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

PUBLISHING

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COVER IMAGE

The image on the cover of this issue of *The Corvette* is a painting by Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg from 1835 titled, “The Corvette Najaden Under Sail.” The painting is currently in the Hirschsprung Collection in Copenhagen, Denmark. This year the intent was to find an image that illustrated the history of the corvette, a small naval vessel. This painting is a rendering of a corvette ship, the namesake of our journal.

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President's Message

I am pleased to introduce this issue of *The Corvette*, the University of Victoria's student-run history undergraduate journal.

We have extraordinary students with extraordinary ideas at the University of Victoria. Our university is committed to providing students with a fully immersed, research-enriched academic environment. At its core an education in history and other humanities disciplines develops valuable skills in our students, such as critical and creative thinking, close analysis of texts, social and cultural patterns, and finely developed communication skills. Students engaged in exploring and creating knowledge alongside their peers and mentors is a great foundation for academic learning, skill building, and for creating innovative and active citizens.

The Corvette seeks to showcase our finest undergraduate researchers of whom we are so proud. Students have the opportunity to gain hands-on experience of the academic process through research, writing, and publishing, as well as acting as copy editors and peer reviewers. The result is an excellent collection of work from students who are directly engaged in research-inspired learning. The history explored in this issue takes us around the world –from the Scottish Highlands to the ancient city of Pompeii– demonstrating the diverse range of historical study on campus. These essays are thought-provoking, well-researched and creative, and are wonderful examples of the dynamic scholarship at UVic.

Congratulations on the continued success of *The Corvette* and thank you to the many dedicated UVic undergraduate students, graduate students, faculty advisers and mentors for sharing your knowledge and passion for history.

I wish each of you all the best for a successful future.

Sincerely,

Professor Jamie Cassels, QC
President and Vice-Chancellor

Chair's Message

The Corvette serves many people, many ways.

For the readers it is an entrée through doorways to the past, portals to people, places and events that had been lost to time and are resurrected here in the pages of this journal.

For the authors it is a place to refine the craft of scholarship; a place to get something off our chest -- or conscience; a place to share some hard-won knowledge, and for some, a launching pad to careers in history, writing, journalism, policy analyses, politics, law...or just about anything that requires thinking and communicating.

For me, it was a launching pad. I co-edited the first incarnation of the *Corvette*, published by the UVic History Undergrad "Course Union" back when pterodactyls still dominated the campus sky. That work made me a better writer and editor; it helped me get accepted and funded when I applied to do a Masters in History, a degree which further refined my skills, and got me into a Ph.D. program, which got me into the best job in the world – historian, UVic professor, chair of a great History Department.

So I offer my thanks to the editors and authors of this year's Corvette, and the author/editors of the many volumes and incarnations that came before. You have generously shared your time, imagination, knowledge, and skill, and collectively you have launched a thousand careers -- mine included!

Thank you for sharing your knowledge and skills...Congratulations!

Sincerely,

Dr. John Lutz
Chair, Department of History

Editor's Introduction

I am pleased to introduce the newest issue of the University of Victoria's History Undergraduate Journal, *The Corvette*. The journal is the embodiment of the hard work and ingenuity of history students over the years. The pages of *The Corvette* are filled with rich historical research and detail that illustrate the high quality of work at the University of Victoria. Each year the publishing process provides students with the opportunity to collaborate with peers and professors to create a quality undergraduate research journal.

There were a variety of excellent submissions this year, however only seven were chosen for this issue. Though we received many commendable papers, these seven stand out both for their unique topics and excellent writing. The papers draw from history all over the globe, spanning five centuries and exploring topics in Africa, North America, and Europe. Distinctive subjects such as J.R.R. Tolkien's mythical world, Liberian colonization, and the Basque separatist group, ETA, are explored within this volume. Overall, these seven diverse works give the reader a real sense of historical breadth.

In addition to the authors, there are many people who deserve mention for their work on this issue of *The Corvette*. I would like to acknowledge the hard work and assistance of all eighteen of our peer reviewers and copy editors. Particularly, I would like to offer a special thanks to Matthew Miskulin, who has been an extremely important part of the editing process. As well, the journal could not have been produced without the exceptional support of our professor advisors, Dr. Peter Cook and Dr. Mitchell Lewis Hammond. Their tireless work and expertise

have helped to guide and streamline the process. It is also important to note the help of the History Undergraduate Society, especially the encouragement and advice of David Heintz and Lauren Chancellor. Furthermore, I would like to mention the funding generously provided by the University of Victoria's Student Society that has made this journal possible. All of the assistance provided by this team has helped to create what I believe is another exceptional issue of *The Corvette*.

Sincerely,

Jocelyn Rempel
Editor-in-Chief

The Decline of the Scottish Clans

MALCOLM STEWART¹

The Scottish clan system was one of the pillars of society that maintained social stability (and political instability) in the northern reaches of the Kingdom of Scotland. Thus, the decline of the clans presented a vast and irreversible change to such realities in the Highlands and Isles,² not to mention to the entire realm itself. This paper references informative texts on the history of the clans and the system of which they were a part. Through this research, this paper presents a new account of the origins and circumstances of the gradual, centuries-long path to the end of the clans as a power within Gaelic Scottish culture. It endeavours to show how royal efforts to create a peaceful and prosperous society in the Highlands and Isles evolved and contributed to the emergence of phenomena that would have a much more terrible effect on the clans folk than was likely anticipated.

From James IV in the late fifteenth century to the Hanoverians in the nineteenth, the Crown of Scotland long sought to maintain order in the Highlands and Isles. Institutional policy was the chosen mechanism to change Gaelic society and it dramatically hastened the decline of the clans. This essay first studies their nature, from early formative experiences to the legendary origins of the clans, as well as their hierarchical structure, with feudal influences, in order to better understand this change. It then turns to the beginnings of the extensive

¹ I would like to thank Professor Matthew Koch for his commentary on the first rendering of this paper; I would also like to thank Jocelyn Rempel and the editorial team of this journal, particularly David Heintz, for all of their critical revisions and commentary in preparing the final version.

² The 'Isles' referred to in this paper are the Inner and Outer Hebrides, which lie off the west and northwest coasts of Scotland. They are diverse in many ways, most notably for this paper, in their populations' cultural roots. Within the last thousand or so years they have been controlled by Celts, Norse, and later, by more recognizably Scottish peoples.

changes faced by the clans, such as James VI's policy aimed at pacifying and enriching the populations of the Highlands and Isles. Finally looking at the developments and divisions that were the largely unintended consequences of such policies, it focuses on the rifts between the chiefs and clans folk engendered by chiefs' responses, often financially compelled, to these policies, in turn solidified by the political realities faced by the Highlands and Isles after the fall of the Stuarts.

“Political upheaval and social dislocation” were the major factors that led to the formation of the clans in the high Middle Ages; specifically with the Dunkeld³ dynasty-sponsored immigration of Anglo-Norman families, the absorption of the Norse-Gaels in the Isles, and the Wars of Independence being the main formative experiences.⁴ Additionally, it has been argued that the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles,⁵ once spanning the western seaboard, removed a blanket of protection from the kinship groups that were the early clans, leading the groups of the Highlands and Isles into a process of fragmentation that forced them to fend for themselves in an environment of competing territorial and power ambitions.⁶ This was further exacerbated by the 1545 death of Donald Dubh, the heir claimant to the Lordship, opening a power vacuum amongst kindred that

³ The Dunkeld kings (also referred to as the Canmore kings) ruled earlier forms of what became the Kingdom of Scotland from 1034 through to 1290.

⁴ Allan MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce, and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 1.

⁵ The Lordship of the Isles came out of ancient Gaelic and Norse powers, and as the Kingdom of Scotland began to take shape formed into the second most powerful lordship in the kingdom itself (aside from that of the king), commanding great sea power in and around the Hebrides.

⁶ John L. Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant: History of the Highland Clans from the Civil War to the Glencoe Massacre* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 12.

had once regarded themselves as subordinates to Clan Donald; splintering Highland society into distinct clan entities.⁷

University of Strathclyde's Allan MacInnes assures us that clanship was not isolated in the Highlands, appearing elsewhere, but was indeed intimately linked to the vitality of Gaelic culture. With the aforementioned formative experiences, kinship, feudalism, and populations in close proximity led to the production of political, social, and cultural associations that would become the clan;⁸ included in this was the lore of the *clann*.⁹ Scholar F. Clifford-Vaughan, in "Disintegration of a Tribal Society," speaks about clan loyalty: the bond within the clan of the common clansman to his chief, which could not be accounted for by any kind of monetary benefit (or anything of the like) but instead something more significant.¹⁰ According to Roberts, this was reinforced by the typical practice of the chief 'flattering' the clan by recognizing them as his own kin, who in turn gave him fealty.¹¹ Yet despite the traditions, it is clear that the clans were rarely of common descent, especially between the peasantry and the *fine*,¹² who in some cases were of Celtic and Norman descent.¹³ Thus the political entity of the clan consisted, for the most part, of the chief and his kin, as well as the leading gentry within his clan, to the exclusion of those below them.¹⁴

⁷ Ibid., 2.

⁸ MacInnes, *Clanship*, 1.

⁹ Bruce Lenman describes the *clann* as the grouping of the 'children' of a common ancestor, at least four generations back, who often had a kind of mythical or heroic status, in *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen 1650-1784* (London: Methuen London Ltd., 1984), 5.

¹⁰ F. Clifford-Vaughan, "Disintegration of a Tribal Society: the Decline of the Clans in Highland Scotland," *Theoria: a Journal of Social and Political Theory* 43 (December 1974): 74.

¹¹ Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant*, 13-14.

¹² The *fine* were the elite strata of the clan.

¹³ Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 7.

¹⁴ Ibid., 7.

Still, *dion*, a protective sort of morality, was of primary value to the clans and was personified in the chief as the *ceann-cinnidh*¹⁵ and his paternal relationship with the clan members.¹⁶ Because the clan was considered to be an extended family, the kind and charitable treatment of the needy by the chief, was considered a necessary and qualifying trait for his rule.¹⁷ This included both hospitality and protection, which could also be found in the households of the *fine*.¹⁸ Professor Jane Dawson of the University of Edinburgh speaks to the propensity for patronage, which was also expected to be complimented by bravery and cunning in warfare; all of these values together were admired and expounded within Gaelic society by travelling praise poets.¹⁹ Further, the chief and *fine* were responsible for the provision of justice, which was considered a personal and hereditary authority constituting a major part of their *duthchas*.²⁰ It was by and large considered both the duty of the chief, and to his benefit, to ensure that all the clan was provided for; they, in turn, were bound to him by this relationship.²¹ The connection between the clansman and his chief appears to have been very familiar, and it is suggested that it is “doubtful whether the ordinary men of the clan cared about the king or had even heard

¹⁵ The chief, more literally interpreted as the leading member of the greater family.

¹⁶ MacInnes, *Clanship*, 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁹ Jane Dawson, "The Fifth Earl of Argyle, Gaelic Lordship and Political Power in Sixteenth-Century Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review* 67:183 (1988): 21.

²⁰ Considered the trusteeship of the clan, its territories, traditions, etc.; MacInnes, *Clanship*, 3.

²¹ Clifford-Vauhgan, "Disintegration of a Tribal Society," 75.

about the central government of [Scotland].”²² At least in the centuries before Jacobitism,²³ this may have been true.

Of course all descriptions of clan society cannot be applied across the board. Bruce Lenman insists that, “...one cannot really talk about a ‘clan system’, only about specific clans, and though generalisations are possible, exceptions may be found to all of them.”²⁴ One such example would be Clan Campbell’s general defiance of the (soon to be discussed) weakening trend of the clans. The solidarity of Clan Campbell was the essential element of their rise to power as a clan and in the person of the Earl of Argyll.²⁵ The cadet branches of his house maintained loyalty to the chief, and the clan became the stronger for it,²⁶ thus illustrating the importance of the previously noted attributes of clanship bonds. Such solidarity can be illustrated by the differences between Clan Campbell and Clan Donald; Edward J. Cowan tells how the former, which managed to reunify after internal strife, became the most powerful clan in

²² *Ibid.*, 76.

²³ Jacobitism is the movement that rose as a response to the deposition of James VII of Scotland and II of England and Ireland (Stuart) in 1689 by his daughter and son-in-law, Mary II and William of Orange — largely because James was a Catholic king in a Protestant-dominated kingdom. The movement’s name comes from the Latin rendition of James’ name, *Jacob*, and was focused on restoring James, then his son, and then grandson to the throne. Long after the deaths of William, Mary, and her sister Anne I of Great Britain, the Jacobites tried to restore a Stuart to the throne, but were thwarted by the Hanovers — who were descended from an earlier Stuart king.

²⁴ Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 6.

²⁵ Argyll is the territory that has been under the rule of Clan Campbell for many centuries, most recently embodied in the Duke of Argyll. It is on the western coast of Scotland and includes some of the southern portion of the Inner Hebrides, between Kintyre and Cape Wrath.

²⁶ Dawson, “The Fifth Earl of Argyle,” 11.

the Highlands and Isles; the latter fell out of the power of the Lordship of the Isles and never recovered.²⁷

Essential to the maintenance of clan solidarity behind the chief were the *fir-tacsa*.²⁸ Within the clan equivalent of the 'chain of command' without whom a chief would be hard pressed to discipline and mobilise his clan; the *fir-tacsa* were expected to follow the lead of their chief in all matters with loyal service.²⁹ Performing managerial roles, they also had responsibilities of overseeing resources, manpower, and even adherence to social mores, but especially the oversight of land.³⁰

Feudal land charters from the Crown gave clans an advantage besides military strength, such that the increased legitimacy to land title it entailed made feudalism a very important feature of the clan system.³¹ The Dunkelds deliberately began the import of feudal traits with the encouragement of Norman families that had settled in England after the conquest,³² in turn settling in the Scottish kingdom. This was to make the realm less susceptible to attack from Norman England, and also to propagate the advantageous aspects of feudal society throughout Scotland; such as martial techniques which would enable them to successfully act aggressively against neighbouring entities (within modern Scotland) that still had some independence from the Dunkelds.³³ Some Highland chiefs had come from Norman families that had moved up within

²⁷ Edward J. Cowan, "Clanship, Kinship, and the Campbell Acquisition of Islay," *Scottish Historical Review* 58:166 (October 1979): 144.

²⁸ The *fir-tacsa* were usually lesser gentry or specialists of a sort, and held their land by lease from the chief; MacInnes, *Clanship*, 15.

²⁹ Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 13.

³⁰ MacInnes, *Clanship*, 18.

³¹ Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant*, 12.

³² Referring to the Conquest of England by William, Duke of Normandy, in 1066, who subdued the small Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the day and became the first king of all England.

³³ Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 6.

Scotland as the kingdom expanded northward, and they were also prone to quickly adopt Gaelic customs, although they usually only married into other Scoto-Norman families. Because of their familiarity with feudal practices, these chiefs headed some of the most successful clans by establishing cadet branches of their own kindred along the fringes of their lands, and consolidating chiefly power in their territories.³⁴ The further adoption of feudalism by other chiefs over the centuries allowed them to orchestrate the mechanisms of their respective clans more effectively, especially those concerning warfare.³⁵

The Highland clans at their peak in the ‘Age of Feuds and Forays’ were themselves so strong that they could defy the King’s Peace and more or less ignore central Crown authority; even the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles did little to reduce the military strength of the clans. This lasted even into the Jacobite era, when in 1724 General Wade estimated the whole of the Highland clans could raise 22,000 men, mostly in support of the Stuarts.³⁶ Indeed, the clans exhibited their power most effectively on the national stage in conflicts that embroiled the whole of Scotland, such as the antagonism between the Covenanters³⁷ and the Stuart kings.³⁸ The reduction of the military retinues within the clans seems to have been a slowly developing process over many generations,³⁹ but it nevertheless seems to have had an effect on the clans’ ability to engage in violence: the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a major

³⁴ Ibid., 12.

³⁵ Ibid., 6.

³⁶ Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant*, 10.

³⁷ The Covenanters were a branch of Protestantism in Scotland, more specifically the Presbyterian movement, that had a strong impact on Scottish history in the seventeenth century.

³⁸ Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant*, 16.

³⁹ Julian Goodare, “The Statutes of Iona in Context,” *Scottish Historical Review* 78:203 (April 1998): 56.

decline in inter-clan animosity.⁴⁰ This was surely abetted by the reality that most chiefs were intelligent political actors guided by pragmatism, and not just simple minded brutes prone to fits of vendetta and violence.⁴¹ Nevertheless, as we shall later see, military force would play an important role in the Scottish political arena.

Notwithstanding the use of military force on a massive scale, Goodare notes how James VI was intent on controlling the Highland clans rather than just coping with their existence within in his kingdom.⁴² He wanted to establish Lowland style towns in the Highlands and Isles, which he hoped would bring prosperity;⁴³ also, he wanted to alter the clan system and the power of the chiefs in his favour, although this was met with limited success.⁴⁴ It seems that James' ambition was strong enough that he initially wanted to colonise the Highlands, but his Privy Council eventually convinced him to work with the established chiefs.⁴⁵

To this effect, James sent Bishop Knox on a 1609 expedition into the Isles, to survey and foster negotiation, in a venture that eventually produced the Statutes of Iona.⁴⁶ These Statutes consisted of the following terms:

- a. [the] Church [was] to be maintained and ecclesiastical discipline established;
- b. inns to be established;
- c. military retinues to be limited;
- d. *sorning* — the exaction of free maintenance by those retinues — to be

⁴⁰ Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 8.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴² Goodare, "The Statutes of Iona in Context," 32.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

- abolished;
- e. the sale of wine and whisky to be banned;
- f. chiefs and leading clansmen to educate their eldest sons in the Lowlands;
- g. carrying of firearms to be suppressed;
- h. Gaelic bards to be suppressed; and
- i. all this to be enforced by chiefs arresting offenders and handing them over to the authorities.⁴⁷

Notably, these requirements did not address certain large issues such as the payment of royal rents, the legality of chiefs' titles to their lands, or obedience to the law.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Alison Cathcart (also of the University of Strathclyde) says it appears that James saw this as acceptable way of bringing general order to the Highlands and Isles, so that Scotland might benefit economically as well as have its reputation increased on the world stage.⁴⁹

James VI was particularly concerned with the instability of the Isles, because of their proximity to the troubled northern parts of Ireland.⁵⁰ As such, amendments were made in 1614 to shore up loyalty to the Crown, and in 1616 to ensure chiefs' obedience of the law, as well as their attendance in Edinburgh before the Privy Council on an annual basis, the adoption of Lowland agricultural methods and the English language, and the qualification that all heirs to chiefs must be able to speak English before they were legitimate in the eyes of the Crown.⁵¹ For the

⁴⁷ Ibid., 50.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 42.

⁴⁹ Alison Cathcart, "The Statutes of Iona: the Archipelagic Context," *The Journal of British Studies* 49:1 (2010): 9-10.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Goodare, "The Statutes of Iona in Context," 46.

most part it seems that the Statutes were aimed at altering or repressing Gaelic culture, by undermining important institutions or traditions therein;⁵² and another amendment in 1617 subverted the clans' symbolic reliance on the chiefs by banning payment to the chiefs of *calps*.⁵³ Overall it appears the Statutes were used to further Edinburgh's agenda of distancing Scotland as much as possible from old Gaelic culture.⁵⁴

However, it must be noted that the Statutes were not exactly a turning point in Crown policy regarding the Isles so much as part of a development of more grand policy between 1596 and 1617.⁵⁵ James was able to bring the chiefs of the Highlands and Isles under his authority via the Statutes of Iona, forcing them to acknowledge his supremacy and even ending most of the feuds that had existed between them beforehand.⁵⁶ John L. Roberts tells us that "by bringing the various feuds among the Highland clans to an end, James VI radically altered the balance of political power and territorial influence in the Highlands."⁵⁷

Certainly the Statutes were a sustained measure in countering the military capabilities of the Highland chiefs, with the hope of reducing the martial strength of the clans overall. Amusingly enough, the Jacobite armies of the next century showed this was not a completely efficacious policy; nevertheless, they targeted the military elite of the clans, by forcing the chiefs (and soldiery) to live off their own means, without *sorning*, and discouraging the widespread use of

⁵² *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵³ *Calps* were considered death duties, paid to the chief, in compensation for a lifetime of protection; Cathcart, "The Statutes of Iona," 47.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵⁶ Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant*, 10-11.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

firearms.⁵⁸ But since the Statutes did not explicitly attack the *firtacsa*, the ‘formalized redundancy’ of the *buannachan*⁵⁹ remained and thus the Statutes did not particularly reduce the military power of the clan.⁶⁰

The Statutes also represented an attempt by the Crown at minimizing the drain on resources in Gaelic society, argues Cathcart, while also raising the standard of living, educating the future chiefs, and reducing the significance of the military.⁶¹ Roberts shows that other social aspects of clanship were targeted, such as socially important displays of hospitality; as above noted, the Statutes further sought to integrate chiefs into Lowland society by forcing them to attend yearly meetings with the Privy Council and for their heirs to be educated in the Lowlands.⁶² Cathcart concurs, though she insists they did not represent an attack on Gaelic culture so much as a well-intended attempt at propagating Lowland society onto the Highlands and Isles.⁶³ The banning of *sorning* and the like may be regarded as a boon to clan peasantry, yet Cathcart also admits that the Statutes of Iona nevertheless consolidated the power of the chiefs at the expense of the common folk.⁶⁴

Once the chiefs were regularly visiting Edinburgh to speak with the Privy Council, Lenman considers them to have been integrated members of the Scottish aristocracy. Their clan identity was still a major concern, but national perspectives were introduced, as well as more materialistic issues.⁶⁵ This also

⁵⁸ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁹ The *buannachan* were a clan’s mercenaries, fighters renowned around Europe through their presence in many conflicts.

⁶⁰ Goodare, “The Statutes of Iona in Context,” 56.

⁶¹ Cathcart, “The Statutes of Iona: the Archipelagic Context,” 5.

⁶² Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant*, 15.

⁶³ Cathcart, “The Statutes of Iona: the Archipelagic Context,” 22.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁶⁵ Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 10.

contributed to the rise of absenteeism, as well as the increased employment of lawyers and the use of written tenancy contracts, which in turn led to the evictions of those who could not satisfy the contracts, in stark contrast with traditional Gaelic custom.⁶⁶ It may be that the economic demands of travel to the capital on a yearly basis, as well as maintaining residency there, was the cause of this. Still, most chiefs did not abandon their patriarchal responsibilities for about a century. According to Roberts, “it was only in the aftermath of the Jacobite defeat at Culloden⁶⁷ that social and economic changes began in earnest,” and were at their apex with the Highland Clearances, discussed shortly, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶⁸ It also seems that monetary concerns were the driving force behind the changing relationships with the clan, and in tandem with other political forces, also contributed to the great suffering of the common Highlanders, while also damaging the “close inter-personal relationships” that had previously held the clan together.⁶⁹

After the fall of the Stuarts, these relationships saw their worst developments. As MacInnes informs us, said royal dynasty provided a degree of protection for the chiefs, and thus the Revolution of 1688-1690 was a sore blow to them.⁷⁰ In the end, the bonds that had held the clan together were no match for the strain placed upon it by landlords’ new interest in monetary

⁶⁶ Cathcart, "The Statutes of Iona: the Archipelagic Context," 27.

⁶⁷ The Battle of Culloden (16 April 1746) was the climax of the Jacobite rising of 1745, and with the victory of the Hanoverian forces, signaled the end of any further Jacobite Stuart claims to the throne of Britain. It was also the last battle fought on British soil, with the Jacobite forces led by Charles Edward “Bonnie Prince Charlie” Stuart (grandson of James II) and the Hanoverian forces led by the William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (youngest son of George II Hanover).

⁶⁸ Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant*, 246.

⁶⁹ Clifford-Vauhgan, "Disintegration of a Tribal Society," 78.

⁷⁰ MacInnes, *Clanship*, 24.

profits and the challenge presented by Lowland culture.⁷¹ Even with the majority of clan support in favour of the Stuarts, the religious and political divides in Highland society after their fall exacerbated the situation;⁷² in a sad example of foreshadowing, the Highlands chiefs were not enthusiastic about the idea of Prince Charles' 1745 rebellion without substantial French support, because they feared it would end very badly for the clans.⁷³ With the end of the last Jacobite rebellion came the "irremediable loss of an ancient and cherished autonomy," as the clans (especially in the Great Glen) were surrounded by Hanoverian forces, and with this the clansmen lost all will to fight.⁷⁴ It may be that the concessions exacted from the chiefs after this defeat exacerbated the weakening of clan power in the Highlands and Isles. This was compounded by the fact that the role of the chief was effectively absorbed by the State over time.⁷⁵

Yet the chiefs still seemed determined to survive politically in Britain. As time progressed, military potency became the main venue for chiefs seeking to regain power and ingratiate themselves with the Hanoverian regime, and thus "the Highlanders" were very much present in Britain's wars around the end of the eighteenth century. Yet they were met with a downturn in demand once peace reigned.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the chiefs' (especially the Jacobite ones) use of the British Army as an avenue for reconciliation with the Hanovers is what effectively made them part of the British ruling classes.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Clifford-Vauhgan, "Disintegration of a Tribal Society," 78.

⁷² Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant*, 246.

⁷³ Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 149.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁷⁵ Clifford-Vauhgan, "Disintegration of a Tribal Society," 79.

⁷⁶ Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 216.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 220.

Perhaps the most notorious consequence of these trends are the Highland Clearances, a traumatic set of events in Highlands history that involved the eviction of crofters (small scale farmers) from traditional clan lands in the Highlands. This was generally so that they could be turned to more profitable uses, like the raising of livestock; however, it may not have always been the case. Lenman maintains that the chiefs of the day were not necessarily seeking to expel their tenants from Scotland; rather, they wanted to keep them in their employ by shifting them to other industries such as kelping and soldiery.⁷⁸ Yet the popular record seems to give a damning account of this: even though emigration from Highland society was viewed with hostility by the aristocracy, emigration even out of Scotland was a major trend and was carried out mostly by those whose skills and success might have otherwise benefitted what remained of the clans. It appears emigration was the most effective way of protesting the actions of contemporary chiefs.⁷⁹ MacInnes says that, “clanship remained a viable concept until the later eighteenth century,”⁸⁰ and this coincides with the timing of the Clearances.

These drastic and devastating events were the result of a clear regression of the clan-chief relationship from the late sixteenth century onwards. By first giving context to this, an analysis has been developed on the nature of the clans: early formative experiences, the cultural/social mythos around the descent of the clan, and the resulting ethic; the clan structure, and its feudal attributes; and finally the military significance of the clan. A consideration follows of the causes of change experienced by the clans, beginning with the policy of James VI regarding them, specifically discussing the Statutes of Iona and their goals: stability in the Hebrides and a raised standard of

⁷⁸ Ibid., 218.

⁷⁹ Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 213-214.

⁸⁰ MacInnes, *Clanship*, 24.

living. Yet as has been shown, these policies had much larger consequences. The chiefs themselves incurred greater financial burdens because of these new responsibilities, which were passed on to the clan, thus engendering the first part of the deep change in the chief-clan relationship. The changing political realities after the fall of the Royal House of Stuart only made the entire situation worse.

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The Vesuvian Cities' Role in the Neoclassical Interior and Archaeological Enquiry

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The Neoclassical style was propelled into popular taste as early archaeological excavation took place in the Vesuvian cities. Eighteenth century society was enamoured with the aesthetically pleasing objects, wall paintings and architecture unearthed in the buried cities and this enamourment led to both improper excavation and a narrow approach to studying the ancient past. While the rediscovery was beneficial through the renewal of curiosity in the ancient world, the aesthetics from the Vesuvian cities were essentially appropriated to fit the ideology of elite eighteenth century society. These reproduced aesthetics have become more of a reflection on the Neoclassical period than the genuine Classical past.

During the time of the Bourbon Kingdom in Naples a significant rediscovery was made: that of the buried city of Pompeii and other Vesuvian towns. Although Pompeii was never truly lost, the site was rediscovered as interest in the Classical past was renewed during the eighteenth century.¹ In a society enamoured with niceties and antiquities, this excavation acted as a catalyst for even more interest in the ancient world and its aesthetics. This obsession with ancient visual culture and the lavish materials from Pompeii led to improper excavation and gives us a less complete understanding of the city itself. In many ways the eighteenth century context of such works of art and artifacts in the houses of European aristocrats is just as important

¹ Between 1594 and 1600, architect Domenico Fontana discovered the Pompeian ruins while constructing an underground channel in the region. While Fontana found two inscriptions, there was no further interest to excavate the city. Excavation would not take place until the mid-18th century under Don Carlos, King of Naples.

as their ancient context. The manner of their display shows the influence of the artifacts in broader society. By the eighteenth century, these collections of curiosities became precursors to museums as we understand them today.²

As the primary excavator of Herculaneum, Rocque Joaquin de Alcubierre spent his forty years of employment more concerned with finding antiquities for the King rather than using a systematic approach to excavation. A quote by historian Marcel Brion sums up the excavation process employed early on, claiming that “frescoes were torn from the walls that they adorned, weapons, vases and coins were swept up, all removed without any question of the state or place in which they had been found.”³ William Mead, writing in the early twentieth century, affirms this by claiming “the main purpose of the eighteenth century excavation was not to study the conditions of ancient life, but to discover curiosities, art treasures, and other valuables.”⁴ These systems of pilfering led to complications but nonetheless demonstrate the selective interest in antiquity that had grown at this time.

This paper explores the stylistic influences of wall paintings and other antiquities from the Vesuvian cities on Neoclassical interiors of the eighteenth century. The establishment of Neoclassicism is rooted within the dissemination of archaeological discoveries from the ancient world. This essay will first analyze various methods of dissemination such as the Grand Tour and plate publications of the excavation, and secondly will take a closer look at a couple

² "History of Museums | Museum," Encyclopedia Britannica Online, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/history-398827>.

³ Marcel Brion, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: The Glory and the Grief* (London: Crown Publishers, 1960), 35.

⁴ William Edward Mead, *The grand tour in the eighteenth century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), 329.

examples of wall paintings to denote the stylistic influence in decorative art. The adaptation of classical motifs in later centuries is significant to art history, demonstrates the evolution of classical civilization into an idealized symbol of refinement, and also had an important role in the promotion of archaeological enquiry,⁵ which is perhaps its greatest significance of all.

The Grand Tour was perhaps one of the most direct ways in which people in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries engaged with the ancient world. The Grand Tour was a trip through Europe (and many other places that were home to ancient ruins) made primarily by men of elite classes as a way to enhance formal education and to have firsthand experience viewing the “art and architecture of classic lands.”⁶ The Grand Tour was the climax of a classical education.⁷ While certain men went on lengthy tours for their own scholarly endeavours (such as German art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann) many others would embark for shorter periods of time and have the accompaniment of a docent or teacher.⁸ Visiting the ruins in Rome and the surrounding areas was one of the most significant parts of the trip. Many elites visiting the excavation sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum purchased artifacts for their collections, separating the artifacts from their original contexts. Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) once proclaimed that “the man who has not been to Italy is always conscious of an inferiority

⁵ Glenn Most and Salvatore Settis, *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010), 406.

⁶ Brian M. Ambroziak, *Michael Graves Images of a Grand Tour* (Princeton Architectural Press: New York, New York, 2005), 6.

⁷ Most and Settis, *Classical Tradition*, 405.

⁸ “Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History: The Grand Tour,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, last modified October 1, 2003. Accessed November 17, 2015.; A docent is a tour guide.

from his not having seen what is expected a man to see.”⁹ With the encouragement of various forerunners in the Neoclassical movement, Neoclassicism emerged out of this first-hand observation of antiquities, which led to a desire to reproduce them.¹⁰ Winckelmann who, as mentioned, went on a lengthy tour himself, proclaimed that “the only way for us to become great, and indeed, if this is possible, inimitable, is by imitating the ancients.”¹¹ Plates bearing Pompeian antiquities were disseminated more broadly, while early Herculaneum publications were jealously withheld.¹²

Karl Weber, an assistant to Alcubierre, was unexceptional in his approach to archaeology yet innovative at the same time. One of Weber’s boldest proposals relates to the publication of antiquities from Herculaneum,¹³ when he recommended that historical and archaeological documentation should be provided alongside illustrations of antiquities. Again, the love for the aesthetic of the art itself was greater than that of the historical context of the ancient world and the idea was not taken seriously.¹⁴ The first engravings of wall paintings from the Vesuvian region were found in *Te Antichita di Ercolano Esposte*,

⁹ James Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 742.

¹⁰ Most and Settis, *Classical Tradition*, 406: “The Grand Tour led to the formation of important collections, the design of country houses and their park lands.”

¹¹ H.B. Nisbet, *German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism: Winckelmann, Lessing, Hamann, Herder, Schiller and Goethe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985), 33.

¹² Christopher Charles Parslow *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the Excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2.; These publications were withheld in order to limit accessibility to the site and its goods.

¹³ Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity*, 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; Weber would later be the first to identify “spatial configurations of domestic interiors with reference to terminology employed by the Augustan architectural writer Vitruvius.”

published between 1759-1779.¹⁵ Other authors published more elaborate collections such as Pierre-François Hugues d'Hancarville's four-volume *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities* which boasted the first color plates featured in a book on the history of art.¹⁶ Publications of this nature were continually produced and Pompeii's influence emerged in later centuries with more historical accuracy.¹⁷ One of the greater influences in Neoclassicism came from James Stuart, whose Spencer House design will serve as an example of the classical revival, but who also published *Antiquities of Athens*, a comprehensive three volumes of illustrations. The publication of Giovanni Battista Piranesi was perhaps the most influential in respect to the enquiry into archaeology. *Veduti di Roma* was issued in 1748 and brought the engineering achievements of the ancient world to the forefront of contemporary thinking.¹⁸ *Veduti di Roma* included aerial views of the colosseum, transforming the conventional view of engravings and giving way to topographical interests that in turn intensified archaeological enquiry.¹⁹ While the Grand Tour and the various illustrated

¹⁵ Hetty Joyce, "The Ancient Frescoes from the Villa Negroni and Their Influence in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *The Art Bulletin* 65, no. 3 (1983): 33.

¹⁶ Paul, Carole. *Naples and Vesuvius on the Grand Tour* (review) *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 2002. 36 (1): 86-92.

¹⁷ Roberto Cassanelli, *Houses and Monuments of Pompeii: The Works of Fausto and Felice Niccolini* (Los Angeles, California: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002); In the 19th century, brothers Fausto and Felice Niccolini would have an important role in the dissemination of imagery and text from Pompeii. This consideration for historical context likely rose from Felice Niccolini's involvement at the Naples museum and Fausto Niccolini's relationship with famed Pompeiian archaeologist Giuseppe Fiorelli. This greatly influenced the historical accuracy presented in their publication.

¹⁸ Most and Settis, *Classical Tradition*, 731.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; This new way of seeing the ruins brought up questions about the architectural development of a city over time, its geography, and enquiry into the various functional areas within a cityspace.

publications that arose from it greatly contributed to Pompeii's influence beyond elite households, it was within these households that we see the most direct evidence of Neoclassicism deriving specifically from Pompeii.

The Painted Room in the Spencer House (London, England) features many stylistic parallels to wall paintings found in Pompeii. Designed by a passionate advocate and forerunner of Neoclassicism, James 'Athenian' Stuart, the room boasts decoration deriving from and inspired by various ancient sources. Stuart had just returned to London after months of traveling the route of the Grand Tour and, consequently, his design for the Spencer House was the first Neoclassical interior to be debuted in Europe.²⁰ Being one of Stuart's most elaborate surviving interiors, the walls imitate various features such as grotesques found primarily in third style wall paintings from Pompeii and the surrounding areas.²¹ Categorized by German archaeologist August Mau, the Third Style is also called the "Ornate Style."²² Mau further describes the Third Style's distinguishing qualities, most prominently in terms of the dissipation of realistic architectural elements. He states that, "the architectural design has now lost all semblance of real construction. Columns, entablatures, and other members are treated conventionally, as

²⁰ Most and Settis, *Classical Tradition*, 405.

²¹ "Grotesque | Ornamentation," Encyclopedia Britannica Online, last modified March 2, 2015. <http://www.britannica.com/art/grotesque-ornamentation>.; "The term 'Grotesque' in architecture and decorative art is a fanciful mural or sculptural decoration involving mixed animal, human, and plant forms. The word is derived from the Italian *grotteschi*, referring to the grottoes in which these decorations were found c. 1500 during the excavation of Roman houses such as the Golden House of Nero. Grotesque decoration was common on 17th-century English and American case furniture."

²² August Mau and Francis W. Kelsey, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1902), 43. The name Ornate Style refers to this style's "free use of ornament."

subordinate parts of a decorative scheme [...]”²³ These elements are echoed in Stuart’s interpretation of the classical. His intricate designs are upon a monochromatic background with highlights of Pompeian red. Swags of laurel float decoratively around contemporary eighteenth century paintings of various personages including the owners of the household. Acanthus leaves also frame various sculptures painted within the floating scenes; it is truly a combination of many styles and time periods of the past. The most obvious allusions are the windows in to scenes of Cupids, reminiscent of those found in the House of the Vettii.²⁴ Also notable is a painted chimney-piece in the room with a frieze of the “Aldobrandini Wedding,” an ancient Roman wall painting, though not from Pompeii.²⁵ This is a more direct reproduction of antiquity compared to the borrowing of motifs. The patron for these designs (and owner of the house), John Spencer,²⁶ was a member of the Society of Dilettanti,²⁷ demonstrating the role of elitism in Neoclassicism and its ties to those promoting archaeological studies. Stuart went on to design many other country houses, furnishings and even medals.²⁸ His experience in publishing book plates after embarking on the Grand Tour facilitated his own adaptations of classical motifs.

Robert Adam was a Scottish Neoclassicist and consequently a rival of James Stuart. Adam was perhaps more diverse in his inspirations from antiquity, though much of his

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Mau and Kelsey, *Pompeii*, 332-338.; Found in the triclinium of the house.

²⁵ David Watkin, *Athenian Stuart: Pioneer of the Greek Revival* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), 36-37.

²⁶ Watkin, *Athenian Stuart*, 35; b. 1734-d.1783 “1st Baron and Viscount Spencer in 1761 and 1st Earl Spencer in 1765.”

²⁷ Ibid; The Society of Dilettanti were scholars and nobleman invested in the study of ancient Greek and Roman art and supporters of projects revitalizing these aesthetics.

²⁸ “James Athenian Stuart,” Victoria and Albert Museum, accessed November 17, 2015. <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/j/james-athenian-stuart/>.

work was inspired by the Vesuvian towns and the discovery of the genuine classical interior.²⁹ One of his greatest examples is that of the Etruscan Room in Osterley Park of Middlesex, England. Designed in 1775, the Etruscan Room was one of the first in Europe to employ the classical style to all aspects in the room: walls, ceilings, floors, window fittings and furniture.³⁰ Adam had extensive experience with ancient ruins and even mapped those of Diocletian's palace, serving as later inspiration in his work.³¹ Like Stuart, Adam's first-hand experience with classical motifs allowed him to create his own adaptations that would ultimately be unique to the "Adam style." This style was then disseminated through texts such as *Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, which spread quickly throughout Europe.³² The Etruscan room, like the Painted Room of the Spencer house, bears many similarities to the Mau-classified Third Style or Ornate Style. Spindly architecture repeats itself throughout the design, significant in the ornamentation of the walls but not architecturally functional in reality. Arabesque vine scrolls dominate many of the flat grotesque panels, all characteristic to Adam's style as well as the third Pompeian style classification. Medallions featuring dancing figures are also painted throughout the composition similar to the many isolated, floating scenes seen in Third Style painting. These motifs are seen in every aspect of the room; even the panels of the door maintain the style and colour scheme.

The rooms of Stuart and Adam demonstrate the full adaptation of classicism into elite households and many others were making use of these motifs in various media. However, the underlying idea behind classicism is the idealization of classical

²⁹ Most and Settis, *Classical Tradition*, 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 844.

³² *Ibid.*, 7.

aesthetics. American classicist Glen Most states that these archaeological discoveries brought “classically educated Europe into vital contact with its cultural heritage.”³³ Therefore, Pompeii is essentially our closest insight to everyday life in the ancient Roman world. One early Grand Tourist wrote that “[Pompeii is] a whole Roman town, with all its edifices remaining underground.”³⁴ The dissemination of imagery from these archaeological sites was a catalyst in changing the contemporary styles at the time of their discovery.³⁵ Alan Hess wrote the following about the architecture of Caesar’s Palace in Las Vegas, but it is nonetheless applicable to “authentic” Neoclassicism as well: “The artists used enough of the vocabulary of classicism to make the images recognizable then stretched that vocabulary to serve a new cultural context.”³⁶ The famed Neoclassicists of the eighteenth century, including James Stuart and Robert Adam, were inspired by ancient motifs found in Pompeii and other sites of the Grand Tour, but still came from a different cultural context than that of the ancient world. For that reason these adaptations are not entirely representative of the ancient world itself. While these adaptations in elite households revitalized the interest in antiquity and helped establish archaeology,³⁷ they are still representative of their own time. For some time, *real* ancient art, the only monuments and paintings deemed worthy of studying, was the art of the elite. Ancient Greek and Roman society was appropriated to fit contemporary ideals and, in the eighteenth

³³ Ibid., 763.

³⁴ Silvestra Bietoletti, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1770-1840* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2009), 10.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Alan Hess, *Viva Las Vegas: After Hours Architecture* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1993), 86.

³⁷ When Pompeii was first rediscovered in the late 16th-century there was very little interest in excavating the site. The interest in these sites grew as the desire to form private collections grew.

century, knowledge of antiquity was indicative of education, superiority and power.³⁸ The long tradition in western art history to focus on a privileged category of artworks is reflected in the placement of these Neoclassical interiors. Many of the elaborately decorated Neoclassical rooms, and the acquisition of artifacts from Vesuvian archaeological sites, were statements of eighteenth century perceptions of the ancient world. A strict view through the lens of elitism dismisses art's function in ancient society for the general population, and the Pompeian wall paintings that so fascinated eighteenth century excavators were indeed present within classical non-elite spaces as well.³⁹

Artistically, the adopted motifs that captured the classical world led the way to more imaginative, individualized interpretations during the Romantic period. Stylistic ideals changed, and the Neoclassical movement developed archaeology and shifted perspectives making antiquity something worth studying—even though these studies had a narrow focus until more recent years. From an ancient perspective, the excavation of Pompeii has proven to be fruitful in our understanding of the past, although “fiction and film have elaborated the mystique of the destroyed city.”⁴⁰ In a way, the present influences the past just as much as the past inspires the present. The act of imposing eighteenth century aristocratic values on the Roman house continues to shape our modern perception of the ancient world. Neoclassicism informed understanding of the past and in turn produced a particular image of the past. While these understandings continue to develop today, the rediscovery of the Vesuvian sites in the eighteenth century and the subsequent

³⁸ John R. Clark, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 315* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 1.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Most and Settis, *Classical Tradition*, 763.

emergence of the Neoclassical style hold an important place within this history. Overall, the “imitative design and interior decoration”⁴¹ deriving from the Pompeian discovery have preserved our interest in ancient society and at the time of their discovery drove even more interest in unearthing further lavish artifacts and architecture. With the excavation and dissemination of imagery came the broader interest in antiquity and the much needed scholarship that helps us understand past societies and our relationship to them. Analyzing the Neoclassical period, a time when the ancient world was being replicated aesthetically to promote contemporary ideas, tells us less about the ancient Roman world itself, and more about humanity’s strategies to understand the past.

⁴¹ Ibid.

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The Perpetual Paradox: A Look into Liberian Colonization

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Liberia is often perceived as the oldest independent black republic on the continent. This paper will challenge this common perception by taking a deeper look into Liberia's unique colonial history. By analyzing the experiences of both the 'coloured' settlers and the pre-existing indigenous population, it is evident that the 'coloured' colonization of Liberia was not a nationalistic return to their home soil, but rather an opportunity for 'coloured' settlers to establish a system imitating the one by which they were previously oppressed. Although Liberia's settlers had similar skin tones to the indigenous population, Liberia has followed a path remarkably similar to the process of European colonization experienced by the rest of the continent.

Liberia is often regarded as the oldest independent black republic in Africa, and as a “black nation founded and perpetuated for black people.”² In spite of this common perception, Liberia's foundations began distinctly in America through the construction of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States or the American

¹ I would like to thank Sam Grey, Fulbright Visiting Research Scholar in the Sociology Department at the University of Minnesota, for her guidance, patience, and for sharing her many words of wisdom. I would also like to thank my partner, Jonathan Parker, for always supporting my driving ambitions.

² Charles Morrow Wilson, *Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), vii

Colonization Society (ACS) in Washington in 1816.³ The Colonization Society provided the means and encouraged the approximately 185,000 liberated black slaves living in the United States to participate in the romantic homecoming to their place of origin on African soil and to partake in the opportunity of black colonization.⁴ While allegedly attempting to connect with their African cultural roots, the Afro-American colonizers of Liberia “establish[ed] a social, political system based on the Western model of society.”⁵ This paper will address both the supporting and opposing perceptions of the resettlement of the free black population. Furthermore, the consequences of black colonization as experienced by the ‘coloured’ settlers, the pre-existing indigenous population, followed by the creation of the puzzling identity of the Americo-Liberian settlers, will disentangle the obscure phenomenon of Liberia. Therefore, despite being idealized as the land of the free, the black settlers introduced to Liberia an experience of colonialism which mirrored conventional features of European colonization, with only the distinction of the somewhat darker complexion of the colonizers’ skin tone.

Throughout the United States there were many within both white communities and the communities of peoples of colour who voiced support and opposition to the resettlement of the free black population. Though it is significant to mention the members of American society who supported the American Colonization Society (ACS) due to their genuine desire for philanthropy, the supporters of the ACS and their goal of

³ Tom Shick, *Behold the Promised Land: A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth Century Liberia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵ Yekutiel Gershoni, *Black Colonialism: The Americo-Liberian Scramble for the Hinterland* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1943), 20.

resettlement are identified within two dominant views: the white Americans who embraced racial prejudices, and the freed people of colour who believed that resettlement provided opportunities that would never be presented to them in America.

The white supporters of resettlement often began their claim with stating that the number of free blacks in the United States had increased from 59,466 in 1790 to 186,466 in 1810.⁶ Americans saw the rapidly increasing numbers as a threat to the “survival of the American nation . . .and [the] maintenance of a white identity.”⁷ There was a growing fear that “America would lose its racial and cultural identity if the Negroes were allowed to mix with the whites.”⁸ The inter-racial contact would “become uncontrollable as former Negro slaves were set free,”⁹ and therefore, would rapidly “produce a race of mulattoes not worthy of America.”¹⁰ For the supporters of the ACS, resettlement would not only remedy the issue of identity, but would also ensure American security. Supporters described how the increasing free black population would subsequently display an “increase in crime, murder, and robberies.”¹¹ The ‘unowned black people’ created not only the potential for mass criminals, but also for revolutionists.¹² Throughout the creation of the ACS, the “question of emancipation or abolition of slavery was purposely avoided,”¹³ considering “more than half of the organization’s vice presidents (12 in all) came from southern

⁶ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 13.

⁷ G. Boley, 1983. *Liberia: The Rise and Fall of the First Republic* (London: Macmillan, 1983), 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 7.

¹⁰ Boley, *Liberia: The Rise and Fall of the First Republic*, 8.

¹¹ Gershoni, *Black Colonialism*, 6.

¹² Wilson, *Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm*, 6.

¹³ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 6.

slave states.”¹⁴ Bushrod Washington, Associate Justice for the American Supreme Court and a co-founder of The ACS, neatly summarized the supporting view, stating that “the so-called free slaves were in no legal sense citizens of the United States and should therefore seize the opportunity to ‘earn citizenship’ in Africa.”¹⁵ A fellow founder of the ACS, Robert Finley, continued this sentiment. He clarified that “everything connected with their condition, including their colour, wa[s] against them” and that there was not “much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated while they shall continue among us.”¹⁶ As a whole, these arguments presented colonization through the ACS as one of the only “possible solution[s] to the problem of the rapidly increasing Negro population in America.”¹⁷

Alongside the white supporters of resettlement, there were also people of mixed race, who believed the ACS could offer opportunities for a better life. Black supporters of the ACS frequently believed that “slavery would never end until the capacity of the African race to manage its own affairs had been demonstrated to the world,”¹⁸ and the ACS presented their race with precisely that opportunity. Prominent leaders of large black communities, such as Rev. Daniel Coker, “viewed Negro colonization in Africa as a viable solution to the problems they faced in the United States.”¹⁹ In the year leading up to the creation of the ACS, black communities increasingly felt the “heavy burdens of poverty and discrimination as well as the terrors of kidnapping”²⁰ by Southern slavers. Through the

¹⁴ Gershoni, *Black Colonialism*, 6-7.

¹⁵ Wilson, *Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm*, 12.

¹⁶ Gershoni, *Black Colonialism*, 6.

¹⁷ Boley, *Liberia: The Rise and Fall of the First Republic*, 7.

¹⁸ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 7.

¹⁹ William L. Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization* (New York: Arno Press, 1968), iii.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, iv.

distribution of his ideologies, Reverend Coker recruited eighty-two willing emigrants to join him on the ACS's first voyage on the *Elizabeth* in 1820. Although he remained in Sierra Leone, never making the final voyage to Cape Mesurado, his support of black resettlement contributed to the success of the American Colonization Society.²¹

Alternatively, there were also many who vigorously opposed The American Colonization Society and their goal of black resettlement. These people generally believed that the "proposed colonization was a self-evident hoax designed to deny free black Americans just participation in public education and church life."²² James Forten, a free man of colour, wealthy businessmen, and prominent figure of the anti-colonial movement, also believed that leaving America would "keep whites from facing their responsibilities to all citizens regardless of race or colour."²³ Most prominent figures of the opposition toward the ACS were abolitionists who promoted the "immediate emancipation" of slaves in the United States.²⁴ Famously, William Lloyd Garrison, a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society and the editor of his newspaper, *The Liberator*, which was initially funded by James Forten, outpoured his opinions into the anti-colonial discourse. Within *The Liberator*, he published his belief that "the structure of the Colonization Society rests upon the pillars of... persecution, cowardice, infidelity, and falsehood" as the ACS "talks of sending [free people of colour] to their native land; when they are no more related to Africa than

²¹ Nathaniel Richardson, *Liberia's Past and Present* (London: Diplomatic Press and Publishing Co., 1959), 23.

²² Wilson, *Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm*, 11.

²³ William Lloyd Garrison, introduction to *Thoughts of African Colonization*, ed. William Loren Katz (New York: Arno Press, 1832), xi.

²⁴ Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization*, 3.

[Americans] are to Great Britain.”²⁵ The voice of the opposition continued to rage powerfully and uncompromisingly through Garrison’s publication of *Thoughts on African Colonization* which outlines “[his] warfar[e] against The American Colonization Society.”²⁶ He exposed the founders of the ACS stating “[colonization] is agreeable to slaveholders, because it is striving to remove a class of persons who they fear may stir up their slaves to rebellion.”²⁷ He continued to accuse the ACS of operating on the pretense of false philanthropy, perverted generosity, and selfish policy therefore, responsible for creating “two ignorant and depraved nations to be regenerated instead of one!”²⁸ David Walker, another opinionated African-American abolitionist petitioned that “American is more [their] country than it is the whites — [blacks] have enriched it with [their] blood and tears...”²⁹ Unfortunately, as the American slave population continued to multiply, free “people of color had yet been lawfully accorded citizens’ rights” and the “despair of unowned Negroes... proliferated”³⁰ Though black resettlement in Liberia was not desirable, the condition of free people of colour in America remained bleak.

Examining the patterns of black resettlement in Liberia illustrates parallels to European colonization during the ‘Scramble for Africa,’ nearly a century later. The experience of both American settlers and the indigenous population contributes to understanding the perplexing identity of Liberia’s settler society. The first journey to embark upon reconciliation with the

²⁵ Ibid., 11.

²⁶ Ibid., 3.

²⁷ Ibid., 21.

²⁸ Ibid., 14,19,33.

²⁹ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 7.

³⁰ Wilson, *Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm*, 11.

African fatherland departed from New York City in 1820.³¹ The *Elizabeth*, frequently referred to as the ‘Black Mayflower’,³² carried eighty-eight emigrants, a majority being from the northern United States with forty from New York and thirty-three from Pennsylvania.³³ Records, notably ones with origins of Liberian publication, noted that all emigrants aboard the *Elizabeth*, “(with one exception) [were] free born,” making “clear that all the peoples of colour that landed or settled in Liberia were not slaves.”³⁴ In April of 1822, the first group of black settlers arrived on Liberian soil sparking the emigration of 18,858 free people of colour, between the years of 1822 and 1867, to the coast of West Africa by the American Colonization Society.³⁵

The implications, both immediate and long-term, of black colonization were unanticipated by the newly arrived black settlers. Shortly after their arrival, many died from various diseases. Within the first year of the settlers’ arrival, twenty-two percent of all immigrants died, a statistic that parallels the experience of white settlers.³⁶ They also became aware that their vision of complete independence and the amalgamation of their American and African identities was becoming more and more distant. Considering that the foundation of “Liberia was sponsored by...American statesmen and citizens,”³⁷ the settlers were still connected and subordinated through administrative associations with the American government. The Constitution of the ACS written in 1820 provided the settlements with “the

³¹ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 20.

³² Ciment, *Another America*, 4; Wilson, *Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm*, 19.

³³ Richardon, *Liberia’s Past and Present*, 22.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁵ Gershoni, *Black Colonialism*, 8.

³⁶ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 28.

³⁷ Richardon, *Liberia’s Past and Present*, 229.

establishment of an independent centralized state, with a government in which the supreme legislative, executive, and judicial powers [were] delegated to the American Colonization Society for a period of time to be determined by the Society.”³⁸ A stable, yet undeveloped, administrative framework was established in the settlement of Cape Mesurado creating the nucleus of a colony, and its capital, Monrovia, was named in honour of President James Monroe for his participation in the creation of The ACS and the establishment of the black colonies.³⁹

A decade after the establishment of the first colony of Cape Mesurado, the black colonial resettlement which, from the settlers’ perspective, was expected to provide reparation for their race had instead digressed, as American state companies purchased and established settlements for their own use. For example, the “Sinoe settlement was founded in 1838 by the Mississippi State Colonization Society in order to relocate slaves from Mississippi” and more notably, Monrovia (Cape Mesurado) and the crucial settlement of the “Cape Palmas settlement, [was] organized by the Maryland State Colonization Society in 1831.”⁴⁰ The disconnect between the colonies and the uncertain monopoly of the ACS created unrest as settlers protested that “supervision by Euro- Americans was never part of the Afro-American concept of emigration and colonization.”⁴¹ Though the American Colonization Society still believed leadership was necessary, in 1839, under the leadership of ‘coloured’ settler Thomas Buchanan, the society “agreed to give the settlers a role in formulating local policy”, therefore creating the

³⁸ Ibid., 24.

³⁹ Gershoni, *Black Colonialism*, 11.

⁴⁰ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 33-34.

⁴¹ Ibid., 37-38.

Commonwealth of Liberia.⁴² Providing minor local authority kept the black settlers reliant on American authority until official freedom could be proclaimed a few years later. Once the Commonwealth was established, it was clear that black settlers “could not discard their American cultural baggage” resulting in an administrative institutionalization of American culture and the Western system of government, consequently creating an ‘Americo-Liberian’ identity.⁴³

The settlers’ affiliation with American ideologies, policies, and identity created significant colonial implications for the pre-existing indigenous population residing within the borders of Liberia. Though these black settlers were escaping the inequality of racial classifications, Americo-Liberians created an extremely class-divided society. When black settlers reached the African coast in the nineteenth century, there were “sixteen different African ethnic group[s] living in Liberia.”⁴⁴ Violent confrontation between Afro- American settlers and Africans occurred only months after settlement. Evidently, a “clear distinction between the ‘civilized’ and ‘uncivilized’ camps w[as] made, one similar to that developed by colonial governments.”⁴⁵ Historians suggest that the established Americo-Liberian minority rule is comparable to the “racist minority regime in South Africa,”⁴⁶ however, in Liberia, “its leaders shared the same race and skin color as those they wished to dominate.”⁴⁷ The “similarities between the conflicts involving indigenous Africans and Americo-Liberians and those prevalent between other

⁴² Ibid., 39.

⁴³ Ibid., xi.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 28.

⁴⁵ Gershoni, *Black Colonialism*, 28.

⁴⁶ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 135.

⁴⁷ Gershoni, *Black Colonialism*, 99.

indigenous Africans and white colonial officials”⁴⁸ are indisputable. Edward Wilmot Blyden, a Negro Nationalist born in the Caribbean who later moved to America to study, described his resentment towards how “Afro-American settlers maintained a distinction between themselves and indigenous Africans,”⁴⁹ and his overall hate for the levels and categories of non-white skin tones.⁵⁰ The American colonists, mainly of mixed race, saw themselves as superior because their skin tone was closer to white than other people of African descent.

The racism established and imposed by the Americo-Liberian minority, who only decades before, were subjected to similar racial inequality in America, is eloquently, but vigorously, described in a letter to the American Colonization Society in 1910 by King Gyude of the Cape Palmas Grebo tribe. In it, he states:

In the year 1834 a batch of black colonists...reached our shores in search of a home. Pitying their condition and... anticipat[ing] that by their settlement among us the benefits of Christian enlightenment and civilization would be disseminated... our fathers opened their arms [to them]. A treaty was signed...willing to accede to them the government of the country under the style of the State of Maryland in Liberia [however] our fathers reserved to themselves and their posterity the use of their farms and villages. When in 1856 the State of Maryland... was incorporated into the Republic of Liberia, our fathers were taken into the union without change in the status quo.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 95.

⁴⁹ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 9-10.

⁵⁰ James Ciment, *Another America: The Story of Liberia and the Former Slaves who Ruled It* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013), 99-101.

... Our fathers have always befriended the Liberian Republic as a struggling nation of our race [but the government] soon began to despise us, placing us in their room and they in their masters', just in the same fashion as in their slavery days in America... They, without notice and without reason, attacked us and burned our houses to ashes, thus expelling us from [Cape Palmas]... Several battles have been fought from time to time between ourselves and the Liberians for reasons which could have been otherwise accommodated, but for the Liberians desire to parade their power over us.⁵¹ ... The Liberians are at this moment engaging in war with the Grebo tribe at Cape Palmas... The Liberian colony... has operated as a source of oppression and demoralization to our people... Contrary to all the compacts entered into with our fathers, [Liberians] would not open schools amount us till after the year 1893... [additionally] in the National Legislature we have been kept by strategy from reaching the rank of senators, although some of our people possess the necessary advantages.

... In view of all these circumstances, we do not see how the Liberian domination can make for civilization, Christianity, or good government... If nothing is done in this direction and Liberian rule is permitted to go on, our country (Grebo) will be involved in conditions such as those which exist

⁵¹ Richardon, *Liberia's Past and Present*, 31.

in the Congo, and which are a disgrace to civilization and Christianity.⁵²

The Liberian Declaration of Independence in 1847 states: “We, the people of the Republic of Liberia ... were shut out from all civil office. We were excluded from all participation in the Government. We were taxed without our consent. We were compelled to contribute to the resources of the country which gave us no protection. We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed.”⁵³ The Americo-Liberian settlers, consisting of freed slaves and first generation descendants of slaves, who, while previously residing in the United States of America, suffered the hardships of inequality and racial injustices, developed a classification structure in the ‘land of the free’ equivalent to the structure they were able to escape as a result of their cooperation in the colonization of Liberia. While the Liberian Declaration describes the settlers’ own strife in their place of origin, it also described verbatim the colonial experiences of the indigenous people of Liberia. Thus, the irony of Americo-Liberian sentiment thrives.

The perplexing identity of the Americo-Liberian settlers is the final component in comprehending the foundation of Liberia. Though there is incontestable resentment, rage, and hatred toward the American ideologies and treatment toward free and enslaved people of colour, the settlers of Liberia continue to pride themselves on their American attributes. A year before Liberian independence, the first president of Liberia, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, stated in a speech that “the people of these colonies... left their native land to seek on these shores a

⁵² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 64.

residence for civil and political freedom... and established a government, with executive, legislative, and judicial powers, in the distant and inhospitable wilds of Africa.”⁵⁴ A colleague of Edward Blyden and graduate of Liberia College, Reverend David Agnew Wilson, firmly believed that “the territory of Liberia belongs to the citizens of Liberia, as ‘an inheritance from their forefathers.’”⁵⁵ The absurdity continues in the second paragraph of the Liberian Declaration of Independence which proclaims that “the people of the Republic...expatriate[d] themselves from the land of their nativity to form a settlement on this barbarous coast”.⁵⁶ George Boley, a Liberian government official continues to describe the irony as he emphasizes that “Africa, not America which denied the colonists every imaginable claim to human dignity, was regarded as barbarous.”⁵⁷ This distorted and abnormal perspective of identity “[was] passed down through the family structure and w[as] reinforced with each new arrival from overseas.”⁵⁸ Slavery has not only “stripped Africans of their cultural heritage,”⁵⁹ but also indoctrinated Liberia’s African-American colonial settlers to idolize America’s corrupt past of racial and social injustices.

In conclusion, the significance of this paper can be culminated into three key points. Firstly, the free African-Americans would have been satisfied colonizing any territory, whether it was on the African continent or not. Throughout the early stages of the resettlement debate, Martin Robinson Delany, a supporter of Negro Nationalism, “stressed the advantages of

⁵⁴ Richardson, *Liberia’s Past and Present*, 60.

⁵⁵ Ciment, *Another America*, 97.

⁵⁶ Boley, *Liberia: The Rise and Fall of the First Republic*, 28-29.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁸ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 32.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

Central and South America for emigration.⁶⁰ Destinations such as Haiti, Canada, and other African states, such as Nigeria, “all had strong promoters.”⁶¹ The implications of Liberia’s colonization displayed the black colonists’ imaginary and absent historical connection with the soil of Africa. Secondly, Liberia’s foundation has engrained a strong American influence on the practices and people of the country. It is evident that the “emergence of Liberia as Black Africa’s first independent republic was the result of social and political events in American history.”⁶² In 1825, the relationship between the United States and independent Liberia was romanticized as President James Monroe described “Liberia as a little black America destined to shine gemlike in the darkness of vast Africa.”⁶³ Post-1825, Liberia’s history displays America’s willingness to ensure Liberia continued to shine, coinciding with American interest, of course. Finally, whether the territory of Liberia was colonized by white European colonizers during the ‘Scramble for Africa’ or by black colonists, the outcome of the country would display little dissimilarity. Some academics advocate for “Liberia’s uniqueness in escaping formal European colonialism.”⁶⁴ Although black colonizers were far from European, they followed an uncanny resemblance to how colonization unfolded on the rest of the continent. Despite belonging to the same race, Americo-Liberian settlers did not allow similar skin tones to prevent them from achieving even the racial aspects of true European colonization. Despite Liberia’s heartfelt motto, “the

⁶⁰ Ibid., 8.

⁶¹ Ibid., 8.

⁶² Boley, *Liberia: The Rise and Fall of the First Republic*, 25.

⁶³ Charles Morrow Wilson, introduction to *Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm*, ed. J. William Fulbright (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), xvii.

⁶⁴ Shick, *Behold the Promised Land*, 135.

love of liberty brought us here,”⁶⁵ Americo-Liberian colonizers did not love the universal concept of liberty, but rather, it was the love of their own liberty brought them to the shores of Liberia. Hence, the Republic of Liberia, in its entirety, remains a paradox.

⁶⁵ Ciment, *Another America*, 98.

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“The Mystic Dragon Beyond the Sea”: Ethnographic Fantasy in Marius Barbeau’s Depiction of Northwest Coast Indigeneity

JULIA ROE¹

This paper critically examines the work of Marius Barbeau, the preeminent Canadian anthropologist during the first half of the Twentieth Century. Barbeau has been widely honored and famed for his studies of northwest coast Indigenous peoples. Journal articles published by Barbeau during the 1930s and 40s are analyzed from a theoretical framework that acknowledges the many ethical issues of settler, academic discourse in the study of Indigenous peoples. By grounding Barbeau’s work within the context of the Nisga’a’s sophisticated struggle for recognition of their rights, title and sovereignty, it becomes clear that his anthropological theories reflected and supported the State’s aims. Barbeau’s journal articles not only confine the Nisga’a to a vanished past, they also cast doubt on the Nisga’a’s essential claim to Indigeneity. This paper argues that the Indigenous peoples in Barbeau’s publications must be recognized as the constructions of a Euro-educated employee of the Canadian government. Recognizing themes in academia that contribute to a harmful colonial ideology is critical for processes of decolonization.

Marius Barbeau, the “father of Canadian anthropology,” enjoys an outstanding record of public admiration and academic honors.² He became a household name and a recognized

¹ I would like to thank Wendy Wickwire for her guidance and inspiration with this essay.

² Royal Society of Canada’s Lorne Pierce Medal, 1950; Order of Canada, 1967; honorary doctorates from the University of Montreal and the University of Oxford; Marius Barbeau Medal established in 1985 to award excellent research in Canadian folklore and ethnology; many of Barbeau’s papers are kept in the Canadian Museum of History; named a “person of national historic importance” by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 1985; the

authority on Aboriginal peoples of Canada in the mid-twentieth century. This paper analyzes an assortment of Barbeau's many journal articles published between 1930 and 1945, including "Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art of the Northwest Coast of America;"³ "Asiatic Migrations into America;"⁴ "How Asia Used to Drip at the Spout;"⁵ "Totem Poles: A By-Product of the Fur Trade;"⁶ and "The Aleutian Route of Migration into America."⁷ My investigation of overlapping themes found in such journal articles will provide a window into Barbeau's larger ideological contribution to the formulation of a colonial discourse that has framed the state's relationship with Indigenous peoples of British Columbia's northwest coast. Critical reflection on Barbeau's founding academic narratives, which stretch into our current discourse, is a means of decolonizing the discipline of Anthropology itself.

I argue that the Aboriginal peoples in Barbeau's publications must be recognized as the constructions of a Euro-educated employee of the Canadian government. More pointedly, I see Barbeau's representation as a betrayal of the informants with whom he claimed affinity and friendship. Drawing on Diamond Jenness' remark that the Indigenous peoples adored Barbeau, I argue that such a comment needs to be historicized.⁸

highest mountain in Nunavut is named "Barbeau Peak" in honor of Marius Barbeau.

³ Marius Barbeau, "Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art on the Northwest Coast of America," *The Geographical Review* 20, 2 (1930): 258-272.

⁴ Marius Barbeau, "Asiatic Migrations into America," *Canadian Historical Review* 13 (1932): 403-417.

⁵ Marius Barbeau, "How Asia Used to Drip at the Spout into America," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 24 (1933): 163-173.

⁶ Marius Barbeau, "Totem Poles: A By-Product of the Fur Trade," *Scientific Monthly* December (1942): 507-514.

⁷ Marius Barbeau, "The Aleutian Route of Migration into America," *Geographical Review* 35 (1945): 424-443.

⁸ For one, it is well known that Jenness and Barbeau disliked each other.

Had the peoples Barbeau studied been privy to the contents of Barbeau’s work and his childlike depictions of their elders, they would not have adored him. While Barbeau worked among the Nisga’a, they were fighting a sophisticated political battle against a colonial government. Yet, Barbeau’s ethnographic work powerfully undermined the Nisga’a and their efforts to assert their sovereign rights. Indeed, the public’s perception of Nisga’a strength and sovereignty was compromised by a leading academic who confines authentic Indigenous culture within a vanished past. In questioning the autonomy and historical longevity of Nisga’a culture and presence in North America, Barbeau casts doubt on the essential Indigeneity of the Nisga’a.

Throughout his extensive work on the Tsimshian, Barbeau consolidated rather than challenged the dominant view by neglecting to mention that the Nisga’a were powerful leaders in the Indigenous resistance movement.⁹ In British Columbia, settlement, resource extraction, and industrialization occurred before Aboriginal land rights had been effectively recognized by the colonial government. First Nations suffered from a “loss of access to resources, economic marginalization and institutionalized racism.”¹⁰ Less than ten years after the first Indian Reserve Commission, the Nisga’a mounted government protests concerning the land question. In 1910, the Nisga’a Land Committee barred settler access to their land and formed a legal case that drew on the legislative basis for Aboriginal title in Canada.¹¹ The Nisga’a sent petitions, asserting their land rights, to various colonial authorities.¹² To oppose the McKenna-

⁹ Robert Galois, “The Indian Rights Association, Native Protest Activity and the Land Question in British Columbia, 1903-1916,” *Native Studies Review* 8 (1992): 21.

¹⁰ Galois, “The Indian Rights Association,” 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹² *Ibid.*, 20.

McBride Royal Commission (1913-15), Nisga'a delegations travelled to Ottawa to lobby the federal government and meet with D.C. Scott.¹³ While the Nisga'a Land Committee maintained a traditional structure, their active resistance was designed as "something White politicians and the White public could readily understand and would take more seriously than they had been taking traditional chiefs in traditional roles."¹⁴ Although First Nations, such as the Nisga'a, collectively adapted to colonial culture by utilizing forms of 'white' protest and understood their land rights within the imperial regime, the provincial and federal government's determination to eliminate the inconvenience of Indigenous occupation on resource-rich land paralyzed the resolution of Aboriginal title in British Columbia. Barbeau never acknowledged the land struggle of the Tsimshian, nor their groundbreaking protest activity in the white political world. Although he claimed to be the close confidant and friend of prominent chiefs, in particular Chief Tetlanitsa, Barbeau manipulated this relationship for self-promotion and thereby expressed little empathy for the Aboriginal fight against the government.¹⁵ In failing to acknowledge the innovative political dimensions of Nisga'a life, Barbeau denied the agency and vitality of peoples he purported to represent.

Barbeau's oeuvre also aligns with the Canadian government's policy of Aboriginal assimilation. As the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs (the equivalent of Deputy Minister today), Duncan Campbell Scott consistently placed First Nations in a vanished past. Scott's policy of banning potlaches, dancing, and drumming was an indication of how he saw the

¹³ Ibid., 22.

¹⁴ Ibid., 15.

¹⁵ Wendy Wickwire, Personal Communications, March 10, 2015.

place of traditional First Nations culture in the modern world.¹⁶ He perceived the sacred traditions of First Nations as “meaningless and irrelevant rituals, which had persisted from an earlier age of ‘savage’ glory.”¹⁷ Indeed, through Salem-Wiseman’s study of Scott, it becomes apparent that Scott shamelessly sought to erase First Nations as a distinct population within the country. Scott justified the imposition of “compulsory enfranchisement” as a “necessary step toward the end of the ‘Indian problem.’”¹⁸ Such state policies were born out of powerful colonial assumptions about Anglo-racial superiority and the decaying of Indigenous peoples. Similarly, salvage anthropologists¹⁹ like Barbeau believed, and even perpetuated, a harmful narrative that cast First Nations as a vanishing race, conveniently removing them as obstacles to colonial ambitions. Barbeau repeatedly portrayed the villages, totems, and tribal customs of the Tsimshian as in decay.²⁰ The images selected to accompany his journal articles reinforced this narrative, whether the images were of clothing, totems, village scenes, people or artifacts, all appear to be tired and rotting with age.²¹ They are the relics of a bygone era. Thus, both Scott and Barbeau, the

¹⁶ Lisa Salem-Wiseman, “Verily, The White Man’s Ways Were the Best”: Duncan Campbell Scott, Native Culture, and Assimilation,” *Studies in Canadian Literature* 21, No (1996): 124.

¹⁷ Salem-Wiseman, “Verily, The White Man’s Ways Were the Best,” 124.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁹ Salvage anthropology refers to the removal of cultural artifacts and human remains from their Indigenous owners. This is justified by a colonial belief that the Indigenous race is disappearing, and so anthropologists must obtain and preserve artifacts.

²⁰ Barbeau, “Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art on the Northwest Coast of America,” 261; Barbeau, “Totem Poles: A By-Product of the Fur Trade,” 510, 507.

²¹ Barbeau, “Totem Poles: A By-Product of the Fur Trade,” 510; Barbeau, “The Aleutian Route of Migration into America,” 441, 440, 430-35; Barbeau, “Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art on the Northwest Coast of America,” 261, 263, 265-269.

politician and the social scientist, perpetuated “the message of a noble doomed race.”²²

Further, in writing as a salvage anthropologist, Barbeau empowered himself to determine which aspects of Aboriginal culture could be considered ‘authentic,’ and which could not. Any aspect of culture that he perceived as influenced by European contact was discarded,²³ thereby denying First Nations the right to evolve and presenting them, as Barbeau phrases it: as the “decrepit survivors of a past age.”²⁴ He viewed any sign of European influence on First Nations as “cultural displacement” contributing to “Aboriginal cultural demise.”²⁵ Barbeau imagined the potlatch and totemic culture he studied in the northwest to be part of a larger social system headed for collapse.²⁶ Accordingly, he characterized his fieldwork as a “race against time” and prioritized “efficiently collecting culture traits.”²⁷ He sought to “preserve the remnants of rapidly vanishing cultures to reconstruct authentic ‘prehistoric’ native cultures.”²⁸ Significantly, the end goal of such activities was to fill the archives and museum collections of Euro-Canadians.²⁹ Meanwhile, he ignored the negative impact of salvage

²² Laurence Nowry, *Man of Mana: Marius Barbeau* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1995), 302.

²³ Andrew Nurse, “Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada, 1911-1951” in Julia Harrison and Regna Darnell, eds., *Historicizing Canadian Anthropology* (UBC Press, 2006): 53.

²⁴ Nurse, “Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada,” 52.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁶ Andrew Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau” (PhD diss., Queen’s University, 1997), 112.

²⁷ Nurse, “Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada,” 55.

²⁸ Andrew Nurse, “But Now Things Have Changed: Marius Barbeau and the Politics of Amerindian Identity,” *Ethnohistory* 48, 2 (2001): 444.

²⁹ Nurse, “Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada,” 55.

anthropology on First Nations communities. Under occasionally questionable moral circumstances,³⁰ Barbeau impatiently acquired totem poles, masks, etc., through the pretense of saving them from perishing along with their vanishing creators. He redistributed his acquisitions to museums throughout the world, thereby increasing his personal fame and prestige.³¹ Furthermore, Barbeau purposefully selected informants who confirmed his preconceived notions of pure Indigenous culture. According to Andrew Nurse, Barbeau advised his students against working with educated informants as “an educated Indian has neglected to understand his heritage.”³² Barbeau sought out elderly people of the lower classes, believing they could offer the most unaffected information.³³ Accordingly, Barbeau compromised the objectivity of his research by an adherence to the salvage methodology. Under the salvage paradigm, Euro-Canadian ethnographers surpass First Nations themselves as Indigenous cultural authorities and promote the notion that Aboriginal peoples are disappearing.

Salvage anthropology, as a discipline, was justified as an “interpretive science,” yet it entailed a “process of cultural disempowerment” that vested white colonizers with the authority to assess a nation’s claim to Indigeneity.³⁴ In “The Aleutian Route of Migration into America,” Barbeau subtly denied Aboriginal peoples the ability to accurately preserve their own oral history by assuring readers that “human memory cannot persist indefinitely.”³⁵ Ethnography, as practiced by Barbeau,

³⁰ Nowry, *Man of Mana*, 235.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 236.

³² Nurse, “Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada,” 56.

³³ *Ibid.*, 56.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁵ Barbeau, “The Aleutian Route of Migration into America,” 430.

sought to actively exclude the cultural and political views of its subjects, particularly those which related to the contemporary moment.³⁶ Indeed, the research objectives of the anthropologist took precedence over the immediate wishes of living Aboriginal peoples. This turned up in Barbeau's reports when he noted the Tsimshian community ritual from which he had been barred access.³⁷ On finding himself unwelcome in Kitwankool, Barbeau, presumably without permission, photographed thirty totem poles while the people were asleep.³⁸ He did not seek the consent of Indigenous communities as a prerequisite to his studies and publications. Barbeau was contributing to a larger colonial project of repression: the remaking of an Amerindian identity purposefully disassociated from the cultural and political context of contemporary Indigenous nations.³⁹

The underlying concepts of salvage anthropology surfaced in the federal government political sphere in 1919, when Barbeau secretly created a report for Duncan Campbell Scott, advising that the Lorette reserve, a Huron and Wyandot reserve, be abolished, as the Indigenous peoples occupying it could no longer be classified as Aboriginal.⁴⁰ In fact, Barbeau went further and recommended that this policy be extended to reserves throughout the country.⁴¹ Through salvage anthropology, Barbeau created a "standard of cultural authenticity" that was impossible for any First Nations group to meet in the contemporary era.⁴² With this, he declared genuine Aboriginal

³⁶ Nurse, "Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada," 63.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 59.

³⁸ Nowry, *Man of Mana*, 221.

³⁹ Nurse, "But Now Things Have Changed," 433.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 456.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 462.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 433.

culture extinct.⁴³ In his opinion an Indigenous person with the ability to successfully adopt European culture could no longer be defined as Indigenous.⁴⁴ However, as the Nisga’a donned suits and entered the white political world to fight for their land rights, did they simultaneously forfeit their Indigeneity? Within Barbeau’s theoretical framework, any First Nation who stepped outside of the ethnographer’s narrow box of authenticity was in danger of losing his or her Indigeneity in the eyes of the public and the state.

Barbeau further undermined Nisga’a Indigeneity, and Nisga’a land claims, by denying the Tsimshian full cultural autonomy. In “Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art of the Northwest Coast of America,” he described Aboriginal peoples as “highly amenable to foreign influence.”⁴⁵ Barbeau’s tendency to present the more ‘advanced’ or ‘complex’ aspects of Tsimshian culture as recently developed imitations of European cultures was a demeaning interpretation of the process of transculturation. Rather than appreciating the complexities of the contact zone,⁴⁶ he presented First Nations as passive receivers of European culture. He attributed the origins of certain Tsimshian crests to European influence. He assumed the Thunderbird crest to be an imitation of the double-headed Tsarist eagle of the Russian-American Company, and the beaver derived from the symbol of British traders.⁴⁷ In speaking of how the Tlingit

⁴³ Nurse, “Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada,” 55.

⁴⁴ Nurse, “But Now Things Have Changed,” 448.

⁴⁵ Barbeau, “Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art on the Northwest Coast of America,” 270.

⁴⁶ Mary Louis Pratt, “Introduction: Criticism in the Contact Zone,” in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, 1992), 8.

⁴⁷ Wilson Duff, “Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology,” *Anthropologica* 6, 1 (1964): 71.

leaders ‘coveted’ the crest of the Russian Tsar,⁴⁸ Barbeau made a strong statement about the value of European versus Aboriginal culture. His description of First Nations being so impressed with white settlement that they adopted the dog, the palisade, and the broad wagon road as emblems of their own further enforced the theoretical framework of white racial superiority.⁴⁹ Furthermore, in finding reference to a Haida two story house in early contact journals, Barbeau declares that First Nations had “already begun to imitate European architecture! [*sic*]”⁵⁰ As an anthropologist, Barbeau felt he held the intellectual authority to design timelines of the socio-cultural development of the peoples he studied.⁵¹ In attributing significant Tsimshian cultural development to European influence, Barbeau created an inherent inequity between Aboriginals and Euro-Canadians by minimizing Aboriginal cultural longevity and autonomy. As the Nisga’a fight for recognition of their Indigenous rights, Barbeau denied them status as a distinct and culturally sovereign nation.

Barbeau’s extensive discussions of totem poles clearly demonstrate this process of denying the cultural Indigeneity of the northwest coast peoples. Significantly, he described the totemic system, an iconic symbol of Indigenous culture in the popular consciousness, as a “foster-child of European heraldry.”⁵² Readers of Barbeau’s hugely popular piece, “Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art on the Northwest Coast of America,” are assured that “the art of carving and erecting memorial columns is not really as ancient on the northwest coast as is

⁴⁸ Barbeau, “The Aleutian Route of Migration into America,” 440.

⁴⁹ Barbeau, “Totem Poles: A By-Product of the Fur Trade,” 508.

⁵⁰ Duff, “Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology,” 89.

⁵¹ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 102.

⁵² Nowry, *Man of Mana*, 253.

generally believed.”⁵³ At times, Barbeau even denied the existence of clan totems in the pre-contact era.⁵⁴ He placed their “peak efflorescence” between the 1830 and 1890 as “better tools and early fruits of trading became available.”⁵⁵ Problematically, Barbeau selectively interpreted first contact reports to conclude that upon the arrival of Europeans, Tsimshian did not display elaborate totem poles. Wilson Duff however, showed that these early reports did in fact include descriptions of elaborate totem poles. Even when forced to accept that “some types of carved poles were in existence at the time the first traders visited the coast,” he was reluctant to define them as “bona fide aboriginal accomplishment, considering them instead as an earlier response to indirect influences of the fur trade.”⁵⁶ Indeed, the emergence of clan totems and detached totems is contingent upon trading relationships with Europeans, which provided the tools necessary to develop such advanced techniques and styles.⁵⁷ Readers are told that “even the simple poles of the Nootkas as described by Cook” are not “purely aboriginal” art.⁵⁸ Through Barbeau’s work, a quintessentially Indigenous art form becomes credited as a by-product of European innovation.

Barbeau further undermined the Indigeneity of northwest coast culture by his constant attribution of cultural characteristics to Asiatic origins. In searching for cultural overlap, Barbeau found the essence of northwest coast totem art to be conclusively Asiatic in style:

⁵³ Barbeau, “Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art on the Northwest Coast of America,” 262.

⁵⁴ Duff, “Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology,” 71.

⁵⁵ Nowry, *Man of Mana*, 252.

⁵⁶ Duff, “Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology,” 92.

⁵⁷ Barbeau, “The Aleutian Route of Migration into America,” 432; Barbeau, “Totem Poles: A By-Product of the Fur Trade,” 510.

⁵⁸ Barbeau, “Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art on the Northwest Coast of America,” 269.

With their bold profiles reminiscent of Asiatic divinities and monsters, they conjure impressions strangely un-American in their surroundings of luxuriant dark-green vegetation under skies of bluish mist.⁵⁹

Barbeau finds another example of Asiatic cultural borrowing in stories of Chief Stone-Cliff, head chief of the Tsimshyan during the 1830s. He attributes Stone-Cliff's political tactic of maintaining his power through founding secret societies to "sophisticated Oriental ancestors."⁶⁰ Rather than crediting advanced crafting skills to Indigenous innovation, Barbeau traced their source to "prehistoric aptitudes and manual dexterity due to an Asiatic heredity, and intrusive influences from the activities of the white man."⁶¹ For Barbeau, complex skills such as engraving argillite and weaving cannot be defined as authentically Indigenous. Further, he provides evidence of Asiatic cultural borrowing in his assertion that "a learned Chinese authority on songs and rituals" confirmed an uncanny similarity between Tsimshian dirges and Buddhist funeral chants.⁶² Furthermore, Barbeau claims that linguists had classified Athapaskan as an Asiatic language, specifically a Mongolian variation, as opposed to an American language.⁶³ So sure is Barbeau of the Asiatic origin of certain aspects of northwest culture, that he labels a picture of a totem "Thunderbird with Mongolian hat."⁶⁴ Such labeling conveyed a scientific certainty to readers. As the people of the northwest coast fought to assert their Indigenous land

⁵⁹ Barbeau, "Asiatic Migrations into America," 258.

⁶⁰ Barbeau, "The Aleutian Route of Migration into America," 443.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 440.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 438.

⁶³ Barbeau, "Asiatic Migrations into America," 404.

⁶⁴ Barbeau, "The Aleutian Route of Migration into America," 431.

claim, Barbeau emphasized an Asiatic “cultural endowment,”⁶⁵ thereby creating the image of an essentially Asian ethnicity.

In theorizing on ‘recent’ migrations, Barbeau further threatens to delegitimize the Nisga’a claim to American Indigeneity. Indeed, his theories seem to place certain groups alongside Euro-Canadians in the category of foreign newcomers. Rather than imagining the growth of a genuinely Indigenous civilization in America, Barbeau asserted that the northwest coast was populated through “successive waves of coast and island populations from eastern Asia.”⁶⁶ If, as Barbeau asserts in “The Aleutian Route of Migration to America,” migrations via the Aleutian Islands continued “under the eyes of the white man,” how could the Aboriginal peoples of the northwest coast hold a stronger claim to the land than European migrants?⁶⁷ Concerning the Tsimshian, Barbeau wrote of a “complete change in population and in culture” within the previous two centuries⁶⁸ and placed the Wolf and Eagle phatries among the most recent migrants.⁶⁹ Barbeau imagined a “wave of newcomers” bringing “manual arts, a clear-cut social organization, and secret societies” to the northwest coast thus overwhelming any truly Indigenous culture that might have existed previously.⁷⁰ The creation of a settlement history in which some Aboriginal peoples arrived in the territory not long before Europeans would certainly harm a land claim founded on ‘time immemorial’ occupation. Barbeau attributed a quality of cultural impurity to the Tsimshian due to what he imagined as a relatively recent and constant influx of

⁶⁵ Ibid., 433.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 424.

⁶⁷ Barbeau, “The Aleutian Route of Migration into America,” 425.

⁶⁸ Duff, “Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology,” 70.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 67.

⁷⁰ Barbeau, “The Aleutian Route of Migration into America,” 441.

northerners.⁷¹ Indeed, Barbeau separated northwest coast peoples from interior First Nations peoples by framing them as Asiatic colonizers, or “mongoloid brothers,” as opposed to Native Americans.⁷² He wrote that the Aboriginal peoples of his studies had the blood of “Tamerlan and Gengis Khan.”⁷³ Through the use of imaginative geographies and cross-cultural comparisons, he presented the entire coast as fundamentally “un-American,”⁷⁴ stating:

At other moments I had reminiscences of the orient, of Asia. Fleecy clouds surrounded mountain peaks that were covered with snow, as they are depicted in Japanese water-colors.⁷⁵

Indian women squatted on platforms in front of the village, facing the sea, their shawls drawn around their foreheads. They were sullen and motionless, like stone idols before a Chinese temple.⁷⁶

There was something of the grizzly-bear in him – the grizzly-bear of his mountains which he must have hunted many times. Yet he was distinctly a Mongolian. He was thick and squatty. I thought of Buddha.⁷⁷

I could hear my fellow-visitors say: ‘but these

⁷¹ Barbeau, “How Asia Used to Drip at the Spout into America,” 169-70.

⁷² Barbeau, “Asiatic Migrations into America,” 408.

⁷³ Barbeau, “How Asia Used to Drip at the Spout into America,” 172.

⁷⁴ Barbeau, “Asiatic Migrations into America,” 404.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 405.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 406.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

people are not American Indians—they are Asiatics.’ More than ever it seemed that we had already gone over the border from America into the realm of the mystic dragon beyond the sea.⁷⁸

Here, in particular, Barbeau’s prose veered toward the intuitive and imaginative associations of fantasy. He used this descriptive language to frame an assertion that migrations from Asia did not end thousands of years ago, but rather continued into the modern era.⁷⁹ As discussed above, Barbeau found evidence of Asiatic descent in the cultural similarities between Asiatic ethnic groups and northwest coast peoples. Barbeau exploited this cultural overlap, to declare that certain groups “belong more distinctively to Asia than they do to America.”⁸⁰ Barbeau even went as far as questioning whether Indigeneity could be accurately attributed to any Native American race.⁸¹ Given that he was writing as a government-sanctioned anthropologist and esteemed academic, Barbeau’s doubts about the Indigeneity of First Nations people must be recognized as consequential in shaping the cultural and political landscape from which the Euro-Canadian polity approached the BC land question.

In “Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology,” Wilson Duff demonstrates that the evidence behind Barbeau’s migration theories lacked credibility. Barbeau applied degrees of personal intuition and interpretation to Tsimshian myths in order to support his hypothesis of recent migrations. While Barbeau presented his theory of recent migrations through the Aleutian Islands as widely supported by Tsimshian culture,⁸²

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Nowry, *Man of Mana*, 237.

⁸⁰ Barbeau, “Asiatic Migrations into America,” 416.

⁸¹ Ibid., 403-4.

⁸² Duff, “Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology,” 76.

he based his theory largely on a manipulated version of the ‘Salmon-Eater’ story.⁸³ Among other inconsistencies, although the Haida and the Tsimshian do not distinguish between frogs and toads, and in speaking English use the term ‘frog’ for both, Barbeau assumed that the presence of a ‘frog’ in the ‘Salmon-Eater’ revealed Asiatic origins; as frogs in the English sense were not native to the Northwest Coast.⁸⁴ Ultimately, the conclusions Barbeau drew from the story are largely discordant with the First Nations’ understanding.⁸⁵

The effect of Barbeau’s theories on the public and political consciousness was magnified by his success in asserting himself as the leading Canadian authority on Aboriginal peoples. Barbeau completed a senior thesis at Oxford on the ‘totemic’ cultures of Canada before ever visiting the Northwest Coast.⁸⁶ Moreover, his introduction to Tsimshian people was through second-hand accounts of colonial Europeans. Throughout Barbeau’s career, he expected Euro-Canada to accept his fieldwork as an unequivocal source of knowledge on Aboriginal peoples. Laurence Nowry lauded his studies as “the most thorough recording and analysis of a North Pacific Coast culture that we shall ever have.” Indeed, Nowry considered Barbeau’s work as “crucial to modern understanding of the whole unique North Pacific Coast complex of cultures.”⁸⁷ Perhaps the authoritative value of Barbeau’s work must be reassessed with the understanding that Barbeau made liberal use of his intuition to find authenticity in the stories of his Aboriginal informants. Indeed, as an anthropologist, Barbeau rejected what he felt was

⁸³ Ibid., 73.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 78.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 75.

⁸⁶ Nurse, “Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada,” 54.

⁸⁷ Nowry, *Man of Mana*, 156.

inauthentic and altered field notes to suit his imagination of its authentic original form.⁸⁸ In “The Aleutian Route of Migration to America,” Barbeau informed readers that although the ‘Salmon-Eater’ story was “colored with native interpretation,” he was able to “strip it of its imagery or mysticism” to create a reliable archeological source.⁸⁹ Barbeau produced a massive amount of work, and published with the goal of reaching the greatest possible number of people.⁹⁰ He became not only a renowned scholar but also a well-known public figure.⁹¹ Andrew Nurse emphasized the power of anthropology in influencing the state’s treatment of Aboriginal peoples in the early twentieth century.⁹² Barbeau’s knowledge was considered so absolute that Duncan Campbell Scott looked to Barbeau for policy recommendations.⁹³

I have argued that through his authority as a celebrated academic, Barbeau deprived Aboriginal cultures of their dynamic autonomy and stripped northwest coast Aboriginal peoples of their Indigeneity. Consequently, as the Nisga’a led the BC land title fight, their political position was weakened by Barbeau’s prolific publications. Not only did Barbeau neglect to acknowledge the political engagement of the Nisga’a, he also helped to shape a political and cultural discourse that facilitated the continued rejection of Indigenous rights. Here, we can see ‘objective’ academia both entrenching and conforming to the larger socio-political climate. Ultimately, Barbeau’s academic authority became an agent of colonial domination.

⁸⁸ Nurse, “Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada,” 61.

⁸⁹ Barbeau, “The Aleutian Route of Migration into America,” 429.

⁹⁰ Duff, “Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology,” 63.

⁹¹ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 69.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 464.

⁹³ Nurse, “But Now Things Have Changed,” 455.

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ETA and the Public, 1959-1987

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After an ephemeral moment of autonomy during the Spanish Civil War, the Basque Country was conquered by Spanish Nationalist forces. Under the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco, the Basque people were subject to heavy oppression. The Francoist state sought to eliminate the Basque language and culture as part of a grand vision to create a 'unified Spain.' In 1959, a Basque guerrilla resistance movement, Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA: Basque Country and Freedom) was born with a mission to preserve their unique language and culture, and ultimately, to secure an independent Basque state. Their initial strategy was to incite a revolution by symbolic acts of violence against the Franco regime and gain popular support in the Basque Country. This paper explores ETA's relationship with the public, analyzing the ways in which they cultivated support and disseminated their ideas to the masses. However, what the research finds is that as ETA's strategy changed, so did their relationship with the public. After Spain's democratization, ETA abandoned the idea of bringing about a revolution of the masses, and sought only to wage a violent war of attrition against the Spanish state in order to establish a sovereign Basque nation.

The Basque Country, or *Euskadi*, is a region straddling the Northern Pyrenees, falling under the jurisdiction of Spain and France. It is the homeland of the Basque people, an ancient

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ethno-linguistic group whose origins remain a mystery, although they are undoubtedly pre-Indo-European. After the Spanish Civil War, most of this region lay under the heel of the Spanish dictatorship led by *Caudillo* Francisco Franco. The Francoist state uncompromisingly asserted the importance of Spanish unity. Any subversion of national Spanish cohesion was brutally suppressed. Basque literature was burned and Euskara (the Basque language) was eliminated from schools and banned in radio broadcasts, public gatherings, and publications. Basque names were converted to their Spanish equivalents, tombstones and funeral markers were defaced to remove traces of Euskara, and the nascent Basque university was shut down indefinitely.³ Nevertheless, in 1952, a small group of Basque students began to collect and discuss illegal books.⁴ Within a few decades, this well-intentioned study group became one of the most infamous terrorist groups in European history: *Euskadi ta Askatasuna* (ETA), meaning “Basque Country and Freedom.” A key element in explaining how ETA functioned is examining how it was able to cultivate popular support and how it communicated with the public.⁵ The fight for the mind of Euskadi was a broad campaign that ranged from small-scale vandalism to international media relations. ETA managed to garner considerable support in its

² All translations from Basque, Spanish, and French herein are my own unless otherwise noted.

³ Daniele Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation* (London: Hurst, 1997), 81.

⁴ *Documentos «Y»* (Donostia: Hordago, 1979), vol. 1, 11-12; This source is an anthology of ETA primary source documents.

⁵ For slight simplification, ETA is treated a singular organization unless otherwise stated. There are instances in this research paper where it is useful to distinguish between ETA-m and ETA-pm (see page 7). Overall, there simply is not enough evidence nor discernable reason to sustain a differentiated analysis between divisions such as ETA-Berri, ETA-Zarra, ETA-V, ETA-VI, etc. for what is treated herein.

early years, but by the 1980s its relationship with the public had changed substantially.

A group of young Basque students disillusioned with the apparent inaction of the *Partido Nacionalista Vasco* (PNV, the Basque Nationalist Party) formed a study group in 1952 and convened regularly in Bilbo to discuss politics and philosophy.⁶ The group was called Ekin, meaning ‘action,’ denoting a fundamental opposition to the PNV’s alleged passivity regarding Basque issues.⁷ The members of Ekin realized that something needed to be done to prevent the death of Basque language and culture, but the means were unclear. For its first four years, Ekin did not engage in any activism or dissemination of propaganda outside of its immediate membership.⁸ Membership surged from 1955 to 1956, when a substantial portion of the youth branch of the PNV, *Eusko Gaztedi* (Basque Youth), cut ties with the PNV and joined Ekin. Like the founding members of Ekin, the young Basques of *Eusko Gaztedi* advocated for separatism rather than the autonomy desired by the PNV.⁹ Following the influx, Ekin took on the name of *Eusko Gaztedi*, and finally began to take action.¹⁰ They publicly distributed small ikurriña (Basque flag) stickers that read “Euskadi is the homeland of the Basques.”¹¹ Their actions were not unprecedented; the *Euzko Ikasale Alkartasuna* (Society of Basque Students) distributed subversive materials to the public from 1947 until the arrest or exile of the

⁶ *Documentos «Y»* vol. 1, 11-18.

⁷ ‘Ekin’ translates literally as “to do” and so the English translation varies by author. I opt for ‘action’ because I believe it most accurately reflects that the choice of name was a conscious separation from the PNV and the inaction associated with it.

⁸ *Documentos «Y»*, vol. 1, 18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

entire leadership in 1951.¹² Ultimately, ideological tensions culminated in the division of *Eusko Gaztedi*; one group chose to remain under the leadership of the PNV, and the remainder went on to form a new group in 1959: *Euskadi ta Askatasuna*.¹³

At the first *Biltzar Nagusia* (General Assembly) in 1962, ETA deemed propaganda to be its most urgent issue.¹⁴ ETA released *Declaración de principios* to inform the public of its intent. Their goal was made clear: ETA would lead the struggle against the Franco regime for an independent Basque state. ETA officially defined itself as a “Basque revolutionary movement for national liberation.”¹⁵ *Principios* was published in Basque, Spanish, French, and English, and fit onto a single double-sided sheet. Thousands of copies were produced, most likely in Iparralde (Northern [French] Basque Country), and then distributed by associates in Hegoalde (Southern [Spanish] Basque Country).¹⁶

The first *Biltzar Nagusia* also decided to continue publication of ETA’s official publication, *Zutik* (Stand Up), which by then had reached its third series.¹⁷ *Zutik* was to be prepared in Bayonne and then printed and distributed throughout Euskadi.¹⁸ Publication quality varied, as circumstances sometimes made the logistics of printing extremely difficult. Access to printing presses was limited in some instances, resulting in the production of copies via a mimeograph in an

¹² Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, 82.

¹³ André Lecours, *Basque Nationalism and the Spanish State* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007), 75.

¹⁴ *Documentos «Y»*, vol. 1, 523.

¹⁵ Robert Clark, *The Basques: The Franco Years and Beyond* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1979), 158.

¹⁶ *Documentos «Y»*, vol. 1, 523.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

attic.¹⁹ The scale of distribution is uncertain, but ETA claimed a readership in the tens of thousands.²⁰ Unsurprisingly, *Zutik* was primarily political in nature, but ETA also offered some lighter readings. The ‘*Cuadernos ETA*’ were brief leaflets on a range of Basque topics. They covered Basque history, linguistics, anthropology, culture, and of course, more politics.²¹ A recurring theme throughout was the uniqueness of Basque identity. The linguistic discussion focused on designating Basque as an ancient language completely unrelated to any other. Likewise, anthropological research indicates a very long human presence in Euskadi, of which the modern Basques are a continuation.

It is important to note that possession of any ETA propaganda, including *Zutik*, was a punishable offence in Francoist Spain.²² Dissemination of ETA propaganda involved two of ETA’s six branches. The ‘Secretariat’ was responsible for the creation of various publications such as *Zutik*, *Zaldabun*, and *Eutsi*.²³ Another branch, designated simply as ‘Propaganda,’ was in charge of printing and distributing propaganda material.²⁴ The evidence indicates that typically, these materials were conceptualized by senior etarras (ETA members) in Iparralde and then mass produced in Hegoalde, as this made most sense considering logistics.²⁵ Propaganda centres were based around Hendaya and Biarritz, which were among the most popular

¹⁹ Ibid., 380.

²⁰ *Documentos «Y»*, vol. 2, 490.

²¹ Ibid., 52-227.

²² Xabier Zumalde, *Las botas de la guerrilla: Memorias del jefe de los Grupos Autónomos de ETA (1969-1977)* (Arrigorriaga: Status Ediciones, 2004), 393.

²³ *Documentos «Y»*, vol. 1, 22.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ For example, from his experience in Operation Lobo, Mikel Lejarza identified Emiliano Carlos as a renowned etarra who would occasionally pose as a trucker to bring propaganda materials from Iparralde to Hegoalde, see: Xavier Vinader, *Operación Lobo: Memorias de un infiltrado en ETA* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1999), 59.

places of refuge for etarras in Iparralde.²⁶ In the early sixties, ETA developed secret paths between Spain and France to facilitate smuggling of propaganda materials.²⁷ *El País* reported an incident in 1976 in which a car crashed into a tree, injuring the driver and killing the passenger. The Spanish-registered vehicle crashed in Gironde, en route to Iparralde. The collision scattered the contents of the vehicle: a load of Basque separatist propaganda, including pamphlets, posters, and photographs, across the road.²⁸ It is impossible to derive any certainties from this single event, but it perhaps indicates that ETA had centres of propaganda production outside of Euskadi.²⁹

For all intents and purposes, *Zutik* was the voice of ETA. For many, *Zutik* was the bridge between themselves and the elusive organization. In terms of its political content, it generally aimed to create support for violence as a means of national liberation. One early *Zutik* issue featured a prominent article titled “When the violent condemn violence” which read:

Several young Basques have just been sentenced to lengthy terms. They were accused of having resorted to violence to express their opposition to the regime. The prosecutors are the Francoists. The same ones who, 25 years ago took up arms against the established power, launched an army

²⁶ Paddy Woodworth, *Dirty War, Clean Hands: ETA, the GAL and Spanish Democracy* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 68.

²⁷ *Documentos «Y»*, vol. 2, 6.

²⁸ EFE, “Se estrelló en Francia un coche con propaganda separatista vasca,” *El País*, July 1, 1976.

²⁹ In 1976, ETA would have still enjoyed widespread support in Western Europe. It is not unfeasible that ETA had sympathizers abroad willing to assist in the production of propaganda materials. Moreover, one cannot rule out the possibility of collaboration with the FLB (Front de Libération de la Bretagne), with whom ETA admittedly had connections, see: Robert Moss, *Revolutionary Challenges in Spain* (London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1974), 25.

of requetés, falangists, moors, Italians, and Germans against Euskadi, incinerated Guernica and Durango with barbaric bombings, and murdered thousands of Basques.³⁰

This kind of dichotomization is typical of ETA's publications, which refused to acknowledge a middle ground between Francoism and Basque separatism. This excerpt also demonstrates the role of national memory in the cultivation of separatist sentiment. To radical Basque nationalists, the bombing of Gernika was not just a war crime; it was a symbolic strike at the heart of Basque culture. The bombing of Gernika was thus evoked as a clear indication of the necessity of armed struggle. According to ETA, a non-violent approach, such as that taken by Gandhi in India, was only possible in civilized regime, and clearly not an option in Francoist Spain.³¹ Furthermore, ETA believed that any collaboration with Spanish authorities amounted to treason, and disparagingly called collaborators *txakurrak* (dogs).³²

One of ETA's most important means of making its presence known was graffiti. Political graffiti in Spain predates ETA, but was much less common before 1959.³³ In ETA's first two years, its activities were limited to holding meetings, circulating literature within its membership, and graffiti.³⁴ 'Euskadi ta Askatasuna' was painted on walls for the first time in 1959.³⁵ When spray-paint was not obtainable, the alternative was

³⁰ *Documentos «Y»*, vol. 1, 405.

³¹ *Documentos «Y»*, vol. 2, 300-301.

³² *Ibid.*, 444.

³³ Lyman Chaffee, "Social conflict and alternative mass communications: public art and politics in the service of Spanish-Basque nationalism," *European Journal of Political Research* 16, no. 5 (Sep. 1988): 550.

³⁴ Lecours, *Basque Nationalism and the Spanish State*, 79.

³⁵ Woodworth, *Dirty War, Clean Hands*, 156.

a simple paint can and brush, or less commonly, tar, which was tremendously difficult for authorities to remove.³⁶ In 1966, ETA organized a training course for militants which detailed how to create homemade aerosol spray paint.³⁷ Initially, pro-ETA graffiti was limited to simple slogans or the ETA acronym, but it became more complex, involving “statements identifying their issues.”³⁸ Murals were also employed, many commemorating the bombing of Gernika.³⁹

Graffiti is significant for several reasons. Firstly, the act itself was designated as ‘propagandizing’ and was illegal, so it was inherently subversive.⁴⁰ Secondly, it indicated ETA presence or support within communities. It is a visual representation of political ideology, and its visibility was an integral part of ETA’s psychological battle for support. Furthermore, it is a form of communication. Lyman Chaffee’s analysis of Basque nationalist graffiti (and visual art more generally) revealed that it was sufficiently widespread to warrant a distinction as ‘mass communication.’ He emphasizes its importance as a form of communication, stating that “[a]rt and mass communication form part of the process of saturating the citizens with values, influencing the formation of political consciousness, and shaping public opinion.”⁴¹

An important issue for clandestine groups such as ETA is their interaction with the media. Working with the media in Francoist Spain was off the table for obvious reasons, so beyond their own publications, ETA was featured in various international media. Etxarra refugees in Iparralde were sometimes treated as

³⁶ Vinader, *Operación Lobo*, 119; *Documentos «Y»*, vol. 1, 56.

³⁷ Vinader, *Operación Lobo*, 119.

³⁸ Chaffee, “Social conflict and alternative mass communication,” 550.

³⁹ Lyman Chaffee, *Political Protest and Street Art: Popular Tools for Democratization in Hispanic Countries* (Westport: Greenwood, 1993), 92.

⁴⁰ Chaffee, “Social conflict and alternative mass communication,” 546.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 569.

local heroes, recounting their exploits in French periodicals, radio broadcasts, and television programs.⁴² Other examples include an ETA presentation on the torture of political prisoners in Spain for Swiss television, an informative report for the Italian press and television, and interaction with countless other foreign media during the Burgos Trial of 1970.⁴³

The trial began in December 1970; sixteen ETA leaders were put on trial in connection to the murder of police commissioner Melitón Manzanas. The trial lasted one week, and the verdicts were delivered soon after.⁴⁴ Six were sentenced to death, nine sent to prison, and one found innocent.⁴⁵ A conservative ex-member of the PNV, Telesforo Monzón, served as a spokesperson for ETA during the trial. Through him, ETA was able to communicate frequently with international media.⁴⁶ This event was ETA's first significant international exposure, and put the broader Basque conflict in the international spotlight.⁴⁷ The trial itself has been called "an unprecedented national and international propaganda platform" for ETA.⁴⁸ During the trial, surely aware that there was no justice to be had in a Francoist military court, the *etarras* made little attempt at an actual legal defence. They opted to use the platform to proclaim the Basque right to sovereignty and call for international solidarity.⁴⁹ At one point, they requested their lawyers to leave, and sang revolutionary songs in the courtroom.⁵⁰

⁴² Zumalde, *Las botas de la guerrilla*, 276-277.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 145-146; *Ibid.*, 244; *Ibid.*, 145.

⁴⁴ Clark, *The Basques*, 185-186.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, 101, 150.

⁴⁷ Gurutz Jáuregui, "ETA: Orígenes y evolución ideológica y política" in *La historia de ETA*, ed. Antonio Elorza (Madrid: Temas de hoy, 2000), 251.

⁴⁸ Woodworth, *Dirty War, Clean Hands*, 39.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

Mass demonstrations of support were held all across Europe. Many ambassadors were recalled from Spain, and the Vatican requested that the defendants be shown mercy.⁵¹ Mobs attacked Spanish embassies, and people petitioned their governments to cut all diplomatic ties with Spain.⁵² Ultimately, Franco commuted all the death sentences: it was a clear victory for ETA. ‘The Burgos 16’ were hailed as heroes. In the words of Jean-Paul Sartre: “For the first time, the Basque question was put before international opinion: Euskadi made itself known as a martyred people fighting for national independence.”⁵³ ETA cleverly utilized this event to gain support not only in Euskadi, but worldwide. Three years after the Burgos Trial, ETA made international news again when the Spanish Prime Minister and Franco’s heir apparent, Luis Carrero Blanco, was killed in Madrid. ETA members packed seventy-five kilograms of explosives under a road frequently used by Blanco on his way to Mass, and detonated them as his vehicle passed over.⁵⁴ This assassination demonstrated their capabilities and “ETA’s prestige among the Basque youth soared.”⁵⁵

However, in 1974 ETA committed an attack so objectionable that it resulted in an irreconcilable division of the group.⁵⁶ The target was Cafetería Rolando, an establishment frequented by the police in Madrid.⁵⁷ A bomb killed twelve people and injured seventy. None of the immediate casualties

⁵¹ Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, 100-101.

⁵² Clark, *The Basques*, 186.

⁵³ Jean-Paul Sartre, introduction to *Le procès de Burgos*, by Gisèle Halimi (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), xxix.

⁵⁴ Zumalde, *Las botas de la guerrilla*, 275.

⁵⁵ Woodworth, *Dirty War, Clean Hands*, 41.

⁵⁶ ETA never officially claimed responsibility for the attack, but they were almost certainly the perpetrators, see: Woodworth, *Dirty War, Clean Hands*, 50.

⁵⁷ Vinader, *Operación Lobo*, 70-71.

were police, although a police inspector died three years later from injuries sustained in the explosion.⁵⁸ It was undoubtedly a disaster for ETA, and they had to decide whether to accept responsibility for the attack. The more militant members wanted to publicly accept responsibility, but the more diplomatically inclined members believed that it was better to remain silent.⁵⁹ ETA claimed that authorities were warned about the bomb well in advance, but that they intentionally failed to evacuate the premises in order to turn popular opinion against ETA.⁶⁰ The controversial attack exacerbated tensions between the military front and the political front, and the two factions split as ETA-Militar (ETA-m) and ETA-Político-Militar (ETA-pm).⁶¹ ETA-pm emerged from this arrangement with a large numerical superiority over ETA-m and more support overall, but ETA-m left with most of the money and weapons.⁶² ETA-m shortly thereafter published a manifesto that declared their unflinching belief in the necessity of armed struggle, explicitly inspired by the Palestinian Black September Organization.⁶³ This point marks ETA's (ETA-m) transformation into a 'terrorist organization' and the beginning of their decline in popularity.⁶⁴

Yet for some, it was not until over a decade later that supporting ETA became an obvious moral reprehensibility.⁶⁵ In 1987, ETA committed the deadliest act of terrorism in its history.

⁵⁸ Gaizka Soldevilla and Raúl Romo, *Sangre, votos, manifestaciones: ETA y el nacionalismo vasco radical. 1958-2011* (Madrid: Tecnos, 2012), 76-77.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁶⁰ Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, 106.

⁶¹ ETA-pm officially disbanded in 1983, while ETA-m continued activity. The distinction was no longer necessary after 1983, so 'ETA' beyond 1983 is implicitly ETA-Militar.

⁶² Soldevilla and Romo, *Sangre, votos, manifestaciones*, 79.

⁶³ Vinader, *Operación Lobo*, 73-74.

⁶⁴ Soldevilla and Romo, *Sangre, votos, manifestaciones*, 117.

⁶⁵ Carrie Hamilton, *Women and ETA: The Gender Politics of Radical Basque Nationalism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 11.

In the parkade of the Hipercor shopping centre in Barcelona, ETA detonated a car bomb—a stolen Ford Sierra packed with thirty kilograms of ammonal and 100 litres of gasoline.⁶⁶ On the day following the attack, fifteen deaths were confirmed, but this figure eventually rose to twenty-one.⁶⁷ Among those who died *in situ*, most could not be identified because their bodies were too badly burned. It took rescue teams hours to recover the charred corpses.⁶⁸ Two days after the disaster, ETA issued a statement, making sure to inculcate the Spanish government:

We hope that the time and advancement of our process helps to situate this disgraceful accident and irreparable damage [...] in their rightful place [...] The responsibility of all material and human costs falls on the royal powers of the State for having delayed the opening of a peace process leading to a ceasefire, which ETA has offered unilaterally upon completion of negotiations based on the KAS alternative and the effective recognition of our national sovereignty.⁶⁹

Through various newspapers, ETA admitted that the Hipercor mall bombing was a grave error.⁷⁰ On the same day as ETA's apology, 70,000 people marched through the streets of Barcelona

⁶⁶ Luis Aizpeolea, "Un coche bomba en los pilares de ETA," *El País*, June 15, 2012.

⁶⁷ "ETA asesina a quince personas, entre ellas mujeres y niños, en el atentado más sangriento de su historia," *La Vanguardia*, June 20, 1987; Aizpeolea, "Un coche bomba en los pilares de ETA."

⁶⁸ "ETA asesina a quince personas, entre ellas mujeres y niños, en el atentado más sangriento de su historia," *La Vanguardia*.

⁶⁹ *Egin*, June 22, 1987, qtd. in Iñaki Egaña and Giovanni Giacopucci, *Los días de Argel: crónica de las conversaciones ETA-Gobierno español* (Tafalla: Txalaparta, 1992), 126.

⁷⁰ "Los 'errores' de ETA," *El País*, June 22, 1987.

in condemnation of the attack.⁷¹ The popular Catalan newspaper, *La Vanguardia*, delivered a scathing response to a defence of the Hipercor attack:

Why would one who doesn't intend to inflict a large number of casualties place an explosive in a department store, moreover, on a Friday afternoon during the busiest hours? Why would one who doesn't wish to kill in cold blood use a mixture of explosives and gasoline, apparently ignoring that it produces a fire of incalculable dimensions, and above all, clouds of smoke capable of killing across a great distance? Because, let us not forget, many of the victims perished from the smoke intentionally caused by the murderers. Why would one who attempts a 'clean' attack (if this word can be applied to such a savage action) place an incendiary device by dozens of cars whose gasoline tanks can easily explode? Let us not be told now that this was some sort of 'surprise' for those poor little inexperienced murderers who seem to urgently need more training.⁷²

Once again, ETA blamed Spanish authorities for failing to evacuate the area. They claimed to have given the police advanced warning of the attack, and accused them of deliberately ignoring the threat, presumably to destroy any existent Catalan sympathy for ETA.⁷³ One ETA sympathizer says that the mistake was not the act of placing a bomb in the parkade, but in trusting

⁷¹ "Unos 70.000 barceloneses acuden a la marcha contra el terrorismo convocada por entidades ciudadanas," *El País*, June 22, 1987.

⁷² "La 'condolencia' de HB," *La Vanguardia*, June 22, 1987.

⁷³ Woodworth, *Dirty War, Clean Hands*, 147, 154.

the police to warn the civilians.⁷⁴ Moreover, according to this sympathizer, “if they had known what was going to happen [...] they would have preferred to die themselves, with the bomb in their hands, than cause the barbarity that happened afterwards.”⁷⁵ Nonetheless, any defence of the Hipercor attack was engulfed by the media firestorm condemning it.

Contrary to popular notions of ETA being totally removed from political processes, they did have some presence in various parties. Despite its early divergence from *Eusko Gaztedi*, ETA remained amicable with them throughout their earlier years. Although it was officially the youth branch of a group that did not necessarily condone ETA’s activities (the PNV), *Eusko Gaztedi* cooperated with the clandestine organization. In the early 1970s, the wide distribution of propaganda in Hegoalde would not have been possible without the assistance of *Eusko Gaztedi*.⁷⁶

In 1977, Telesforo Monzón realized the importance of democratic representation and called for a coalition of the main parties that endorsed revolutionary violence in Euskadi.⁷⁷ In 1978, HASI (*Herriko Alderdi Sozialista Iraultzailea* [People’s Revolutionary Socialist Party]), LAIA (*Langile Abertzale Iraultzaileen Alderdia* [Revolutionary Patriotic Workers’ Party]), ESB (*Euskal Sozialista Biltzarrea* [Basque Socialist Assembly]), and ANV (*Acción Nacionalista Vasca* [Basque Nationalist Action]) united and officially became *Herri Batasuna* (HB: Popular Unity).⁷⁸ Of course, ETA and HB had no official connection, but a relationship between the two is undeniable.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 147.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ José Garmendia, “ETA: Nacimiento, desarrollo y crisis (1959-1978)” in *La historia de ETA*, ed. Elorza, 164.

⁷⁷ Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, 149.

⁷⁸ Soldevilla and Romo, *Sangre, votos, manifestaciones*, 125-128.

Several people influential in the politics of HB were closely aligned with ETA-m.⁷⁹ There was an almost total overlap of nationalist dogma between ETA and HB, which surely served to legitimize ETA.⁸⁰

HB was not subtle about its support for ETA. Pro-ETA demonstrations were organized by HB.⁸¹ Some members were arrested for ‘apología del terrorismo,’ including Telesforo Monzón in 1979.⁸² HB even defended ETA in regard to the Hipercor attack, claiming that the police and mall management, “knowing an hour in advance of the existence of a car bomb, caused an avoidable tragedy through their silence in order to use it as propaganda.”⁸³ HB actively fought for the relocation of ETA prisoners from Soria to Euskadi.⁸⁴ Telesforo Monzón evidently did not see much difference between ETA and HB when in correspondence with foreign press he stated: “There is a solution to the Basque problem through speaking with ETA and HB.”⁸⁵ The connections went beyond cooperation; some HB members were ETA militants themselves.⁸⁶ Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, HB insisted that it had no contact with

⁷⁹ Ibid., 128.

⁸⁰ Lecours, *Basque Nationalism and the Spanish State*, 88.

⁸¹ Tonia Etxarri, “Gritos a favor de ETA Militar en la estación por Santiago Brouard,” *El País*, 24 Nov. 1985; José Barbería, “Manifestación de 5.000 personas en Fuenterrabía convocadas por Herri Batasuna en apoyo de ETA,” *El País*, August 16, 1984.

⁸² Javier Angulo, “Telesforo Monzón procesado por apología del terrorismo,” *El País*, February 21, 1979.

⁸³ “‘Enérgica crítica’ de HB y condena de dirigentes europeos y del papa,” *El País*, June 21, 1987.

⁸⁴ Fermin Goñi, “Herri Batasuna exige el retorno de los presos navarros reclusos en Soria,” *El País*, April 26, 1979.

⁸⁵ “‘Hay solución al problema vasco si se habla con ETA y HB,’” *El País*, September 26, 1979.

⁸⁶ “Los miembros de Herri Batasuna detenidos en Madrid son presuntos militantes de ETA militar,” *El País*, February 15, 1979; Fermin Goñi, “Detenidos en Navarra tres presuntos miembros de ETA (m),” *El País*, February 2, 1980.

ETA.⁸⁷ These transparent claims did not stop HB from gaining the reputation of being the political branch of ETA-m.

The success of HB came as a surprise to rivals such as the PNV.⁸⁸ In the Basque parliament's first election in 1980, HB won 16.5% of the vote.⁸⁹ Furthermore, in the subsequent elections of 1984 and 1986, HB received 14.5% and 17.4% of votes, respectively.⁹⁰ In an interview with a French newspaper, ETA declared that "votes for Herri Batasuna will allow us to count our sympathizers."⁹¹ For ETA supporters, HB was the political representation of their beliefs; a vote for HB was a vote for ETA. A striking example of the connection between HB and ETA is the statistical correlation between votes for HB and ETA violence. Security forces were more likely to be targeted in a town with high support for HB.⁹² This is because in these areas ETA was more likely to have a support network and informants able to help coordinate attacks.

Evidently, ETA had established itself throughout Euskadi in various ways. What then were the perspectives of common people in Euskadi who were plunged into this conflict? To be clear, many Basque people did not support ETA, but in order to trace the extent and nature of ETA's influence in Euskadi one must examine those who were inspired to join the group. Several events served to boost ETA's popularity, which was undeniably

⁸⁷ Javier Angulo, "Herri Batasuna afirma que no mantiene contactos con ETAm," *El País*, July 19, 1980; Victorino Ruiz de Azua, "Herri Batasuna niega tener contactos con ETAm," *El País*, April 5, 1981.

⁸⁸ Javier Angulo, "El éxito de Herri Batasuna sorprende al PNV y preocupa al PSOE y UCD," *El País*, March 3, 1979.

⁸⁹ Lecours, *Basque Nationalism and the Spanish State*, 96.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Feliciano Fidalgo, "ETA militar: 'Los votos de Herri Batasuna permitirán contar nuestros simpatizantes,'" *El País*, February 27, 1979.

⁹² Luis de la Calle and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca, "Killing and Voting in the Basque Country: An Exploration of the Electoral Link Between ETA and its Political Branch," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25, no. 1 (2013): 103.

widespread in Euskadi throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, most of ETA's membership were regular citizens, called 'legales.'⁹³ These etarras were unknown to authorities, lived normal lives, and were often well-integrated community members.⁹⁴ ETA support manifested itself through various public events in the 1960s and 1970s.⁹⁵ Etarra funerals could attract crowds in the tens of thousands.⁹⁶ Large demonstrations involving pro-ETA chants were numerous in Euskadi.

There were many different reasons to join ETA. For young people, there was the obvious appeal of adventure and rebellion, further intensified by radical nationalism. However, the influence of friends, family, and even the clergy must not be understated. An important part of Basque social life is the 'cuadrilla,' which is an informal, regular meeting of close friends in a very exclusive group of no more than twenty people. Cuadrillas are usually solidified in one's young adult years, and can remain as a social group for the rest of one's life.⁹⁷ This system of social organization, very particular to Basque culture, was instrumental in bringing new recruits to ETA. The friends within a cuadrilla were immensely loyal; therefore it would only take one member with connections to ETA to inspire the rest to join.⁹⁸

⁹³ Florencio Iribarren, "El enfrentamiento de ETA con la democracia," in *La historia de ETA*, ed. Elorza, 285.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 285-286; Fernando Reinares, *Patriotas de la muerte: por qué han militado en ETA y cuándo abandonan* (Madrid: Taurus, 2011), 146.

⁹⁵ Of course, ETA support at public events did not definitively end, but public displays of support became increasingly marginalized after the seventies.

⁹⁶ Jesús Ceberio, "Quince mil personas, en los funerales de los dos jóvenes vascos," *El País*, March 11, 1977.

⁹⁷ Marianne Heiberg, "Inside the Moral Community: Politics in a Basque Village," in *Basque Politics: A Case Study in Ethnic Nationalism*, ed. William Douglass (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1985), 301.

⁹⁸ Reinares, *Patriotas de la muerte*, 143-147.

Another element within communities which could serve to promote ETA was the clergy. Basque priests were frequently accused of supporting ETA. In 1960, 339 Basque priests signed a petition denouncing the oppression of Basque people by the Francoist state and equating the situation to genocide.⁹⁹ Looking at a brief excerpt of arrests in Euskadi, one can see that Basque priests were incarcerated for distributing ETA propaganda, helping etarras escape from prison, and various other subversive activities.¹⁰⁰ It should be emphasized that the clergy could be very influential, especially in the traditionally conservative Catholic society of Euskadi.

Ultimately, popular support became much less important to ETA in the late seventies. In its early years, ETA was substantially influenced by anti-colonial movements, and shaped its rhetoric around the idea of a Spanish occupation of Euskadi.¹⁰¹ ETA hoped to incite a mass rebellion in Euskadi and drive out the Spanish invaders, as was discussed in ETA's forty-five page pamphlet *Insurrección en Euskadi*.¹⁰² As ETA's so-called 'revolutionary war' dragged on, it became clear that it was unrealistic, especially in light of the shift to democracy following the death of Franco in 1975. Furthermore, the French government finally began to take measures against ETA in 1975. This had serious consequences for ETA, because Iparralde had theretofore been a sanctuary for its leadership.¹⁰³

ETA's strategy then shifted from 'revolutionary war' to a war of attrition against the Spanish state.¹⁰⁴ It may also be said that ETA's membership was mostly solidified around this time.

⁹⁹ Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, 95.

¹⁰⁰ Clark, *The Basques*, 181.

¹⁰¹ Lecours, *Basque Nationalism and the Spanish State*, 77.

¹⁰² Clark, *The Basques*, 158.

¹⁰³ Vinader, *Operación Lobo*, 99.

¹⁰⁴ de la Calle and Sánchez-Cuenca, "Killing and Voting in the Basque Country," 98.

After the division of ETA in 1974, ETA-m emerged as a group much smaller than ETA-pm, but this was a key part of their strategy. ETA-m remained a very intimate organization and was generally not interested in recruiting new members.¹⁰⁵ This exclusivity protected it from infiltration such as that which devastated ETA-pm. With the abandonment of the ‘revolutionary war’ and active recruitment, maintaining a relationship with the public was no longer a necessary element of ETA’s strategy.

ETA’s first priority was making its ideals known to the public. Through publications, propaganda, graffiti, media coverage, and politics, ETA communicated with the people of Euskadi. The clandestine organization enjoyed a broad base of support in Euskadi during the Franco years, but Spain’s transition to democracy led many to question the necessity of armed struggle. As ETA continually splintered, eventually all that remained was a small group of the most radical members. Its practice of indiscriminate terrorism indicates that popular support was no longer relevant to ETA by the late 1980s. What began as a courageous group of students with dreams of national liberation ended as an organization known for the murder of hundreds of innocent civilians.

¹⁰⁵ Vinader, *Operación Lobo*, 82.

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First Nations and the Federal Franchise: 1960

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The extension of the federal franchise to Canada's registered aboriginal population in 1960 was the culmination of several years of controversial debate and a century of animosity between First Nations and the administration that controlled them.

Enfranchisement of First Nations was a complex issue tied to a convoluted federal definition of aboriginal status. Complications arose with attempts to hammer out 'one-size-fits-all' legislation at a time when race relations were coming under intense international scrutiny. This paper explores the nature of the debate surrounding the passage of Bill C-3 by the Diefenbaker government, and attempts to clarify the attitudes and concerns that informed the discourse surrounding aboriginal rights, Charter rights, and the notion of citizenship between 1960 and 1990.

The granting of the federal franchise to Canada's registered aboriginal population in 1960 was the culmination of several years of debate and a century of animosity between Canada's First Nations and the federal administration that controlled them. This discourse occurred at a time of intense public scrutiny of race relations in the context of explosive demonstrations against apartheid in South Africa and the violent fight for civil rights in the American South. Some viewed Bill C-3 as little more than a band-aid for the deep cultural wounds inflicted by the Indian Act. Public opinion in the days before and after the bill's passage reflected a reluctance to accept that its architects had achieved anything monumental.¹ At issue were the implications enfranchisement had for native people in the past for native people (i.e. loss of treaty rights and exemption from

¹ "Indian Rights," *Ottawa Journal*, 16 March 1960, 6.

tax pertaining to on-reserve income), and complications arising from a somewhat convoluted federal definition of aboriginal status.² Bill C-3 was not universally regarded as a panacea for native communities afflicted with egregious socio-economic problems, but was lauded as a tentative first step toward equal rights for aboriginal people in a country that was only beginning to formulate a Bill of Rights for all its citizens.³

Canada's aboriginal policy has been labeled as a form of apartheid by its critics,⁴ and its main instrument of control was the Indian Act.⁵ Since its beginnings in the years prior to Confederation, the Indian Act of 1876 reflected the paternalistic legislation of its time.⁶ An Act for the Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes of the Canadas (1857) is but one example of the original plans for assimilation. Its enfranchisement provisions, which granted full citizenship to adult males who dropped their claims to aboriginal status and treaty rights in exchange for twenty hectares of reserve land in fee simple, remained in place until 1960.⁷ This legislation was designed to eventually eliminate the need to keep reserves for native use, since it was assumed that the transition to fee simple ownership would eliminate the need for them.⁸

² *Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons, Minutes and Proceedings of Evidence* No. 4 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1959), 78-81.

³ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 10 March 1960, 1958.

⁴ Daniel Raunet, *Without Surrender, Without Consent* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1996), 167-168.

⁵ James S. Frideres, *Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1983), 33. "It has become the most vicious mechanism of social control that exists in Canada today. On the one hand, it has accorded Indians special status, legally and constitutionally; on the other, it has denied them equality in any realm of Canadian life."

⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁷ Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart Inc., 1992), 250.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 251.

The 1869 Enfranchisement Act⁹ instituted the status provisions that were to create severe problems for many aboriginal women and their children until Bill C-31 was passed in 1985.¹⁰ Thus arose the notion that the government that gave citizenship rights with one hand took away aboriginal rights with the other. This became one of the main objections to the 1960 amendment regarding the federal franchise.¹¹

Skeena MP Frank Howard (CCF) introduced Bills C-24 and C-25 to the House for first reading in November of 1957.¹² The legislation was intended to remove the statutory waiver, which required surrender of aboriginal rights and status in exchange for the federal franchise. Howard introduced a complementary bill, Bill C-7, on 15 May 1958¹³ in tandem with Bill C-8 to amend the Canada Elections Act. Bill C-3 (which became Bill C-7 in its final form) was passed to give First Nations the right to vote in federal elections “without any interference with or detraction from their treaty, aboriginal or hereditary rights.”¹⁴ It became law on 10 March 1960.

The year 1958 was significant for two reasons: it saw Alberta native James Gladstone become Canada’s first aboriginal senator,¹⁵ and John Diefenbaker led the Conservatives to power

⁹ Frideres, *Native People in Canada*, 23.

¹⁰ J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 241-242. Unfortunately, Bill C-31 created a whole new set of problems for aboriginal women.

¹¹ “Canadian Indians Shun Equality – It’s Privilege They Claim,” *Vancouver Sun*, 5 February 1960, 5.

¹² *HCD*, 5 November 1957, 755.

¹³ *HCD*, 15 May 1958, 91.

¹⁴ *HCD*, 24 February 1959, 1336.

¹⁵ R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith, eds., *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace and Company Canada Inc., 1992), 469.

after twenty-two years of Liberal government.¹⁶ MP Frank Howard represented a strong CCF presence in British Columbia, the first province to allow aboriginal people to vote. Frank Calder served as its first native MLA in 1949.¹⁷ Liberal MP J.W. Pickersgill, who administered Indian affairs as Minister of Citizenship and Immigration¹⁸ under St. Laurent, admitted that it had been a mistake not to solve the enfranchisement issue when it first came up in 1952.¹⁹

Pickersgill, a veteran politician since his days with Mackenzie King, sat with Howard on the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons under Gladstone's leadership. He was instrumental in devising strategy for the Liberals during Diefenbaker's tenure and must have been truly delighted at the vociferous opposition directed at Bill C-3 by the First Nations themselves.²⁰ Many native leaders were naturally suspicious of the government's intentions in granting the right to vote in federal elections, despite the repeated assurances of the new Prime Minister that they would not lose their traditional rights in the process.²¹ Much confusion arose regarding the meaning of the term "enfranchisement."²² Prior to Bill C-3, "enfranchisement" involved surrendering treaty rights and tax exemptions in exchange for full Canadian citizenship. Amendments to the Indian Act in 1880 gave the government increased powers to arbitrarily appoint band councils. They also provided for the automatic "enfranchisement" of any native person aspiring to the professions or the clergy, a measure which effectively discouraged possible incursion by aboriginal people

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 490.

¹⁷ *HCD*, 2 June 1959, 4259.

¹⁸ Frideres, *Native People in Canada*, 28. Indian affairs were transferred from Mines and Resources to this department in 1949.

¹⁹ "Betrayed Indians' Promised Action, Shamefaced Commons Agrees to Start Another Study," *Vancouver Sun*, 10 March 1960, 7.

who wished to retain their identity.²³ Aside from the semantic confusion, there were other reasons for First Nations to be wary of federal legislation surrounding loss of status triggered by compulsory enfranchisement.²⁴

Section 112 was still a sore point with the aboriginal population in 1960,²⁵ and it was raised by Yukon MP Eric Nielsen (PC) during the June 1959 debate on Bill C-13:

To the Indian... enfranchisement is a threat rather than a privilege and a section of the Indian Act which allows an individual or a whole tribe to be forced into enfranchisement without their consent is truly a threat over their heads.

...

...quite conceivably substantial disadvantages might accrue to the Canadian Indian people if the bill were to pass in its present form without very searching consideration being given first to all the relevant provisions of the Indian Act.²⁶

Section 112 was finally removed in 1961 at the request of the Joint Committee.²⁷

Nielsen's argument extended to the status issue. In the debate of June 1958, he described aboriginal women who lost aboriginal and treaty rights through marriage to non-native men

²⁰ "Diefenbaker Drop Dead," *Ottawa Journal*, 19 January 1960, 5.

²¹ "Vote Won't Affect Indian Treaty Rights," *Macleans*, 19 January 1960, 10.

²² *HCD*, 10 March 1960, 1958.

²³ Chief Joe Mathias and Gary R. Yabsley, "Conspiracy of Legislation: The Suppression of Indian Rights in Canada," *In Celebration of Our Survival: The First Nations of British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), 38.

²⁴ Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 206.

²⁵ "'Many Guns' Makes Plea for Honourable Treatment," *Ottawa Journal*, 18 March 1960, 7.

²⁶ *HCD*, 2 June 1959, 4257.

²⁷ *HCD*, 18 January 1961, 1172.

as being “betwixt and between.”²⁸ Since the proposed legislation did nothing to reinstate those rights, they would be excluded from any benefit to registered band members as defined under the Indian Act. Nielsen clearly believed that the bill was premature, since the people it would affect had not been consulted as to whether or not they understood the meaning of the franchise, or even desired the right to vote in the first place.²⁹ He questioned whether Howard’s bill represented any actual progress on the issue,³⁰ and called for further amendments to the Indian Act prior to the franchise being granted in order to avoid problems with the conflicting provisions contained within it.³¹

Calgary MP A.R. Smith (PC) addressed compulsory enfranchisement concerns of Alberta’s aboriginal population, presenting a resolution that had been brought to him by his native constituents:

That no section of the Indian Act should compel an Indian to become enfranchised without his consent and that no power to compel enfranchisement should exist in the minister. The threat of compulsory voting rights is presently holding back the progress of the development of the Indians and, therefore, any compulsory section should be removed.³²

²⁸ *HCD*, 10 June 1958, 1010.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1010-1011.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1012.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1011.

³² *Ibid.*, 1013.

These concerns were not unfounded; Alberta's impoverished Michel Band had been pressured and deceived into surrendering their reserve and accepting enfranchisement through a lack of understanding of the process of band election:

When a vote was called, 15 of the 17 adults put their hands up in the air, thinking they were agreeing to further discussion. ... The judge, the lawyer and the Indian Agent all shook hands and drove away, followed by the farmers and the priests. Only the priests shook their heads.³³

The band subsequently received a payout, but lost all rights to its reserve lands. The enfranchisement of the band acted in tandem with the status provisions to further impoverish the children of a white woman who had previously had them illegally enfranchised when she divorced her native husband:

She had had Bob, Harvey and Dorothy enfranchised at the time of the divorce, and by doing so, Mary was in fact in violation of the Red Ticket Act (1951). Somebody could have pointed out that she couldn't do that anymore. But no-one had.

When the... reserve was broken up and sold, none of their names were on the Band Register, since they had been struck from the list when Mary became enfranchised. ...none of the treaty obligations, such as the right to a free education, applied to them... Taking his first halting steps in

³³ Robert Hunter and Robert Calihoo, *Occupied Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1991), 40.

search of his official identity, Bob Roger discovered that he literally didn't have one.³⁴

This is a clear illustration of the type of incident that could and did bring about an atmosphere of intense distrust of federal enfranchisement policy that Frank Howard considered completely justifiable.³⁵

Howard addressed another sensitive area, the issue of taxation. Registered aboriginals were exempt from tax on income generated on reserve lands subject to section 86, subsection 1 of the Indian Act.³⁶ Obviously this was an exemption they were anxious to retain, yet the current legislation required them to relinquish it by signing a waiver if they wished to vote federally.³⁷ Howard emphasized that despite the fact that the subsection applied only to a very few, since most band members had to seek employment off the reserve, and despite a 1951 committee recommendation that it should be removed, it was important to take into account "the psychological attitude of the Indian"³⁸ when considering the issue. Manitoba MP G.C. Fairfield (PC) appeared to agree, but his remarks were couched in racist language:

Any time that you give the Indians anything they begin to look for the joker or the nigger in the woodpile. In this instance I would like to know more fully...what the general attitude of the

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

³⁵ *HCD*, 19 May 1959, 3813.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3812-3813.

³⁷ " 'Many Guns' Makes Plea for Honorable Treatment": "They remembered in the past the only way an Indian on a reserve could get the vote was to start paying income tax. They feared trickery."

³⁸ *HCD*, 19 May 1959, 3813.

Indian is toward this modification or amendment to give him the franchise in the future.³⁹

Fairfield went on to point out that, regarding provincial aboriginal voting rights granted in 1954:

I find that the Indian has not taken the greatest advantage of that enfranchisement other than the fact that he may now enter the white man's pub.⁴⁰

Fairfield also brought up the issue of sovereignty, citing the example of the Six Nations, who wished to establish their own nation.⁴¹ The sovereignty of the Six Nations had come up in an earlier debate when Brantford MP Jack Wratten (PC) had pointed out that the reserve was divided between the elected band council, which he felt would be in favour of accepting the franchise, and the council of hereditary chiefs, who saw no sense in seeking the franchise because they considered themselves a separate entity whose only allegiance was to the Crown.⁴² A Six Nations brief presented to the Joint Committee emphasized that "...a state makes treaties only with a sovereign state and not with its wards."⁴³ The Six Nations had been protesting their wardship for years, seeking support for their cause from the League of Nations and the UN Assembly,⁴⁴ believing that their status as warriors and their alliance with the British during the American Revolutionary War had set them apart from the rest of Canada's

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ *HCD*, 19 May 1959, 3814.

⁴¹ Ibid., 3814.

⁴² *HCD*, 24 February 1959, 1340.

⁴³ *Joint Committee, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence No. 4*, 23 June 1950, 96.

⁴⁴ "The Unconquered Warriors of Ohsweken," *Macleans*, 12 November 1955, 92.

aboriginal people.⁴⁵ They were especially militant because they had lost much of their original Grand River land grant to the Province of Ontario after Confederation, and were consigned to “a flat, dejected little island landlocked by lush hills and the bustle of industrial plenty.”⁴⁶ Despite the imposition of an elective council in 1924, many inhabitants of the reserve still supported their hereditary chiefs. That the elected council might accept the franchise was a moot point, since there were doubts as to whether the decisions of the council accurately reflected the wishes of the people.⁴⁷

The reasons given for why the franchise should *not* be granted were varied and creative. The debate of June 2, 1959 centred upon Bill C-13, which proposed revisions to the Canada Elections Act, and the accompanying Bill C-15, which would revise the Indian Act. Nielsen brought up the point that the revisions to Bill C-15 referred to “Indians as defined in this act,” a definition which he believed to be somewhat inaccurate because status was a fluid categorization that could easily be misinterpreted.⁴⁸ While he supported Howard’s motion on principle, Nielsen mentioned three categories of Indians who were excluded from having status because they did not live on a reserve, had mixed blood, or were women who had married out. Nielsen reiterated his stance from the previous year that the bill was premature,⁴⁹ and that it should be postponed until the Joint Committee of the House and the Senate had an opportunity to thoroughly review the Indian Act.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ *Joint Committee, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence No. 5*, 24 June 1959, 110. Mrs. Ella Worthington referred to the Grand River Iroquois as “the first of the United Empire Loyalists.”

⁴⁶ “Unconquered Warriors,” *Macleans*, 92.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 93-94.

⁴⁸ *HCD*, 2 June 1959, 4256.

⁴⁹ *HCD*, 10 June 1958, 1011.

⁵⁰ *HCD*, 2 June 1959, 4258-4259.

There was clearly opposition to granting the franchise on the grounds that aboriginal people were not sufficiently sophisticated, being supposedly incapable of coping with life in modern society. MP J.N. Ormiston (PC) questioned whether enfranchisement was the most logical or rational choice.⁵¹ As debate on Bill C-3 drew to a close in March of 1960, Hull MP Alexis Caron (LIB) voiced his objections, saying “I am of the opinion that most of the Indians in the province of Quebec at least do not accept the bill.”⁵² He based his objections on the fact that his Indian constituents had not been consulted and that there was the possibility that compulsory voting could become a reality in the future. Frank Howard chided him, saying that he was “a bit out of date in this particular case.”⁵³ The Hon. Ellen Fairclough (PC, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration) pointed out that native groups had been consulted by committees looking into the question in the late 1940s, with a majority of thirty to four in favour of the federal franchise.⁵⁴ Caron remained doubtful that native voters would exercise their new franchise.

A prolonged discussion regarding taxation took place prior to the bill being given its third reading. Since 122 native people had already signed waivers relinquishing their tax-free status in order to vote,⁵⁵ several MPs wanted assurances that the waivers would be nullified upon passage of the new revisions. Pickersgill in particular was most adamant that the reversal of the waivers be written into the legislation in order to assuage native voters’ fears about government trickery.⁵⁶ The bill went to a third

⁵¹ Ibid., 4262.

⁵² *HCD*, 10 March 1960, 1954.

⁵³ *HCD*, 2 June 1959, 1955.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 1956.

⁵⁵ ““Betrayed Indians’ Promised Action,” *Vancouver Sun*, 10 March 1960, 7.

⁵⁶ *HCD*, 10 March 1960, 1947.

reading, with Fairclough's assurances that the waivers would be nullified before receiving royal assent.⁵⁷

Despite these assurances, the importance of a "writing" to native people was not to be underestimated, as the Joint Committee discovered during the course of its hearings. One witness testified:

...my people are hard to convince. ... They would like to have, in the form of a writing, a letter, something telling them they will not lose their rights as Indians, so they can go and vote.

...

They have a doubt in their mind as to what it is, and it is hard for me to explain it to them.⁵⁸

The committee also heard from those whose wishes were more basic:

There is quite an uneasiness among Indians. We think it might come from an inadequacy of the Indian Act, though we are unprepared to understand it well. *It has never been explained to us in our own language.* Practically, to us the Indian Act amounts to this: avoid offending the Indian Agent and the Hudson[']s Bay Company to make sure we get the necessities of life.⁵⁹

[Emphasis added]

Other submissions contained urgent requests for heating oil because winter was approaching, and a query regarding a tractor

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1957.

⁵⁸ *Joint Committee, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 2, 5 May 1960, 97.

⁵⁹ *Joint Committee, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 2, 18 May 1960, 347.

and supplies which had been promised but never sent, accompanied by a hand-drawn map of a shrinking reserve which had been gradually expropriated by the provincial government. Clearly, issues of simple survival were far more urgent than the franchise in the minds of native people.

The *Globe and Mail* duly reported the bill's passage on 12 March 1960, noting that "the debate on Indian matters was relatively free of partisan considerations and gave the impression that the House at last was getting down to business."⁶⁰ The Liberal strategy of compliance appeared to be working, since Pickersgill received the most column inches for his views on the importance of education and economic development, and his concerns regarding "the orphans of the administrative and juridical systems," namely the non-status aboriginals who still remained on the periphery of both native and white society.

Pickersgill was fully aware that the granting of the franchise did little to address the deeper socio-economic issues faced by aboriginal people, problems which could not simply be legislated away. When the Liberals regained power and attempted to do away with the "benevolent apartheid" altogether in 1969, the native population recognized it as a move toward total assimilation.⁶¹ The 1969 White Paper was an indication of the federal government's frustration with the conundrum of an aboriginal identity that defied all attempts at integration. It was also a reflection of Trudeau's opposition to the notion of accommodating special interest groups. Inflamed by the Quebec separatist movement, his reaction to First Nations' demands for the right to self-determination and land claims compensation was his now infamous remark: "We can't recognize aboriginal rights

⁶⁰ "The First Canadians Fully Recognized," *Globe and Mail*, 12 March, 1960, 8.

⁶¹ Harold Cardinal, *The Rebirth of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977), 13.

because no society can be built on historical ‘might-have-beens.’”⁶² Trudeau saw special status for aboriginal people as being the root cause of their problems, and considered demands to retain their unique identity objectionable on the grounds that it would keep them ghettoized on the reserves.⁶³ Because his government had just come into power, the focus was on forging a policy that would conform to his ideas of what a nation should be.⁶⁴

The aboriginal response to the White Paper was immediate. Deeply offended that the proposal to extinguish their status as “citizens plus”⁶⁵ was made without their input, native leaders proceeded to organize politically. This culminated in the formation of the present-day Assembly of First Nations in a push for participation in constitutional reform.⁶⁶ Despite concerted stonewalling by the First Ministers, consistent pressure from women’s and native groups resulted in the inclusion of a clause in the Constitution affirming aboriginal rights, although the actual definition of these rights continues to be an item for debate.⁶⁷

The status provisions were not revised until 1985. Bill C-31 came about only after the issue had been brought before the United Nations. The UN Committee on Human Rights pressured the then-Conservative government to revise the act on the basis of a complaint from Sandra Lovelace, who represented a group of women from the Tobique Reserve who had married out and wished to return to their band in New Brunswick. Denied her status and residency rights, Lovelace lobbied for reinstatement

⁶² Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 224.

⁶³ Kathleen Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus* (Ottawa: Minister of Supplies and Services Canada, 1978), 77.

⁶⁴ Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 225.

⁶⁵ Jamieson, *Indian Women*, 76.

⁶⁶ Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 238-239.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 240.

using the equality provisions within the Charter of Rights to fortify her argument.⁶⁸ The bill's passage was tainted by the outrage it engendered in bands who insisted that they could not afford to reinstate an estimated 24,000 women, and who held such women (and their 52,000 children) in contempt on account of their mixed-race marriages.⁶⁹

There was a great deal of animosity over the payment of per-capita shares of band monies to women who married out and then chose to return to the reserves. Frustration and anger were expressed as early as 1959 during the hearings of the Joint Committee, when one such woman stated:

I have eight girls, and those eight girls may get enfranchised and then marry Six Nation Indians and come right back on. You take the funds. ...it is just like your government here has got money in the bank: if one of you were to leave the country ...he would not get a share of this money. Well, that is just exactly how our band funds are.⁷⁰

Even more odious was the prospect of supporting the white husbands of the women who brought them back to the reserve:

...we have got men who get a cheap rent on the reserve and get their children educated and work elsewhere. That is what we do not like.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Keepers of the Flame* (Montreal, National Film Board of Canada, 1994).

⁶⁹ "Amendments to Indian Act Spark Protest," *Calgary Herald*, 12 June 1985, B2.

⁷⁰ *Joint Committee, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 4, 23 June 1959, 81.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

Furthermore, the government's constant tinkering with the definition of status was demeaning; it underestimated the capacity of aboriginal people to think for themselves.⁷²

Due to international political pressure, Bill C-31 was passed despite such objections. This resulted in the reinstatement of approximately 100,000 individuals by 1992.⁷³ Many of the subsequent problems stemmed from the government's unwillingness to allocate sufficient funds to pay for the support and housing of thousands of returnees.⁷⁴ The end result was a situation that severely strained the limited resources of many bands, and impoverished innumerable repatriated families who suffered at the hands of band councils that continued to resent them.⁷⁵

The defeat of the Meech Lake Accord in June of 1990 signified a major victory for aboriginal people, since the document failed to acknowledge them as a Charter group along with the English and French.⁷⁶ The celebratory mood was marred a month later by the Oka crisis which saw provincial police, the *Sûreté de Québec*, commit human rights violations against Mohawk men, women, and children of the Six Nations Confederacy at Kanesatake, Quebec. The federal government, which continued to deny the concept of First Nations' territorial sovereignty, failed to intervene in the violent confrontation. The

⁷² *Joint Committee, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 2, 5 May 1960, 92.

⁷³ Pauline Comeau, *Elijah, No Ordinary Man* (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1993), 60-61.

⁷⁴ Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 242.

⁷⁵ Shirley Joseph, "Assimilation Tools: Then and Now" *In Celebration of Our Survival: The First Nations of British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), 66.

⁷⁶ Comeau, *Elijah*, 1.

incident bordered on full-scale civil war, and was indicative of the level of frustration felt by native people across the country.⁷⁷

Despite considerable progress made by some bands in gaining control of their lands, natural resources, and social services, native people continue to live under the Indian Act and must deal with a Charter of Rights which recognizes that the country “is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law.”⁷⁸ The language of the Charter, based as it is upon the notion of individualism, does not include the concept of sharing, which is such an essential component of aboriginal philosophy.⁷⁹ Canada’s First Nations are engaged in a fight for self-determination based upon regaining control of their traditional land base so that they may fully realize their economic and cultural potential. The restoration and healing of their societies require that they formulate their own constitutions and laws; only then can they begin to wield true power in the place they call home.

⁷⁷ Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 304-306.

⁷⁸ Mary Ellen Turpel, “Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian Charter: Interpretive Monopolies, Cultural Differences” *First Nations Issues* (Toronto: Emond Montgomery Publications Limited, 1991), 42.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

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Tolkien: Enchanting a Secular World

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This paper outlines the methods J.R.R Tolkien used to create a modern mythology for England. Tolkien's life and religious views are discussed to illustrate how the esteemed writer used a combination of Christian doctrine and pre-existing ancient mythology to create a fictional medieval universe. The inspiration for this work was the theories of twentieth century German social theorist, Max Weber, and his belief that as the Western world became more secular, it would become "disenchanted." The author uses the theories of thinkers such as St. Augustine of Hippo and Friedrich Nietzsche to argue that Tolkien's created world serves to enchant a secular West and that secular and religious individuals alike can draw moral guidance from this created mythology.

In 1971, J.R.R Tolkien, author of *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, received a letter from a fan who identified as "an unbeliever."¹ The admirer complimented Tolkien, stating that he had "created a world in which some sort of faith seemed to be everywhere, without a visible source, like light from an invisible lamp."² J.R.R Tolkien is one of the most celebrated fantasy authors of all time; his works cross cultural bounds and are popular with secular and religious individuals alike. This essay will outline the methods Tolkien used to create modern mythology, rooted in a combination of Christian doctrine and Tolkien's knowledge of various pre-existing ancient mythologies. This discussion will also shed light on how

¹ Catherine Madsen, "Light from an Invisible Lamp": Natural Religion in *The Lord of the Rings*," in *Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 3.

² Ibid.

Tolkien's works serve to enchant a secular worldview without creating moral dilemmas for "unbelievers."³ In creating Middle-earth, Tolkien did more than just write fiction; he created a mythology with a moral structure at its core that secular people can adhere to.

Before exploring his works, it is first necessary to situate Tolkien in his historical and religious context. John Ronald Reuel Tolkien was born in Bloemfontein, South Africa in 1892.⁴ His father was a bank manager from a well established English family living in the Orange Free State.⁵ Tolkien's early life was a time of turmoil. In 1895 his father died and a year later, at the age of four, Tolkien and his mother were forced to move to Warwickshire, England due his ill health.⁶ In his later years, Tolkien recalled that it was from a childhood under his mother's care that his passion for romance and philology sprang.⁷ Tolkien's mother converted to Catholicism in 1900, despite the protests of her Baptist family, who cut off all financial aid to her in response.⁸

Tolkien attended King Edward's Grammar School as a day boy until his mother's death in 1910, when he became a full time boarder.⁹ He was a clever child and although King Edward's was not as prestigious as the public schools that Tolkien's close friend in adulthood, C.S. Lewis, attended; it still

³ Twentieth century social theorist, Max Weber, argued that as the western world became more secular its populace would become "disenchanted," the popularity of Tolkien's work in the current era serves to contradict this theory. Sung Ho Kim. "Max Weber." *Stanford University*. Stanford University, 24 Aug. 2007. Web. 06 Feb. 2014.

⁴ William Bernard Ready, *The Tolkien Relation; a Personal Inquiry* (Chicago: Regnery, 1968), 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 7, 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

presented opportunities for a relatively poor boy to achieve academic success. This is notable because Edwardian England was still a predominantly class structured society.¹⁰ William Ready argues that it proved “wise to send Tolkien to King Edward’s,” for it led him to Exeter College, Oxford, on a scholarship, from which he graduated in 1915.¹¹ He was twenty-three and rushed to marry his love, Edith Bratt, despite her family’s disapproval, for “like all of his generation of Englishmen, young lions under the donkey,” he was soon to be sent off to war.¹² Tolkien served as an infantry soldier in the Lancashire Fusiliers in France, until the German surrender of 1918.¹³

Tolkien returned from service in 1918 and received another scholarship to Oxford in 1919.¹⁴ It was during this time that he worked as an assistant for the Oxford English Dictionary.¹⁵ William Ready outlines that “Tolkien flowered in the Oxford days. To a man such as he, with the sorrow of his childhood [*sic*], life there, even wedded and with a family, was good.”¹⁶ In 1921 Tolkien started his teaching career; he became a reader of the English language at Leeds University and was the youngest professor there.¹⁷ In 1925 he returned to Oxford, this time to Pembroke College as professor of Anglo-Saxon language.¹⁸ Tolkien was a gifted teacher and his lectures became exceedingly popular, beyond the normal bounds for a scholar of

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 18.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 19.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Philology. One student recalls a lecture on Beowulf that Tolkien gave in 1936, saying

He came in lightly and gracefully, I always remember that, his gown flowing, his hair shining, and he read Beowulf aloud. We did not know the language he was reading, yet the sound of Tolkien made sense of the unknown tongue and the terrors and dangers that he recounted - how I do not know - made our hair stand on end. He read like no one else I have ever heard.¹⁹

In these later Oxford years Tolkien grew close to a group of colleagues and fellow authors. The group consisted of Neville Cog Hill, Hugo Dyson, C.S. Lewis and a number of other notable authors, all of whom were young bright scholars, and wrote works to their own merit.²⁰ The group dubbed themselves the Inklings and would meet on Thursdays at the local pub, The Eagle and Child, to discuss their latest works.²¹ It was to this group that Tolkien first read *The Lord of the Rings*, or as they called it at the time, the “*New Hobbit*,” in reference to the book Tolkien had written for his children and published in 1938.²² C.S. Lewis later recalled of 1946, “at most meetings during that year we had a chapter from Tolkien’s *New Hobbit* as we called it then - the great work later published as *The Lord of the Rings*.”²³

It is clear that Tolkien had a strong influence on his close friend Lewis, being responsible for his conversion to Christianity

¹⁹ Ibid., 21.

²⁰ John P Bowen, *The Spirituality of Narnia: The Deeper Magic of C.S. Lewis* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2007), 28.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ready, *The Tolkien Relation; a Personal Inquiry*, 23.

²³ Ibid., 28.

in 1929.²⁴ The relationship was not symbiotic; as Lewis put it, “no one ever influenced Tolkien, you might as well try to influence a Bandersnatch.”²⁵ Tolkien and Lewis’s approaches also differed: while Lewis set out to write a clear extended metaphor for his religious beliefs in the form of *The Chronicles of Narnia*, Tolkien resented allegory. While Tolkien did call *The Lord of the Rings* “a fundamentally religious and Catholic work,” he never set out to create a Christian fiction; he instead, although never using the term himself, set out to create a “mythology for England.”²⁶

Tolkien believed that there is one thing shared by all mankind: myth. He believed that myth was “the tripping and polishing into the memory of the race their memorable past and people.”²⁷ More than that, “myth is physically imbued from the earth and air of a folk,” making it especially important for long-rooted peoples such as the British.²⁸ When asked about the extended law of Middle-Earth, Tolkien said his goal had been to create

A body of more or less connected legend, ranging from the large and cosmogonic, to the level of the romantic fairy-story - the larger founded on the lesser in contact with the Earth, the lesser drawing splendour from the vast backcloths- which I would dedicate simply to: to England; to my country... I would draw some of the great tales in

²⁴ Bowen, *The Spirituality of Narnia: The Deeper Magic of C.S. Lewis*, 29.

²⁵ Ready, *The Tolkien Relation; a Personal Inquiry*, 28; A Bandersnatch being a fictional creature, infamous for its stubborn temperament, in Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*.

²⁶ Michael Drout, “A Mythology for Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 229.

²⁷ Ready, *The Tolkien Relation; a Personal Inquiry*, 46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

fullness, and leave many only place in the scheme,
and sketched. The cycles should be linked to a
majestic whole, and yet leave scope for other
minds and hands, wilding pain and music and
drama.²⁹

To achieve his goal of creating a modern mythology for England, Tolkien turned first to Norse mythology for inspiration. To Tolkien, the strength of Norse mythology was so “potent that while the other southern imagination had faded for ever into literary ornament, the northern had power, as it were, to revive its spirit even in our times.”³⁰ Tolkien was, however, still a devoutly religious man and committed to creating a world with a single benevolent God. He was also aware that “most mythology was distasteful to people.”³¹ For example, the Norse fertility God, Fyord, lies with his own sister in order to father Freyja and Freyr.³² Tolkien, a man born in Victorian times, would not have been comfortable with creating a world where incest plays a part in the creation myth. Hence he infused his own Christian beliefs to create a monotheistic world, with a pantheon of angels, whom he loosely based on the Norse deities.

Tolkien dubbed his one God Iluvatar, also known as Eru.³³ His pantheon of angels, the Ainur, were split into two subgroups: the higher angels known as the Valar and the lower

²⁹ Drout, "A Mythology for Anglo-Saxon England," in *Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader*, 229.

³⁰ Stefan Arvidsson, "Greed and the Nature of Evil," *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, (2010): 1-16, accessed March 15.

³¹ Marjorie Burns, "Norse and Christian Gods: The Integrative Theology of J.R.R Tolkien," in *Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 163.

³² *Ibid.*, 166.

³³ *Ibid.*

angels known as the Maiar.³⁴ The Valar consist of eight male and eight female Arch-Angels of equal power (for the most part). As in the Bible, “in the beginning there was the Word... and the Word was God,” in the *Silmarillion*, Eru “spoke to them [the Ainur], propounding to them themes of music; and they sang before him, and he was glad.”³⁵ At first each Ainur sang alone, but Eru later led them in a chorus and together they sang all of existence into being.³⁶

This emphasis on the language of creation is fitting for Tolkien as a philologist. Jared Lobell outlines how Tolkien believed that there was some magic inherent in language. This theme continues throughout Tolkien’s works: the gates of Moria are opened by a magic word, the enemies of Mordor will not utter the language of that realm, a strong rebuke follows a lighthearted hobbit reference to Frodo as ‘The Lord of the Rings’, and the deepest evil of all is nameless and Gandalf will not speak of it when he “returned thence.”³⁷

To Tolkien, the purpose of language was twofold. The creation of language defined human nature and separated man from beast, while languages served as the chief distinguishing mark of a people.³⁸ Tolkien also believed that the mythology of a people came directly out of their language, hence “*The Lord of the Rings* as we perceive it is an English world, indeed a

³⁴ David Day, *Tolkien: A Dictionary* (San Diego, California: Thunder Bay Press, 2013), 11.

³⁵ J.R.R. Tolkien, and Christopher Tolkien. *The Silmarillion*. (London: HarperCollins, 1999), 3; Note here the power of words to create, not similarly to describe or narrate.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Jared Lobdell, *The World of the Rings: Language, Religion, and Adventure in Tolkien* (Chicago: Open Court, 2004), 40.

³⁸ Ibid., 39; A man before his time, such sentiments would be echoed later by post-modernists as described in Hayden White, “The Value of Narrativity,” in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, 1-25.

medieval English world.”³⁹ This creates a seeming paradox, as Tolkien also makes it clear in his works that a great deed could exist outside the purpose of history; this is most clearly shown when Gandalf duels the Balrog.

There was none to see, yet perhaps in after ages
songs will be sung of the battle on the peak... I
threw down my enemy, and he fell flung on the
high place and broke the mountain-side... then
darkness took me, and I stayed out of thought and
time, and I wandered far on paths that I will not
tell.⁴⁰

“Out of time” implies a departure from the perceived world. For Tolkien, great deeds exist, whether they happened in this physical life or not. So in some sense, Gandalf’s battle on the peak actually occurred, for it exists within Tolkien’s mythology for England. As Tolkien would have us believe, mythology is the incarnation within language of the history of a people.

The world that the Ainur sang into being was structured on a hierarchical model, which Tolkien based on the Christian Great Chain of Being. A creature’s place on the chain is determined by who created them, when they were created, and their level of spiritual excellence. Eru and the Ainur are, of course, highest on the chain.⁴¹ In Middle-earth the wizards, are “nearest to essence.”⁴² They are Maiar and hence angels incarnate; their purpose is to be the stewards of the land and

³⁹ Ibid., 31.

⁴⁰ Michaela Baltasar, “J.R.R. Tolkien: A Rediscovery of Myth,” in *Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 26.

⁴¹ Day, *Tolkien: A Dictionary*, 11.

⁴² Neil David Isaacs, and Rose A. Zimbardo, *Tolkien and the Critics: Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 101.

ensure that all are following the path of spiritual excellence (their success in this endeavour is debatable).⁴³ Next in the chain come the races of elves and men, for they were created by Eru himself.⁴⁴ Men are Eru's favourite for he gave them the "gift of mortality," and therefore sit higher on the chain than elves, but they also more easily succumb to greed than their immortal companions and thus fall from their "heroic identity."⁴⁵ Next on the Great Chain are the hobbits; they are a subgroup of men who lack man's impetus, but excel in love and humbleness.⁴⁶ Existing at the foot of the Chain are the dwarves, ents, and dragons, each created by a various Valar.⁴⁷ They are easily distracted by their individual goals, and hence it is hard for them to achieve spiritual excellence or to participate in countering the evil that infiltrates the world. For each creature on the chain exists a perverse counterpart. The orcs are a mockery of the elves and trolls are a mockery of the ents. For men, it is the Ring-wraiths, whose lust for power has deprived them of all that once made them human. Gollum, also known as Smeagol, is a corrupted hobbit and serves as a character foil to Sam, perhaps the purest non-angelic character.

To understand the dark forces and their place in Middle-earth, we must first examine the figure of Melkor, a male Valar.⁴⁸ Created first by Eru, he was the most powerful among his peers.⁴⁹ Melkor grew dissatisfied with his place in the hierarchy, "from splendour he fell through arrogance to contempt for all

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 104.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Day, *Tolkien: A Dictionary*, 120.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 50.

⁴⁸ Burns, "Norse and Christian Gods: The Integrative Theology of J.R.R. Tolkien," in *Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader*, 168.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

things save himself, a spirit wasteful and pitiless.”⁵⁰ When the Valar sung the world into being, he sang his own song, disrupting their creation and bringing unbalance into the world.⁵¹ Melkor descended into the created world and took on the name Morgoth; he was the first Dark Lord and in the First Age of Middle-Earth he committed many atrocities. Most notably, he created orcs and trolls and corrupted many of the Maiar, including Sauron and the Balrogs.⁵²

Morgoth exists as an obvious parallel to Lucifer, the fallen angel in Abrahamic doctrine. At first glance, evil in Tolkien's world seems to take on a Manichaeism model. The Manichaeism model, named after the ancient Persian philosopher Mani (216-276 C.E.), is the view that good and evil are two equal and opposite forces, in eternal struggle while simultaneously in constant balance.⁵³ However, upon further scrutiny it becomes clear that Tolkien's views on evil are more in line with those of Saint Augustine of Hippo (354-430 C.E.).⁵⁴ Nothing in Tolkien's universe is created evil; any evil that exists is merely a perversion of something good. St. Augustine and Tolkien believed that good is necessary for evil to exist, but evil is not necessary for the existence of good. In the words of St. Augustine,

Where ever you see measure, number, and order,
you cannot hesitate to attribute all those to God,
their maker. When you remove measure, number,
and order, nothing at all remains... thus if all good

⁵⁰ Tolkien, and Tolkien. *The Silmarillion*, 12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵² Isaacs, and Zimbardo, *Tolkien and the Critics: Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings*, 104.

⁵³ Scott Davison, "Tolkien and the Nature of Evil," in *The Lord of The Rings and Philosophy*, Vol. 5 (Chicago, Illinois: Open Court, 2003), 100.

⁵⁴ Baltasar, "J.R.R Tolkien: A Rediscovery of Myth," in *Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader*, 24.

is completely removed, no vestige of reality persists; indeed, nothing remains. Every good is from God.⁵⁵

In Tolkien's world, those who stray from their rightful place in the Great Chain of Being are the exemplification of evil. The most common cause of this departure is pride and a desire for power.

Tolkien's view of evil appears to be in juxtaposition with that of nineteenth century German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. To Tolkien, desire for power beyond one's rightful place is the root of all evil; to Nietzsche, a "will to power" is the only moral compass one has:

What is good? - all that heightens the feeling of power, the will to power, power itself in man.
What is bad? - all that proceeds from weakness.
What is happiness? - the feeling that power increases- that a resistance is overcome.⁵⁶

To Nietzsche, "we invented the concept of purpose... in reality purpose is lacking."⁵⁷ This exists in stark contrast to Tolkien's world, where each legitimate race has a place in the hierarchy.

Nietzsche and Tolkien, despite having very different starting philosophies, arrive at very similar conclusions. For Tolkien, myth is truth, for myth embodies the language of a people. For Nietzsche, art is truth, or at the very least art serves

⁵⁵ Davison, "Tolkien and the Nature of Evil," in *The Lord of The Rings and Philosophy*, 102.

⁵⁶ Blount Douglas, "Uberhobbits: Tolkien, Nietzsche, and the Will to Power," in *The Lord of The Rings and Philosophy*, 87-98. Vol. 5 (Chicago, Illinois: Open Court, 2003), 87.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 90.

in place of truth as a “kind of cult of the untrue.”⁵⁸ Nietzsche argues that because there is no inherent, divinely ordained truth, “beauty will be our salvation.”⁵⁹ In this way, a secular fan of Tolkien’s work can rationalize seeking moral guidance from his created mythology because at its core, it is a beautiful piece of art; “through art we are given eye and hand and above all good conscience, to enable us to make of ourselves such a phenomenon.”⁶⁰ It is via the making of moral decisions that the characters within the mythology find this guidance. While divine authority is never invoked in *The Lord Of The Rings*, moral decisions are consciously made.

Good is not dependent on evil for existence in Middle-earth, yet it is through the struggle with evil that the good becomes most apparent. Due to “the gift of mortality,” men have a sense of urgency that is not present in elves or dwarves, makes them the key figures in the fight against evil while instilling in them a “heroic quality.”⁶¹ It is important to note here that there is no original sin in Tolkien’s world, men are not born sinners and are instead prone to the corruption of power. According to the argument of the aforementioned Jared Lobdell, Middle-earth is “a Christian world in pre-Christian times.”⁶² Throughout the entirety of *The Lord of the Rings* there are only fleeting mentions of the Valar and only one reference to Illuvatar; this choice on the part of the author has theological roots. The ancient people of Middle-earth exist in a time before a prophet, before even the fall of man. There are no religions in the Middle-earth, except perhaps the natural religion of the elves in their reverence of the

⁵⁸ Ibid., 92.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 94.

⁶¹ Isaacs and Zimbardo, *Tolkien and the Critics: Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings*, 104.

⁶² Lobdell, *The World of the Rings: Language, Religion, and Adventure in Tolkien*, 50.

Valar. Adam has not yet bitten the apple, and hence man is in a constant struggle against temptation.

The One Ring, for which *The Lord of The Rings* is named, is the ultimate metaphor for this temptation. When Sauron, servant of Morgoth, created the One Ring he “poured into it his cruelty, his malice and his will to dominate all life.”⁶³ The One Ring grants its bearer ultimate power, distorting the Great Chain of Being. It is no coincidence that two of the Ring’s most notable powers are to turn its bearer invisible and to grant extraordinarily long life.⁶⁴ The Ring’s power is the power to separate its bearer from the community of spiritual excellence. By putting on the Ring, the bearer becomes invisible and is separated from this community. The more often he uses the power, the more the power wears away at his substance. As has already been illustrated, time in Tolkien’s mythology is relative. By making its bearer immortal, the Ring makes its bearer invisible to the passing of the ages.

It is ironic that Eru’s gift to man is the very thing that causes the strongest temptation toward unordered power, in the form of immortality. Arwen, the elven Princess who marries the human King Aragorn, summarizes this irony beautifully at his death bed, saying

I must indeed abide the doom of men whether I
will or nill: the loss and the silence. But I say to
you, king of the Numenoreans, not till now have I
understood the tale of your people and their fall.
As wicked fools I scorned them, but I pity them at

⁶³ J. R. R. Tolkien and Alan Lee, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: HarperCollins, 1996), 104.

⁶⁴ Isaacs, and Zimbardo, *Tolkien and the Critics: Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings*, 106.

last. For if this is indeed, as the elves say, the gift of The One to men, it is bitter to receive.⁶⁵

Here we find the only mention of Illuvatar in the entire trilogy and it comes in the appendix of the book. This suggests that Tolkien was well aware of the implications of “the gift of mortality” for the spiritual excellence of man and their constant struggle to maintain it.⁶⁶ The author saved the invocation of The One for the most heart-wrenching aspect of his mythology: the passing of a loved one to a place where they cannot be followed.

It is due to their easily corruptible nature that men, despite being the “heroic race,” are not the heroes of *The Lord of the Rings*. There are two other mortal races eligible for the position. An immortal race, like the elves, cannot have a heroic nature, for their immortality grants them a deep connection to the passing of the ages and makes them relatively passive in matters of urgency.⁶⁷ Aule, the smith of the Valar, created one of the remaining mortal races, the dwarves.⁶⁸ Dwarves, like their creator, are deeply connected to the earth and all the precious stones within it; this connection results in a similar passivity to that of the immortal races. Dwarves are also more easily corrupted than elves, due to their desire for wealth.

This leaves us with the hobbits, arguably the simplest of the races. The hobbits remind one of a stereotypical English country bumpkin, which makes them fitting candidates for the

⁶⁵ Anna Mathie, "Tolkien and the Gift of Mortality." *First Things*, (2003): 10, accessed March 15, 2015

⁶⁶ Catherine Madsen, "Light from an Invisible Lamp": Natural Religion in *The Lord of the Rings*," in *Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 38.

⁶⁷ Day, *Tolkien: A Dictionary*, 75.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 59; While it is true that Tolkien based the Dwarven language on Hebrew, it would be inaccurate to view the Dwarfs as an extended metaphor for the Hebrew people.

heroes of Tolkien's "mythology for England." Of hobbits, Tolkien once wrote

I am in fact a hobbit, in all but size. I like gardens, trees, and unmechanized farmlands; I smoke a pipe, and like good plain food, but detest French cooking; I like, and even dare to wear in these dull days, ornamental waistcoats. I am fond of mushrooms; have a simple sense of humour; I go to bed late and get up later. I do not travel much.⁶⁹

However, it is their very simplicity that makes the hobbits so pivotal, for they are almost impossible to corrupt.

Rose Zimbardo outlines how the hobbits' strength is their capacity for love.⁷⁰ Sam is moved to deeds of heroic excellence out of his love for Frodo. Sam also proves immune to the corruption of the Ring for he is at heart a mere gardener and what need does a gardener have of immortality; it is the renewal of life that Samwise values. Merry and Pippin are transformed by their love for the Lords they serve. Merry sees his finest hour while aiding Eowyn, the Rohirrim Princess, in her fight against the Witch King of Angmar; Pippin in his defence of the ever misunderstood Lord Faramir from the lunacy of his father who was corrupted by his desire for the throne of Gondor.⁷¹ It is no coincidence that Eowyn and Faramir fall in love, a love that would not have been possible if they had not first learned it from their hobbit lieges.

Above all others is Bilbo and his capacity for pity. If Bilbo had not spared Smeagol's life, the destruction of the One

⁶⁹ Baltasar, "J.R.R. Tolkien: A Rediscovery of Myth," in *Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader*, 25

⁷⁰ Isaacs and Zimbardo, *Tolkien and the Critics: Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings*, 102.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Ring would not have been possible. When Frodo states that it was a “pity that Bilbo didn't kill Gollum when he had the chance,” Gandalf retorts,

Pity? It was pity that stayed Bilbo's hand. Many that live deserve death. Some that die deserve life. Can you give it to them, Frodo? Do not be too eager to deal out death in judgment. Even the very wise cannot see all ends. My heart tells me that Gollum has some part to play yet, for good or ill before this is over. The pity of Bilbo may rule the fate of many.⁷²

In his darkest hour, when Frodo reached Mount Doom and was finally able to destroy the ring, he was consumed by it and fell to its corrupting power. Had it not been for the pity of Bilbo fifty years earlier in the pits of a goblin cave, Smeagol would not have been alive to seize the ring from Frodo. In their literal struggle for power, Smeagol trips and falls into the heart of the mountain, destroying the Ring, and the power of Sauron forever.⁷³

The overarching moral message throughout all of Tolkien's works is the strength of love over the corruption of power. While Tolkien used a predominantly Christian model to create his “mythology for England,” the fact that his world exists in a pre-fallen era and that he allows for the making of moral decisions without divine intervention allows for secular and religious alike to find guidance in his work. “Tolkien borrows Christian magic, not Christian doctrine,”⁷⁴ and this Magic can serve to enchant a secular world. Tolkien’s own version of the golden rule, “one should treat others as one would like others to

⁷² Tolkien and Lee, *The Lord of the Rings*, 59.

⁷³ Douglas, “*Uberhobbits: Tolkien, Nietzsche, and the Will to Power*,” in *The Lord of The Rings and Philosophy*, 97.

⁷⁴ Madsen, “Light from an Invisible Lamp,” 37.

treat oneself” is illustrated beautifully in the conclusion to *The Hobbit*, “there is more in you of good than you know, child of the kindly west. Some courage and some wisdom, blended in measure. If more of us valued food and cheer and song over hoarded gold, it would be a merrier world.”⁷⁵ These indeed, are words to live by.

⁷⁵ J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit*. (London: HarperCollins, 2012).

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