Asian Path of Economic Development: A Long-Term Perspective," in Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita & Mark Selden (eds), *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 Year Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 115-116

[10] See Philip C.C. Huang, *The Peasant Family and Rural Development in the Yangzi Delta, 1350-1988* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), Chapter 1; Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past: A Social and Economic Interpretation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), Chapter 17.

[11] Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing*, 39.

The end point of the evolution determines the validity and the effectiveness of the growth model. For Arrighi, the economic convergence between the West and East Asia is not a break from the past, but instead the resurgence of East Asia is achieved through "a process of hybridization that preserved and eventually revived important features of the East Asian system."[12] This approach to historical capitalism illustrates that the scope of early modern economic history can go as far as providing insight to the present and how the conclusion of the early modern growth model is shaped by the contemporary understanding of the past.

While Giovanni Arrighi puts the resurgence of East Asia in a historical perspective by connecting the early modern studies on Chinese economic history to the present, Arif Dirlik explores this historical imagination in a critical manner, arguing that the conceptualization of East Asia as a region itself is a product of the contemporary bias. The reduction of the diversity within the different regions in Western Europe as well as East Asia creates an imaginary but convenient pair for comparison. It is the contemporary reality that we experience that defines this category and makes the comparison meaningful. As Dirlik points out:

> The idea of East Asia may be meaningful only if it is articulated to the contemporary problem of globality, and offers solutions to problems of economic and political justice that have their point of departure in a present reality, a reality which is a product both of the "past" and the West." Thus conceived, East Asia as a project also calls for a re-writing of the past, not as it has been re-written in nationalist historiographies, but with an eye to

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[12] Giovanni Arrighi, Po-keung Hui, Ho-fung Hung & Mark Selden, "Historical Capitalism, East and West," in Arrighi et al. (eds.), *The Resurgence of East Asia*, 318.

> what East Asian historical experiences of culture and politics may have to reveal by way of alternatives to contemporary norms of national and international organization.[13]

As Wong pointed out earlier, it is extremely difficult to move beyond the European reference point of analysis, as we do not have an alternative to the European experience of modernity. It is thus difficult to understand an economic growth model that is not considered as premodern, but different from our experience of historical capitalism, because such vocabulary does not exist in our language and culture. Dirlik thus points out the paradox of conceptualizing alternative modernity and global history as:

> If modernity called forth a universal history that would be all-inclusive, the pretension to universality could be sustained only by rendering spatial into temporal difference. Having historicized time, modernity's histories proceeded to suppress or marginalize temporalities that did not accord with the teleologies of modernity, conceived through programmes of economic (capitalism), political (the nation-state) and culture (science) development, for which the history of modern Europe provided the ultimate frame of reference… The globalization of modernity issue not in the victory of Eurocentric modernity but in *its* historicization.[14]

In the context of early modern Chinese economic history, the path to labour intensification and population growth serves as the explanation of why China had or why not China had

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[13] Arif Dirlik, "Culture against History? The Politics of East Asian Identity," *Development and Society 28* (December 1999): 187-188.

[14] Arif Dirlik, "Modernity as History: Post-Revolutionary China, Globalization and the Question of Modernity," *Social History 27* (January 2002):17.

experienced a similar model of growth compared to Europe. The narrative of the unique Chinese experience becomes subordinated to the temporality of historical capitalism. Economic growth and capital accumulation become the teleology of global capitalism while other traits, such as long term stability, which is often negatively viewed as stagnation and subsistence, are undermined in the process. More specifically, Dirlik goes so far as to attack Frank's world-systems theory as making capitalist development become the fate of humankind in the name of erasing Eurocentrism. This naturalization of historical capitalism in turn undermines, if not rejects the imagination, of other alternatives to global capitalism.[15] As a strong critic of capitalism, Dirlik is pessimistic on the emerging global approach to Chinese economic history as well as the New Confucianism that Tu Weiming advocates, based on the belief that the attempt of the rest of the world to challenge the European monopolization on the interpretation of modernity will ultimately lead to the universal victory of Eurocentric modernity as the European path to development becomes the only reference point and path to modernity.

As an intellectual historian and strong critic of the modernity paradigm in historical research, Wang Hui is often categorized as the Chinese New Left (新左派). Like Dirlik, he centres his analysis on Frank's work and explores the issues concerning the contemporary imagination of modernity and de-Eurocentrism with respect to the rise of this global approach to history. Although Frank's analysis is largely centred on the distant past, Wang believes that this opens the door to breaking through the Eurocentric narrative and challenging the universal,

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[15] Arif Dirlik, *Postmodernity's Histories: The Past as Legacy and Project* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 74.

unified and liner progressive view to modernity.   While the rise of this global approach advocates a new direction to historical research, it also provides us with new insights to the histories of non-Western societies.[16]

However, in a more recent work, Wang has become more skeptical about the direction that this global approach to history is heading in and is eager to provide a few recommendations for consideration outlined below.   While the global approach to history is leading historical research in a new direction, this approach of imagining Asia has not yet broken free from the issues of modernity and capitalism.  As Wang states:

> Since any discussion of Asia is rooted in such issues as the nation-state and capitalism, the full diversity of historical relations among Asian societies, institutional forms, customs, and cultural patterns comes to be understood only through the narrative of "modernity," and analysis of values, institutions, and ritual independent of that narrative has either been suppressed or marginalized.  It is in this sense that, even as we challenge the Eurocentric historical narrative, how we go about unearthing these suppressed historical legacies– values, institutions, rituals, and economic relations–and rethinking European "world history" becomes key task.[17]

As with Dirlik, the discourse of the global analysis is now centred not on how to place East Asia in the Euro-American centred world-systems on an equal basis vis-à-vis the West, but on how to understand and conceptualize the marginalized narratives that are found in non-Western societies, which are

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[16] Hui Wang, *The End of the Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity* (New York: Verso, 2009), 84.
[17] Hui Wang, *The Politics of Imagining Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 59.

currently being ignored in our historical paradigm due to their irrelevance to the very same Euro-American centred world-systems. A true breakthrough from the Eurocentric past is to bring these marginalized narratives back to the discussion and understand them in their own historical context. Otherwise, we are creating a category of "Asian totality" that encompasses all the heterogeneous cultures, religions, and other social elements within the region in order to construct a problematic framework for the sake of comparing it to Euro-American path to modernity. The concept of Asia cannot be taken for granted. It is a product of the European egocentric past to justify its exclusivity and expansionism.[18] It is not only the details of the concept of Asia that requires de-Eurocentric discourse, but the construction of the concept itself needs immediate attention from the global historians.

A true paradigm shift in global history will only occur when we attempt to understand the contemporary bias and move beyond the problematic historicization of modernity, thereby constructing a truly global paradigm to incorporate the diversity across cultures. This paradigm shift is what Frank expressed as "unity in diversity." This global approach must always challenge the boundary of the disciple of history and bring new narratives that have previously been marginalized into our conservation. It is only this completing of historical narratives that pushes the writing of history toward perfection.

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[18] Wang, *The Politics of Imagining Asia,* 61.

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