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SUBMISSIONS

The GHR offers an exciting publishing opportunity for graduate students working on all fields and periods of history. We welcome original and innovative submissions from emerging scholars in history and related disciplines across the world.

PUBLISHING

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COVER IMAGE

The cover of this issue of *The Graduate History Review* is a 1939 photograph of Betty Broadbent, a tattooed circus performer in early twentieth-century America. The photograph, titled "Tattooed Lady and Sailor," captures Broadbent onstage in John Hix's "Strange As It Seems" exhibit at the 1939 World's Fair in New York, raising her dress to reveal the extent of her tattooed skin. Beginning on page 41 of this issue, Christina Fabiani examines how Broadbent stood apart from the subculture of tattooed circus performers and blurred the boundaries between deviance and normalcy in ways unique from her contemporaries. This image was made available through The New York Public Library Digital Collections. Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. "Amusements - Midway Activities - Tattooed lady and sailor" New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed 18 August 2017. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e8-f5d9-d471-e040-e00a180654d7

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President's Message

It is a pleasure to introduce the 2017/18 issue of the *Graduate History Review.*

Published by history graduate students at the University of Victoria, the *Graduate History Review* features some of our finest graduate researchers as well as emerging scholars from across Canada. UVic is committed to providing all students with an enriched and engaged learning experience that empowers them to explore and create knowledge alongside their peers and mentors.

This year's articles explore French fairytales from the seventeenth-century, introduce us to early twentieth-century tattooed circus performers and take us from Toronto during World War I to American philanthropic intervention in Mexican agriculture. The result is a peer-reviewed, open-access scholarly journal that features the work of students who are directly engaged in research-inspired learning. This collection of essays encourages critical thinking, stir our imaginations, and explore diverse perspectives.

The *Graduate History Review* also highlights the collaboration between history graduate students and faculty members from UVic, the University of Alberta, Concordia University, McGill University, and Yale University who have worked together to bring the publication to completion.

Congratulations on the continued success of the *Graduate History Review.* Thank you to the dedicated graduate students, faculty advisers and mentors who have created this incredible collection of historical essays, which are a wonderful example of the dynamic scholarship we cultivate at UVic.

Sincerely,

Professor Jamie Cassels, QC
President and Vice-Chancellor

Chair's Message

This issue of the Graduate History Review comes off the press just as the UVic History Department is responding to an independent external review of our Department. The assessors ranked our "undergraduate, graduate and faculty research…[as] among the leading history departments in the country." They remarked on the high quality of both our graduate program and our graduate students and observed that the Graduate History Student Union is a "a sign of a vibrant and collegial Department." There is no better barometer of the health of the Department than this journal.

The Graduate History Review is the best example I know of the magic that can happen in a department where strong students produce top-notch writing and research. It is the result of the academic generosity of an editorial team who have put *experience* into the phrase "experiential learning" and a sign that together, faculty, staff and students have built a rich learning community that extends beyond the classroom.

The essays in this year's volume highlight the diversity that both characterizes our department and makes it a welcoming home for scholars with widely ranging interests in topic, method and time period. They are a gift of learning to all of us from the authors and editorial team and for that, I want to extend my heartfelt thanks and congratulations!

John Lutz, professor and chair
Department of History
University of Victoria

Editor's Introduction

I am delighted to present the sixth edition of *The Graduate History Review*, a peer-reviewed, open access journal based at the University of Victoria.

Every year, *The GHR* receives submissions in all fields and periods of history from emerging scholars across North America. This year, we witnessed many signs of growth for our journal, as we welcomed more reviewers and submissions from across Canada, the United States, and all the way from Europe. With every issue, *The GHR* continues to engage with more talented and hard-working people and with increasingly diverse areas of study.

This year we are excited to publish outstanding work from four talented scholars: Chelsea V. Barranger from McMaster University, Christina Fabiani from the University of Victoria, Nicole M. Georges from the Balsillie School of International Affairs and McGill University, and Meghan Kort from the University of Victoria. These authors provide fresh insight into exciting topics ranging from civic disunity, deviant bodies, femininity and girlhood, and private philanthropy. Their articles are illuminating and captivating, and we are proud to showcase them in this journal.

I am deeply grateful to the team of students and faculty who have helped get this issue to print. This year, our reviewers, advisors, and editors came from the University of Victoria, the University of Alberta, Concordia University, McGill University, and Yale University. I relied on the invaluable expertise, hard work, and patience of these volunteers at every step of the publication process. I owe special thanks to Dr. Penny Bryden, the Editorial Advisory Committee, and our team of copy editors for their insight, attention to detail, and guidance. I am also sincerely grateful to Alexie Glover, who worked tirelessly in many roles throughout the year. Finally, I am greatly indebted to Kaitlin Findlay, my Assistant Editor, for her constant dedication and support. It has been an honour to work with such an outstanding publication team. This journal is the product of their hard work, and I simply cannot thank them enough.

I am looking forward to seeing *The GHR* grow even more over the next few years, as it continues to celebrate the work of authors, reviewers, and editors alike. I wish all the best to our new Editor-in-Chief, Alexie Glover. She is a force to be reckoned with and I have no doubt she will lead this journal to new and exciting places.

Sincerely,

Deborah Deacon
Editor-in-Chief
The Graduate History Review

Shifting Attitudes: Torontonians and Their Response to the Great War

CHELSEA V. BARRANGER

Abstract: There exists little historical scholarship on Toronto during the First World War, or the impact of the war on its citizens. An examination of various tensions and oppositional activities in Toronto during the war complicates current interpretations of a 'united front' in the city. While the City of Toronto was 'united' in the sense that the majority of Torontonians supported the war effort in theory, between 1914 and 1918 there were serious debates and disagreements along various dividing lines regarding what support for the war constituted and required. The focus on homogeneity within the literature has resulted in a lack of analysis of the marginalized groups within the city, as well as the divides that existed within the British-Protestant community itself. The story of Toronto during the war is one of perceived unity, but in reality the city was rife with extensive divisions along national, ethnic, gendered, and religious lines. Far from uniting the city, the war brought forth long held tensions and xenophobia to the surface, resulting in violence in the streets of Toronto.

From September to December 1914, Toronto's daily newspapers criticized the University of Toronto for refusing to fire three German-born professors teaching at the institution.[1] As educators of a future generation of Canadians, the German ethnicity of these professors concerned many Torontonians, who demanded their resignation. Considering the increasingly widespread hostility to Germans residing in Canada at the time, the editors of the Toronto dailies assumed that the German professors would be fired, and the issue dealt with quickly. This was not to be the case. The standoff between the University of

[1] Dailies refer to the main Toronto daily newspapers: *The Evening Telegram, The Toronto Daily Star, The Globe* and *The World*. These four newspapers had high circulations and readership within the city. According to Ian Miller, reading a newspaper was "part of the daily routine." Ian Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press 2002), 9-10.

Toronto and several daily newspapers was only one of many altercations in the city during the First World War. This paper will examine a number of instances of disagreement and debate throughout 1914-1918, including but not restricted to prohibition, 'enemy aliens,' and the riots of August 1918. Despite the numerous contentious incidents in the city during the war, the Toronto home front remains understudied. Toronto is often only mentioned as a side note in other scholarship with severely limited analysis of the impact of the war on its citizens.[2] A lack of scholarship has led to the simplistic depiction of Toronto as 'united' in its support for the war effort. This perception is inaccurate, as during the war divisions were prevalent in Toronto along several different levels.

Organizations such as the Canadian government, churches, and newspapers created the perception that Canadians of a British-Protestant background were at war with anyone who challenged their loyalty to Britain – at first, Canadians of an 'enemy alien' background, and later anyone who challenged their established framework of national, ethnic, gendered, and religious belonging.[3] These groupings were social constructions that reinforced power structures and hierarchies within Toronto by emphasizing perceived differences.[4]

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[2] Eric Jarvis and Melvin Baker, "Clio in Hogtown: A Brief Bibliography," *Ontario History* 76, no. 3 (1984): 290. Jarvis and Baker mention how very few studies exist on the city during the war. In writing his book on Toronto during the First World War, Miller also noted few works on the city in this period exist. Ian Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 9.

[3] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 2, 14-7; Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 20. 'Enemy aliens' refers to those who were born in lands at war with Canada – specifically subjects of German or Austro-Hungarian birth. Bohdan S. Kordan, *No Free Man: Canada, the Great War and the Enemy Alien Experience* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 6-7, 22-3. *The War Measures Act* gave the Canadian government the power to arrest, detain and deport 'enemy aliens' whom they believed posed a threat to "the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada." Statutes of Canada, *The War Measures Act*, *1914* (Ottawa: J. de L. Tache, 1914 George V, Chapter 2), 6-7. Further, the definition of who qualified as an 'enemy alien' changed over the course of the conflict to include Ottomans, Russians, and anyone "perceived to have shifted their loyalty." Brock Millman, *Polarity, Patriotism, and Dissent in Great War Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 9.

[4] Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups,* 17. While acknowledging these groupings were social constructions, for the purpose of this paper I will use these groupings because people at the time perceived these differences to be real. These groupings thus provide a useful tool for examining the 'us versus them' mentality that existed within the city.

These constructed divisions often resulted in prejudicial treatment and violence against anyone deemed different, or belonging to a social 'other.'[5] The focus on homogeneity within the literature has resulted in a lack of analysis of the marginalized groups within the city, as well as the divides that existed within the British-Protestant community itself. The story of Toronto during the war is one of perceived unity, but in reality the city was rife with extensive divisions along national, ethnic, gendered, and religious lines.

In *Hometown Horizons: Local Reponses to Canada's Great War*, Robert Rutherdale argues that examining how home front populations responded to the war can help historians to better understand how relationships of gender, class, and nationality shifted over the course of the conflict.[6] Despite this, historians have focussed on the military and combat history of the war at the expense of examining the experiences of civilians on the home front. While numerous historians have pointed out the need for more research on the Canadian home front, the scholarship is still developing.[7] In his 2016 work *Polarity, Patriotism, and Dissent in Great War Canada*, Brock Millman argues that while some studies have begun to analyze aspects of the home front, they are often specific and do not connect to "the greater Canadian reality" in terms of pre and post-war Canada.[8] Current scholarship on the home front fails to adequately analyze Canadian support for the war, especially regarding discussions of loyalty. Canadian historians have argued that ancestral and emotional ties explain what they perceive as unified support within Ontario for Britain and the war.[9] Historians have argued that enthusiasm for the

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[5] Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups,* 16; Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 178-9.

[6] Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), xii, xv, xviii. In his analysis of three cities (Lethbridge, Alberta, Guelph, Ontario, and Trois-Rivières, Quebec) Rutherdale argues that civilians were forced to develop new interpretations of the war and relationships amongst each other as they faced wartime realities.

[7] Tim Cook, "Wet Canteens and Worrying Mothers: Alcohol, Soldiers and Temperance Groups in the Great War," *Social History* 35, no. 70 (November 2002): 312; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 9; Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons,* xii, xv; Jeffrey Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), x, xii; Millman, *Polarity, Patriotism, and Dissent*, 2-3.

[8] Millman, *Polarity, Patriotism, and Dissent*, 2.

[9] Barbara M. Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War, 1914-1918* (Toronto: Champlain Society for the Government of Ontario, 1977), ix; Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *'Marching to Armageddon': Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989), 27; Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle:*

war was linked to the population's high proportion of Canadians of British descent, especially in Toronto, where Ian Miller calculates that roughly 85% of the population in the period had a British background.[10] Historians have used this fact to justify the argument that Ontarians were predominately in support of the war, with minimal dissent. However, Brian Douglas Tennyson argues that careful analysis of support for the war in Canada, especially at the war's outbreak, has yet to be completed, leaving unanswered questions about how 'pro-war' the country really was.[11] Tennyson points to Adrian Gregory's work which indicates that, in the British context, enthusiasm for the war was weaker than traditionally discussed. Without similar research on the Canadian context, Tennyson believes a study on war support in Canada is needed.[12] Further, Adam Crerar argues the perception of widespread belief among Ontarians that the war was 'just' has created the false impression that Ontarians were homogenous in their support for the war.[13]

Ian Miller attempts to address this gap in the literature by examining the civilian experiences of Torontonians and their continued support of the war effort. While Miller acknowledges divides of gender, class, and race existed within the city, he concludes "that the conflict proved to be a remarkably unifying force."[14] However, Miller admits that there were limits to this 'unity,' as it also created other social divisions in Canadian society. For instance, he argues that British Canadians were "drawn together by the stresses of total war" and "took deliberate action to marginalize others."[15] The 'unification' Miller discusses demonstrates how strong perceived differences were within the city, as British Canadians were 'united' by their

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The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 19.

[10] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 8; Brian Douglas Tennyson, *Canada's Great War, 1914-1918: How Canada Helped Save the British Empire and Became a North American Nation* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 6; Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 9.

[11] Tennyson, *Canada's Great War, 1914-1918*, 9.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Adam Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, ed. David MacKenzie (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005), 233.

[14] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 200.

[15] Ibid., 182.

marginalization of other groups. Nowhere is this more apparent than in one's understanding of loyalty and 'correct' war support.

Pressure to demonstrate loyalty to the Canadian state and to Great Britain divided public opinion in Toronto as much as it fostered unity among segments of the population. Canadians, as British subjects, owed their allegiance to the British Crown and were expected to stand to defend the British Empire and its principles. In the case of the war, Britain's constitutional monarchy was presented as embodying "freedom, justice and the independence of the people," while Germany was depicted as representing autocracy and militarism.[16] This was most apparent in Canada's treatment of 'enemy aliens' during the war.[17] Bohdan S. Kordan argues that the term 'enemy alien' is profoundly important, as it established an official framework of 'friend versus foe' within Canadian society.[18] As a result of this framework, many British Canadians distrusted 'enemy aliens.' Even when these marginalized groups attempted to demonstrate their loyalty to Canada and Britain, their actions were often treated with scepticism.[19] Cities with large concentrations of British-Protestants, such as Toronto, also experienced elevated levels of racism during the war, as fears of foreign invasion and infiltration caused many British Canadians to blur distinctions between 'enemy aliens' and 'friendly aliens.'[20] As a result, anyone in the city deemed 'foreign' came under suspicion and attack.

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[16] Kordan, *No Free Man*, 24, 35; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 30-1. Canada at this time did not possess its own legal citizenship status. Canadians were British subjects – either natural born British subjects or immigrants who came to Canada and applied/attained naturalization as British subjects. Statutes of Canada, *An Act Respecting British Nationality, Naturalization and Aliens*, *1914* (Ottawa: SC 4-5 George V, Chapter 44), 289-92. Like Britain, Germany was also a constitutional monarchy, however, the emperor had enormous powers and could and often did ignore the Parliament. British monarchs at the time did not have the same kind of powers.

[17] According to Kordan, some 8,579 'enemy aliens' were interned in Canada during the war. Kordan, *No Free Man*, 7.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., 22-3.

[20] Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 121. See also George Buri, "'Enemies within our Gates': Brandon's Alien Detention Centre During the Great War," *Manitoba History* no. 56 (October 2007): 9-10. 'Friendly aliens' refers to individuals born outside of Canada of a minority status within the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires – including Czechs, Greeks, Italians, Poles, Ukrainians, etc. and as such likely opposed to their imperial rule. According to Kordan, the Allies hoped to "cultivate" support from these individuals. Kordan, *No Free Man,* 133.

These divisions were made most apparent on the pages of Toronto's newspapers.

Although they are imperfect sources, this article will rely heavily on newspapers, specifically the main Toronto daily newspapers: *The Evening Telegram, The Toronto Daily Star, The Globe* and *The World*.[21] These papers were highly competitive and reflected a range of political leanings, from the conservative *Telegram* and *World* to the liberal *Star* and *Globe*.[22] Newspapers provide a limited view into the 'public mood,' as it is impossible to know how any given paper was received by its readers. Nonetheless, newspapers and other print media provide an excellent glimpse into what material was available to the public at the time, and the ways in which an historical episode was presented: from the language used to describe an event, to the frequency of coverage. Newspapers of the period were also widely read and provided a forum for citizens to respond to events through letters to the editor sections.[23] Media engagement was particularly important in the case of the German professors at the University of Toronto.

Racial tensions at the University of Toronto came to the fore when the principal of Harbord Collegiate, Edward Hagarty, began to hold student assemblies and speak out against both Germany and German citizens in 1914.[24] Paul Mueller, a German-born professor at the University of Toronto and father of three students at Harbord Collegiate, challenged Hagarty's anti-German rhetoric.[25] As a result,

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[21] Miller argues in his introduction that one of the reasons for very few works on Toronto in this period is a lack of archival sources. As a result, the best source of information on the period is the city's numerous newspapers. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 9, 208. Based on my own research, I have to concur with his findings. As such, this article relies heavily on a number of printed media sources.

[22] Keshen argues that newspapers in this period were in the process of building specific readership bases and wrote stories that would appeal to the interests of their targeted readership. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, xii, xv; In his discussion on sources, Miller argues that each Toronto newspaper had it owns personality and leanings, and were the "primary vehicle through which citizens learned about their world." Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 9, 205-8.

[23] Historians have argued that the analysis of newspapers in this period can provide insight into how citizens understood and interpreted the war, as well as how some people behaved. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 9, 208; Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons,* xiii-v.

[24] Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," 255.

[25] The case of the German professors is discussed in the exhibition and accompanying booklet *We Will Do Our Share: The University of Toronto and the Great War*, exhibition by the University of Toronto Archives, ed. P.J. Carefoote & Philip

Hagarty focused his attention on Mueller and his fellow German-born professors at the University of Toronto: Bonno Tapper and Immanuel Benzinger.[26] The Toronto dailies praised Hagarty for his patriotic stance, and increasingly scrutinized Mueller and his fellow professors. The conservative newspaper *The Evening Telegram* praised Hagarty for "instilling in the minds of his pupils a love of justice and inevitably a hatred of the tyranny and lust of power which has been demonstrated by Germany."[27] The same paper stated that Professor Mueller was "evidently a hot headed egotistical German or he would have had sense enough to keep his mouth shut."[28] The attacks against these professors were widespread; even the more liberal daily, *The Toronto Daily Star,* had harsh words for the German professors, accusing them of having "Prussian ambitions" and of placing the University of Toronto under suspicion.[29] Accusing the professors of having "Prussian ambitions" was a derogatory remark because it connected the professors to the belief that German peoples were militaristic and aggressive, as Prussia was often associated with militarism.

These attacks against the German professors represented the beginning of the process of 'othering' perceived enemies in Toronto. Professor Mueller had lived in Canada for two decades, and was no longer a German citizen, although he had not applied for naturalization.[30] Despite living in Canada for years, the editors and writers of the dailies referred to Professor Mueller exclusively as German. To them, his place of birth superseded his time in Canada, establishing him as part of the feared and disloyal 'other' – the 'enemy alien.' All three professors were accused of instilling German ideals of 'kultur' into the minds of their students. Kultur refers to German culture, specifically military culture. Its use to discuss Germany or German-born subjects was often derogatory and racist, as it promoted

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Oldfield, catalogue and exhibition by Harold Averill, Marnee Gamble and Loryl MacDonald (Toronto, 2014), 9-11. The exhibition ran from 29 January to 2 May 2014 and contained archival sources on how the University prepared for and carried out duties during the war, as well as the impact of the war on the staff, students, and University itself.

[26] Mueller was the most 'Canadian' of the three. Benzinger had only recently returned to Toronto, with great difficulty, from Germany. Carefoote & Oldfield, *We Will Do Our Share*, 9.

[27] *Evening Telegram*, 9 September 1914 (Toronto).

[28] Ibid.

[29] *Toronto Daily Star*, 8 December 1914.

[30] Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," 255; Mueller applied for naturalization and received it during this dispute. Carefoote & Oldfield, *We Will Do Our Share*, 9-11.

the construction of Canadian ideals of democracy versus German ideals of autocracy. All three professors were language instructors, and no proof ever materialized of them engaging in espionage or promoting 'kultur.'[31] After the declaration of war these professors came under attack for teaching their native language, which was part of a larger movement that made it difficult for German-born Canadians to openly embrace their German culture.[32] Hostility to perceived threats meant that accusations needed very little credibility to be considered true.

Toronto's daily newspapers were not alone in attacking the professors. A number of students and civilians began to speak out about the dangers of not only the German professors at the University of Toronto but German-born immigrants in Toronto and Canada in general. In a letter to the editor of the University of Toronto student newspaper *The Varsity* H. Eric Machell argued that Germans in Canada were spies who posed a serious risk to the country's security. Machell was convinced that the only logical conclusion was "to place a private detective over every German in the country" and that "anyone objecting to such treatment should be immediately locked up."[33] Anti-German sentiment and pro-British nationalism is very apparent in Machell's letter. To Machell all German Canadians were threats, and the only way to deal with such threats was surveillance and imprisonment.

Since Ontario was predominantly populated by Canadians with a British background it was particularly susceptible to anti-German sentiment during the war. Millman argues that Ontario was "the heartland of British Canada;" the province was a bastion of British-Protestantism, the destination of most British immigrants, and the most

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[31] Professors Mueller and Tapper taught German classes, whilst Professor Benzinger taught Oriental studies and languages. Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," 255; Carefoote & Oldfield, *We Will Do Our Share*, 9-11; Charles M. Johnston, *McMaster University, Volume 1: The Toronto Years* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 136-7.

[32] Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," 255-6; Johnston, *McMaster University, Volume 1*, 136. For a particularly stark example of the extremes to which these attacks could reach, one can look to the events of 1916 in Berlin, Ontario. The city, which contained a large number of people of Germanic ancestry, experienced a surge of anti-German sentiment, resulting in the name of the city being changed from Berlin to Kitchener. W.R. Chadwick, *The Battle for Berlin, Ontario: An Historical Drama* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1992); Patricia P. McKegney, *The Kaiser's Bust: A Study in War-Time Propaganda in Berlin, Ontario 1914-1918* (Bamberg, Ontario: Bamberg Press, 1991).

[33] University of Toronto Archives [hereafter cited as UTA], *The Varsity*, 16 October 1914.

"most important source of internal immigration" within the country.[34] As such, the attitudes of the British-Protestant population of Toronto could be representative of similar divisions and disputes surrounding social constructions of the 'other' and loyalty throughout the country. Since Britain and Germany were at war, British Canadians, especially within Toronto, viewed German-Canadian citizens in a negative light. After receiving reports of atrocities committed in Belgium by German invaders, emboldened British Canadians treated German Canadians with increasing hostility. These events resulted in Britain promoting the war against Germany as a battle of civilization versus barbarism.[35] In Canada, some British Canadians perceived that the fight was now against the German people as much as Germany itself.[36] The Canadian government, press, and British Canadian public re-imagined 'enemy aliens' as spies and potential saboteurs, and the British Canadian public became increasingly suspicious and fearful of them, as exemplified in Machell's letter in *The Varsity*.[37]

Despite the animosity towards German-born and German Canadians, President Falconer of the University of Toronto refused to fire the professors, or force his staff to resign simply because they were born in Germany.[38] Falconer released a letter to the newspaper, *The World*, in which he argued that the German professorate were experts in their fields, difficult to replace, and had "done nothing that should arouse any suspicion that they are injurious enemy aliens."[39] A student, M. J. Clarke, wrote to *The Varsity* that he agreed the University should indeed support the war effort by having students enlist, but that the

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[34] Millman, *Polarity, Patriotism, and Dissent*, 39, 246.

[35] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 20; Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War*, ix; McKegney, *The Kaiser's Bust*, 79.

[36] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 46.

[37] Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 131.

[38] In Berlin, Ontario, despite German Berliners' support for the war effort, they experienced prejudicial treatment from the British Canadian population. German Canadians responded to this treatment by suppressing demonstrations of their culture in order to appear loyal. Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," 255-6; McKegney, *The Kaiser's Bust*, 55, 63, 88.

[39] *The World*, 16 November 1914. Keshen has made the claim that President Falconer fired the three professors in order to assert the loyalty of the University to the war effort. However, this was not the case. While Falconer was pro-British (imploring students to unite behind the flag and enlist) he fought and almost lost his job in defense of these professors. He even tried to help them secure work in the United States, but to no avail. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 23; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief,* 60; Carefoote & Oldfield, *We Will Do Our Share*, 10-11; Johnston, *McMaster University, Volume 1*, 136-7.

University had a more important role to play than firing or spying on Germans.[40] Clarke concluded that while it was appropriate for students to support the war effort through drill and the darning of socks, it was "the duty" of the student and University to consider the intellectual aspects of the war as well.[41] He argued that the "race-hatred" extolled by Torontonians and in the newspapers was doing the country harm. Clarke believed that Canadians were being blinded by intolerance and fear, which could damage efforts toward a lasting peace at the war's conclusion.[42] Although both President Falconer and M.J. Clarke supported the war effort, they did not share the opinion of the Toronto dailies that all 'Germans' were evil or dangerous.

Toronto newspapers turned against the University, its faculty, and its students, for possessing more 'tolerant' views regarding the professors. In an interview with *The Evening Telegram*, President Falconer was presented with a rather severe line of leading questions including: "Do you wish to appear as the champion protecting these Germans?" and "Will you resign your position as president of Toronto University?"[43] The Toronto dailies also published harsh words against *The Varsity* for defending the professors. Throughout December 1914, the editorial section of *The Varsity* was dedicated not only to defending the honour of the University, President Falconer, and the German professors, but also to addressing misquotes and accusations slung at them by *The Evening Telegram* and *The World*. In one issue of *The Varsity* the editor went as far as to question:

> Are we to have a reign of terror in Toronto? Is each person to accuse everyone else of being pro-German, when everyone else refuses to become infected with undiscriminating, flag-waving, traitor-denouncing hysteria?[44]

This demonstrates the extent to which the conception of loyalty divided the populace of Toronto. The media rejected the idea that 'enemy aliens' could be trusted. For refusing to renounce German-born professors, the University and its students were called 'disloyal.' Anyone who attempted to defend 'enemy aliens' was also grouped as part of the 'other.'

[40] UTA, *The Varsity*, 21 October 1914.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] *Evening Telegram*, 9 December 1914 (Toronto).
[44] UTA, Toronto *The Varsity*, 4 December 1914.

This anti-German sentiment was also expressed in an article of the *Canadian Law Journal*. In "Alien Enemies in Public Positions," the author expressed hostile attitudes and responses to both Germans in Canada and at the University of Toronto. They argued that the nationality of the German professors made them untrustworthy and put the country at risk.[45] Regarding the university the author stated: "[i]t is of no importance whatever, during this war for our national existence, whether there is or is not a University at all, unless it be used as a recruiting centre."[46] The author felt so strongly that 'Germans' were the enemy that they implied the University of Toronto should be closed or turned into a recruiting centre, stating: "Canada can do without teachers for a few months."[47] Like Haggarty and Machell, the author believed 'Germans' could not be trusted, and that refusing to fire the professors made the University itself 'disloyal.' The situation finally came to an end in December 1941, when all three professors resigned from the University of Toronto due to the constant harassment of the newspapers, pressure from the Board of Governors at the university, and the possibility that Falconer would be fired for his stance.[48] While all parties involved in this issue were supportive of the war effort, they had differing views of what constituted loyalty and who could be considered loyal.

The treatment of 'enemy aliens' became a source of major media debate again in 1917 when many businesses began to experience labour shortages. In order to address this shortage an increasing number of employers, and even the federal government, made use of the labour of 'enemy aliens.' Many 'enemy aliens' were even recruited for work by the same employers who had fired them at the beginning of the war.[49] Returning soldiers, however, were particularly angered by this. For many soldiers, there was no difference between the enemy they had fought overseas and the civilians in Toronto who were of German and Austro-Hungarian ancestry. These soldiers had risked their lives fighting overseas and felt cheated and frustrated when they

[45] Law Society of Upper Canada, Canadian Bar Association, "Alien Enemies in Public Positions," *Canadian Law Journal* 51, no. 1 (January 1915): 1-2.
[46] Ibid., 6.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Carefoote & Oldfield, *We Will Do Our Share*, 10-11.
[49] Donald Avery, *'Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979), 67-9; Craig Heron and Myer Siemiatycki, "The Great War, the State, and Working-Class Canada," in *The Workers' Revolt in Canada, 1917-1925*, ed. Craig Heron (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998), 19.

returned to find people they considered 'enemy aliens' "stealing their jobs."[50] A number of Toronto veterans sought to address the problem by conducting raids, or 'hunts,' of 'enemy aliens' throughout the city.

In April 1917, both Child's Restaurant and the Russell Motor Company were subject to these raids. Child's Restaurant on Yonge Street experienced the first disturbance. According to newspaper accounts, an Austrian employee of the restaurant harassed a disabled solider. Soon after, a mob of roughly five hundred soldiers and civilians marched to the restaurant calling out to those they passed "to join them in their crusade to wipe out the enemy in their midst."[51] The owner of the restaurant allowed the soldiers to look but they were unable to find the Austrian employee. Instead, the soldiers accosted and injured anyone they deemed 'foreign.' They apprehended one Russian and one Swiss employee (though neither qualified as enemies) and assaulted the Italian cook who was "hit in the eye with a broken plate."[52] The next day, a group of soldiers raided the Russell Motor Company munitions factory in a similar search. Again, unable to find any 'enemy aliens' the soldiers rounded up suspected 'foreigners' and dragged them from their workstations to police headquarters.[53] Throughout April, the raids occurred not only in public places, but also in private homes, with soldiers pulling people from their beds.[54] No soldiers were punished for their violent and unlawful conduct but Torontonians grew increasingly frustrated and tired with the behaviour of these soldiers. When referring to another legal case one Torontonian wrote: "a number of soldiers raided Toronto hotels, restaurants and munitions plants and no soldiers were given 30 days [in jail]."[55] *The Toronto Daily Star,* while supporting the soldiers' right to complain about jobs and 'foreigners,' did not support the soldiers taking the law into their own hands.[56]

The raids finally came to an end due to the intervention of Toronto's mayor Tommy Church, who called for an end to the "hunting of enemy aliens" and promised the veterans that he would

[50] Heron and Siemiatycki, "The Great War, the State, and Working-Class Canada," 23.
[51] *The Globe*, 13 April 1917 (Toronto).
[52] Ibid.
[53] *The Globe*, 14 April 1917 (Toronto)
[54] Zoriana Yaworksy Sokolsky, "The Beginnings of Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1891-1939," in *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*, ed. Robert F. Harney (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 299-300.
[55] UTA, *The Canadian Forward*, 25 June 1917.
[56] *Toronto Daily Star*, 13 April 1917.

take their concerns to the federal government.[57] Mayor Church supported men fighting overseas by attending send-offs and ensuring that city funds aided soldiers' families.[58] These actions were not solely motivated by patriotism; Mayor Church understood that following the conclusion of the war a large proportion of the voting male population in Toronto would be veterans. The mayor hoped that if he catered to the demands of veterans during the war, he could guarantee their electoral support at the war's end.[59] The mayor saw these raids as an opportunity to act as a champion for frustrated returning soldiers.[60] The raids were unpopular and violent though, and the mayor had to put a stop to them. However, in order to maintain the soldiers' support, he channelled their anti 'enemy alien' sentiment into legislation.

Mayor Church put forward a proposal to petition the federal government to limit the rights of 'enemy aliens' to vote.[61] This proposal targeted Germans and Austro-Hungarians who had become naturalized British subjects – meaning they had taken an oath of allegiance to the Crown.[62] Interestingly, considering their patriotic stance and attacks on the German professors in 1914, many of the Toronto newspapers were against the mayor's proposal. *The Toronto Daily Star* noted that "a large portion of the German population is loyal, and most of the Austrians are far more influenced by their Canadian environment than by any sentimental attachment to Austria."[63] Members of the Toronto City Council appeared to be of the same mind and chose not to support Mayor Church's proposal. One alderman, Councillor Joseph Gibbons, called the mayor's proposal "a cheap bit of patriotism" before going on to argue: "If the alien is good enough to come to this country and work side by side with British workingmen he is good enough to vote or he should be kept out

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[57] *Toronto Daily Star*, 18 April 1917.

[58] Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 66.

[59] Ibid.

[60] *Toronto Daily Star*, 18 April 1917.

[61] The proposal would strip naturalized natives of enemy countries of their right to vote unless they had lived and been naturalized in Canada for twenty-five years. *The Naturalization Act* of 1914 stated that a certificate of naturalization guaranteed the rights, privileges and powers of a natural born British subject, including the right to vote. *An Act Respecting British Nationality, Naturalization and Aliens*, *1914*, 290.

[62] Ibid.

[63] *Toronto Daily Star*, 18 April 1917

altogether."[64] Members of the council and the newspapers did not see the mayor's proposal as patriotic, but as a blatant attempt to garner votes.

The mayor defended his proposal in *The Globe,* by saying, "We do not want another Quebec in Canada. The Austro-German vote is ruling in the Northwest today. The Austro-German vote must be abolished in Canada. […] If this country is worth fighting for it is worth keeping British."[65] The words of Mayor Church show the constructed division of the people of Toronto into 'us versus them' during the war. His proposal would disenfranchise those considered 'British subjects' by the *Naturalization Act*; to the mayor, one could not be Austro-Hungarian or German, and a British subject at the same time. Further, he considered their votes as dangerous, disloyal, and a threat to the predominantly British makeup of the city.

Despite opposition from the members of the city council and some newspaper editors, Mayor Church continued to push forward his motion for 'alien' disenfranchisement. On 30 April 1917, after much pressure from the mayor, City Council passed a motion to petition the federal government to disenfranchise any Germans and Austro-Hungarians who had not been naturalized British subjects of Canada for more than twenty-five years.[66] Church took his motion further, petitioning to deport at the end of the war anyone "found guilty of using seditious language, or of sympathy with the German cause."[67] The city's daily newspapers continued to express opposition to this proposal. An article in the *Toronto Daily Star* argued that the government should *only* be allowed to strip men of their right to vote if they were found guilty of treasonous offences.[68] The article also accused the government of disenfranchising 'enemy aliens' in order to win an election.[69] An article in *The Globe* expressed similar viewpoints. It claimed that stripping naturalized 'enemy aliens' of their right to vote was a "breach with the best traditions of the British Empire."[70] The article also asserted that the Act only accomplished the

[64] *The Globe*, 17 April 1917 (Toronto).
[65] Ibid.
[66] City of Toronto Archives, Mayor T.L. Church and City Clerk W.A. Littlejohn, *Minutes of Proceedings: Council of the Corporation City of Toronto* (Toronto: Industrial and Technical Press, City Printers, 1917), 69.
[67] Ibid., 96-7.
[68] *Toronto Daily Star*, 14 September 1917.
[69] Ibid.
[70] *The Globe*, 8 September 1917 (Toronto).

creation of thousands of enemies out of innocent people who had come to Canada to make a new life.[71] Far from stepping down on the issue, two of Toronto's biggest daily newspapers continued to publish their protests against the government's treatment of 'enemy aliens.'

Ultimately, the animosity toward 'enemy aliens' was strong enough in Canada that it drowned out the voices calling for caution and fair treatment. On 21 September 1917, the federal government passed the *Wartime Elections Act*, which disenfranchised 'enemy aliens' who had not been naturalized citizens prior to 31 March 1902.[72] Peter Price argues that naturalization laws are important as they define your membership within a state, while also embodying strong assumptions about one's character and allegiance.[73] As such, the actions of the Canadian government did more than remove the right to vote. They further reinforced the conception of 'enemy aliens' as 'outsiders' who were 'un-Canadian.' 'Enemy aliens' lost their right to vote, but also their legal protections, and proof of 'loyalty' and belonging within the predominantly British community of Canada.[74] Prejudices held by the mayor and soldiers predated the war. Theories of racial supremacy and eugenics were incredibly popular in Canada and elevated those of British origin above other racial groups.[75] Many British Canadians feared an increase in 'undesirable' immigrants who were thought to be unwilling or unable to assimilate to British culture.[76] Angus McLaren argues many Canadians believed the nation's problems "were the product of the outsider."[77] The war amplified these prejudices and caused Canadians to blur distinctions between 'enemy aliens' and

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[71] *The Globe*, 8 September 1917 (Toronto).

[72] Dominion Government, *Wartime Elections Act* (Ottawa, 1917), 370-1. Millman argues that while there were portions of the Canadian population who challenged or fought what they deemed "significant illiberal distortions" to national life due to the war, the voices against them "proved more powerful." Millman, *Polarity, Patriotism, and Dissent*, 46.

[73] Peter Price, "Naturalising Subjects, Creating Citizens: Naturalization Law and the Conditioning of 'Citizenship' in Canada, 1881-1914," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45, no. 1 (2017): 2, 17.

[74] Kordan, *No Free Man*, 36.

[75] Buri, "'Enemies within our Gates,'" 10; Avery, *'Dangerous Foreigners*,' 14; Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 4; Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 70; Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990), 27, 46-7.

[76] Buri, "'Enemies within our Gates,'" 3-4; Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 124; Avery, *'Dangerous Foreigners*,' 13; McLaren, *Our Own Master Race,* 46-7, 67.

[77] McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 67.

'friendly aliens.'[78] As a result, anyone deemed 'foreign' came under suspicion and attack from the dominant British Canadian community.

The treatment of the Greek community is a prime example of the suspicion and hostility of the British Canadian community in Toronto during the war. At the beginning of the war, Greece remained neutral. Greek immigrants and Greek Canadians within Toronto were divided as to whether they should stay neutral or support the British. These divisions caused verbal and violent confrontations in coffeehouses and churches, resulting in the intervention of local authorities.[79] Some Torontonians were angry and bitter at Greece for not supporting the Allied cause at the outset of the war. As such, Greek Canadians and Greek immigrants faced verbal and physical confrontations within their divided community and also from members of the British Canadian community.[80] These tensions were not resolved with Greece's entrance into the war on the side of the British in 1917. Greek Canadians in Toronto assumed there could be no doubt of their loyalty, as Greek Canadians had contributed roughly 2,000 men from across Canada to fight overseas.[81] However, British Canadian Torontonians still harboured bitterness for Greece's initial neutrality. In March of 1918 members of Toronto's Greek community wrote to *The Globe* that Greeks in Toronto were "misjudged and sometimes ill-treated, many Canadians apparently believing them to be pro-German."[82] The Greek community in Toronto could not understand why they continued to be ill treated by British Canadians, especially since Greek Canadians believed they had done enough to support the war effort.

The Catholic population of Toronto, like the Greeks, were quick to learn that supporting the war effort did not guarantee safety from criticism or attack. At the start of the war the Pope declared that the Catholic Church would remain neutral. The Archbishop of Toronto, Neil McNeil, wrote a pastoral letter to explain the position of the Catholic Church and Catholics on the war. He reasoned that the Pope had to remain neutral on the subject of war because if he "condemned

[78] Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 121.
[79] Lia Douramakou-Petroleka, "The Elusive Community: Greek Settlement in Toronto, 1900-1940," in *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*, ed. Robert F. Harney (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 268.
[80] Ibid.
[81] *Toronto Daily Star*, 7 August 1918.
[82] *The Globe*, 2 March 1918 (Toronto).

either group of belligerents" then he would put millions of Catholics "in the agonizing necessity of choosing between their Church and their Country..."[83] By staying neutral, the Pope allowed Catholics to be loyal to both their faith and their country. Many Catholics understood the Pope's message to mean just that. However, many non-Catholics could not understand how the leader of the Catholic Church could be neutral but its followers could support the war, especially considering the anti-war stance of Irish Catholics in the United States, and French Catholics in Quebec. However, the Catholic community in Toronto was very committed to supporting the war effort and demonstrating their loyalty to the British crown.

Throughout the 1800s Catholics in Canada had experienced attacks at the hands of the Orange Order – a British-Protestant fraternal organization with members in high ranking political and social positions – who presented Catholics as bigots and anti-Empire.[84] According to Mark McGowan, the war provided Catholics in the city an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to Canada and the Empire, while remaining Catholic.[85] Catholics volunteered for overseas service, supported conscription, bought war bonds, and even pressured their family members to enlist.[86] Despite such patriotic support for the war effort, Toronto Catholics still faced criticism and harsh treatment. In a letter to the editor of *The Toronto Daily Star* James F. Coughlin responded to an article accusing Catholics of being disloyal. Coughlin wrote: "Catholics have risen to the requirements of duty, loyalty, and patriotism" and "all we ask is the right to live peacefully, and not be hounded about and suspected of things which never enter our heads."[87] L. Fleming wrote to Toronto Archbishop McNeil, detailing how upset

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[83] Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto (hereafter cited as ARCAT), FW WE04, 13 - War Effort – Pastoral, Archbishop McNeil, "The Pope and the War," February 1918, 3.

[84] Mark McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 283; David A. Wilson, *The Orange Order in Canada* (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2007), 10, 14.

[85] Mark McGowan, "'To Share in the Burden of Empire': Toronto's Catholics and the Great War, 1914-1918," in *Catholics at the 'Gathering Place': Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1884-1991*, ed. Mark McGowan and Brian P. Clarke (Toronto: The Catholic Historical Association, 1993), 178.

[86] Ibid., 178, 182; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 8-9; Millman, *Polarity, Patriotism, and Dissent*, 88.

[87] ARCAT, FW WE07, 20 - War Effort - Conscription/Attitude of Quebec & Catholics to War, James F. Coughlin, "Editor of the Toronto Daily Star," 22 March 1917.

he was at seeing newspaper articles portraying Catholics as pro-German or not doing enough for the war effort.[88] Fleming believed this treatment in Toronto showed "the hatred and malice borne against the Roman Catholic Church and the Vicar of Christ [the Pope]."[89] These letters reveal the level of suspicion and harassment Toronto Catholics experienced within the city. Despite attempts to demonstrate their loyalty, Toronto Catholics were still indiscriminately viewed as the 'other' by Toronto's British-Protestant community. Any groups this community deemed 'different,' based on their country of birth or religious beliefs, were grouped as a part of the 'other' and faced criticism regarding their loyalty to Canada and Britain – even when they had taken many steps to demonstrate this loyalty.

Divisions and accusations regarding loyalty and 'appropriate' war support were not solely directed at groups perceived as the 'other;' they were also present within the Canadian British-Protestant community itself. Obligations regarding 'proper' male behaviour were major sources of contention within the city. Gender norms of the period reinforced the belief in a natural binary which divided men and women into 'acceptable' roles and behaviours based on perceived physiological and social differences.[90] Societal norms reified the perception of men as physically strong and rational, whereas women were perceived to be weak and emotionally frail in comparison. These constructed differences reinforced the conception that education, status, and political power required a strong and therefore male body, and relegated women to the status of caretakers of children and the home.[91] The war established new roles for the sexes, creating an intersection of patriotism and gender. Men were expected to serve the empire in combat while women were expected to sacrifice their sons and volunteer their time and money to support the war effort from

[88] ARCAT, FW WE07, 21 - War Effort - Conscription/Attitude of Quebec & Catholics to War, L. Fleming, "Your Grace Archbishop of Toronto," 7 June 1918.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University, 1988), 32; Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 7; George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man*: *The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4, 6.

[91] Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 41; Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1981), 15, 18, 20, 24; Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 14.

home.[92] Many mothers saw themselves as engaged in "sacrificing" their sons for a greater cause: civilization and the British Empire.[93] A woman's value was tied to her relation to a man—either a son, a husband, or brother—and her willingness to let them serve, even if it meant losing them. Judith Butler argues that gender binaries are often so imbedded into the public consciousness that any deviation or failure to 'perform' in a manner "considered appropriate to one's gender" is met with punishment.[94] Men and women were expected to fulfill their wartime roles in order to demonstrate loyalty to the cause. However, as events in the city demonstrate, not everyone agreed on the meaning of appropriate or patriotic behaviour.

A great example of this diverse understanding of patriotism was in disputes regarding prohibition. The leading group for prohibition was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Although technically non-denominational, the WCTU was closely tied to Protestant Churches and also promoted various social reforms within the family, city, and even health care infrastructure. Despite its varied goals, the WCTU primarily focused on the sale and consumption of alcohol. To the WCTU, alcohol was responsible for many of society's problems, including violence in the home. Further, they believed alcohol was detrimental to the war effort, as grain was used to make alcohol rather than to feed the troops.[95] The WCTU saw it as their patriotic duty to ban the sale and consumption of alcohol. However, soldiers returning from war did not see alcohol as evil and were opposed to prohibition. According to Tim Cook, alcohol not only provided soldiers with a reminder of the comforts of civilian life, but also afforded them a mechanism through which they could cope with the war, and make their war experiences more bearable.[96] To these soldiers, alcohol was a staple of survival both during and after their war service.[97] They did not consider the banning of the sale and consumption of alcohol, be it overseas or on the home front, to be

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[92] Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 4, 12-3, 42; Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 194, 222.
[93] Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs*, 42, 76.
[94] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 178-9.
[95] Cook, "Wet Canteens and Worrying Mothers," 315-7; Tim Cook, "'More a Medicine than a Beverage': 'Demon Rum' and the Canadian Trench Soldier of the First World War," *Canadian Military History* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 10; *The Globe*, 15 February 1915 (Toronto).
[96] Cook, "Wet Canteens and Worrying Mothers," 312.
[97] Cook, "'More a Medicine than a Beverage,'" 15.

patriotic. These differing perspectives regarding alcohol eventually spilled out onto the streets of Toronto.

On 8 March 1916, the WCTU and supporters marched to the provincial Parliament building in Toronto. Their goal was to drop off a petition containing more than a thousand signatures in favour of passing prohibition in Ontario.[98] As the parade passed local armouries, soldiers followed and verbally harassed the participants.[99] Amongst the members and supporters of the parade was a section of male students from the University of Toronto who had not enlisted. Quickly, the focus of the soldiers shifted from harassing the prohibitionists to taunting students in the parade whom the soldiers viewed as shirkers.[100] C. Kent Duff, an engineering student at the parade, wrote to his mother and described how the soldiers intimidated the students, and called them cowards, slackers, and shirkers.[101] Verbal harassment against these young male marchers quickly turned physical. One witness at the parade told *The Toronto Daily Star* that civilians and soldiers became increasingly hostile regarding the males' lack of uniform, with some recruiters becoming so aggressive the young men had to run away in order to escape them.[102] As the parade continued and the physical harassment escalated, soldiers threw snow and at ice at the marchers, and even assaulted the mounted policeman assigned to escort the parade.[103] According to Rutherdale, the public discourse in Canada "privileged the myth of the volunteer and the valor of the active servicemen as a male ideal."[104] Thus, the students' lack of uniform made them unpatriotic and unmanly in the eyes of the soldiers.

Not everyone in Toronto approved of the behaviour of the soldiers at the parade. The writers at *The Toronto Daily Star* argued that since male spectators at sporting matches were not being harassed

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[98] Archives of Ontario [hereafter cited as AO], London (Ont.) *The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, 1 April 1916.

[99] *Evening Telegram*, 9 March 1916 (Toronto).

[100] A shirker is someone considered cowardly for evading military service.

[101] UTA, 2 Duff, C. Kent Fonds, B94-0001/001(003), C. Kent Duff, "Dear Mother," 9 March 1916.

[102] *Toronto Daily Star*, 9 March 1916.

[103] UTA, 2 Duff, C. Kent Fonds, B94-0001/001(003), C. Kent Duff, "Dear Mother," 9 March 1916.

[104] Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 200-201; Joan Scott argues that the war disrupted the 'natural order' resulting in the perception of some men as weak and unmanly, inverting the established gender dynamic. Joan W. Scott, "Women and War: A Focus for Rewriting History," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 12, no. 2, Teaching about Peace, War, and Women in the Military (Summer, 1984): 4.

neither should those "who are honestly advocating a cause which they regard as identified with the highest patriotism."[105] Although a proponent of military service, the editor of the newspaper was clearly disturbed that civilians and soldiers seemed to indiscriminately select which men to harass. The WCTU also came to the defense of the young men marching in their parade, arguing that many men could not serve as they had either been turned down for service or needed to stay at home to support their families.[106] To the WCTU these young men were not 'shirkers' but rather demonstrated an alternative loyal masculinity.

Many newspapers also defended or at least provided an excuse for the behaviour of the soldiers. *The Evening Telegram* and *The World* argued that the soldiers had a right to protest, and that the combination of the presence of civilian women and the students in the parade standing their ground "forced" the soldiers to respond violently.[107] Even the WCTU defended the soldiers and asked Torontonians not to blame them for the attack.[108] During the war, Canadian society promoted the image and ideal of the hyper masculine soldier, particularly in contrast to the unmanly shirker.[109] The newspaper writers and WCTU excused the soldiers' behaviour, suggesting they had no choice but to respond and prove their masculinity against the suspected shirkers, especially with women watching. This would not be the last time that male students of the University encountered backlash over their lack of uniforms.

In 1917 the University of Toronto began to pressure its students to enlist. In a letter to his mother, C. Kent Duff described how the university kept releasing forms for students to fill out and return regarding whether or not they had enlisted and encouraging them to do so.[110] This pressure to enlist came from President Falconer who believed that it was the duty of the students to do so, stating: "this is no

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[105] *Toronto Daily Star*, 10 March 1916.
[106] AO, *The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, 1 April 1916 (London, Ont.)
[107] *Evening Telegram*, 9 March 1916 (Toronto); *Toronto Daily Star*, 9 March 1916 – An article in *The Star* mentions an editorial in *The World* that defended the actions of the soldiers at the parade. *The Star* disagreed with the stance of *The World*. Due to a difficulty in attaining copies of *The World*, I have had to cite their article through *The Star*.
[108] AO, *The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, 1 April 1916 (London, Ont.)
[109] Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 79.
[110] UTA, 2, Duff, C. Kent Fonds, B94-0001/001(003), C. Kent Duff, "Dear Mother," 11 February 1916.

time for shirkers, in the classroom or elsewhere."[111] In preparation for their eventual service, President Falconer also made drill sessions mandatory at the University of Toronto. In response, students wrote to *The Varsity* to complain about this change, as it increased the male students' workload and threatened the completion of their degrees. One angry student accused the University Senate and authorities of having "gone insane over militarism and wishing to foist on us the German system."[112] Another student protested that:

> the authorities, as another correspondent pointed out, apparently intend to make the University a kind of sausage machine, into one end of which the freshman is put, to come out at the other end - what? Evidently a full[-]fledged militarist, crammed like his German prototype with Kultur.[113]

These accusations of 'Germanizing' the University and its students are reminiscent of the editorial attacks on the German professors. In 1914, the media accused the professors of fostering German autocratic ideals onto the students. While students had defended the professors, they now saw the introduction of mandatory drill as autocratic and hyper-militaristic, features they viewed as inherently German. While Falconer believed that mandatory drill was the male students' duty, the students saw it as unpatriotic, turning them into the very thing they were supposed to be fighting.

The Varsity shut down the debate by refusing to publish any further letters regarding compulsory drill. The paper wrote: "The anti-drillers have evidently run out of 'arguments,' and all we hear now is a rehash of statements which have already been made."[114] The editors even accused the anti-drillers of having weak arguments and of harassing the staff of the newspaper.[115] The staff of *The Varsity*, seeing "no real argument," closed the debate. This decision is interesting, as in 1916 the editors of *The Varsity* had argued that not every man should or could serve overseas: "There are the ties of family, the obligations to others, the hundred and one things which loom large in the individual life, and yet are entirely unknown to the public."[116] Although supportive of the war effort and acknowledging the students who had

[111] UTA, *The Varsity*, 11 January 1915.
[112] UTA, *The Varsity*, 15 October 1917.
[113] UTA, *The Varsity*, 19 October 1917.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] UTA, *The Varsity*, 7 February 1916.

fought and served, this note from the editors of *The Varsity* argued some obligations at home were just as important and supportive of the war effort as enlisting. By 1917, the new editors of *The Varsity* had a different view on the subject, siding with the University in their belief that mandatory drill and enlistment were masculine and patriotic.

These numerous divisions came to a head in August of 1918. At the beginning of the month, thousands of veterans gathered in Toronto for the Great War Veterans Convention. Violence quickly erupted when a story spread of a soldier being accosted by a 'foreigner' at the Greek owned White City Cafe on Yonge Street.[117] As was the case with Child's Restaurant in 1917, soldiers assembled in large numbers and raided the restaurant. However, this raid quickly turned into a riot. A mob of almost a thousand soldiers and civilians descended upon the White City Cafe. From the evening of 2 August until the morning of 3 August, the mob destroyed ten different restaurants (almost all 'foreign' owned) along Yonge, Bloor and Queen Street.[118] They smashed windows and doors, and stole registers and other supplies.[119] The rioters were either unable to, or did not care to, differentiate between ally and enemy. For example, the owner of the Colonial Restaurant on Yonge Street, a well-known supporter of returned soldiers, pleaded to no avail as the mob plundered his business.[120]

Although initially seeming to dissipate on 3 August, the riot increased in size to roughly 5,000 soldiers and citizens from 5 to 6 August.[121] The mob gathered at Queen's Park and seemed intent on causing more damage to the city. In response, on 5 August, Mayor Church demanded that the mob disperse and the riot cease, only to be met by jeers and boos.[122] As crowds marched through the streets, police advised them to disperse and go home. Soon after, men in the crowd began throwing stones at police officers.[123] The police responded to this violence by charging into the crowds and hitting the rioters indiscriminately with their batons.[124] In order to end the riot, the

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[117] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 82-3.
[118] *Evening Telegram*, 3 August 1918 (Toronto).
[119] *Toronto Daily Star,* 3 August 1918.
[120] Ibid.
[121] J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* (Toronto: the Canadian Annual Review, Limited, 1919), 587.
[122] *Toronto Daily Star*, 6 August 1918.
[123] *Evening Telegram*, 7 August 1918 (Toronto).
[124] Ibid.

mayor threatened to read the *Riot Act* and had five hundred soldiers, under military control, brought into the city.[125] These soldiers patrolled the streets of Toronto mounted on horseback and carried heavy axe pick handles.[126] The intent was clear – they would preserve order by force. Through blows and intimidation, the mob finally dispersed. For more than a week, rioters had damaged property and injured many civilians. In less than one day the rioters had caused an estimated $44,000 in damage.[127] Although many men were arrested and given jail time, many soldiers who called for a retrial or dismissal won their appeals.[128]

These riots represented a culmination of prejudicial attitudes and behaviours within the city of Toronto. Pressure to demonstrate loyalty to the Canadian state and to Great Britain divided public opinion in Toronto as much as it fostered 'unity' among certain segments of the population. Throughout the war, Torontonians of a British-Protestant background perceived themselves to be united against the 'unpatriotic others' within their city – 'enemy aliens,' 'foreigners,' and 'Catholics.' However, the British-Protestant community itself was divided regarding appropriate gendered behaviour. The citizens of Toronto were well aware of the divisions that existed within their city, as many pre-dated the war itself. As the war continued, Government and media propaganda exacerbated notions of 'us versus them' until it became clear to Torontonians that if you were perceived to be a shirker or otherwise unpatriotic, then you were the enemy. The war highlighted the complexities of patriotism and loyalty among Torontonians. Few people seemed to share the same understanding of what support for the war meant, or who the enemy truly was. Further, the war revealed the strength of social constructions of difference within the city itself, sometimes leading to violent altercations. The story of Toronto during the war is one of perceived unity but in reality, there remained extensive divisions along national, ethnic, gendered, and religious lines.

[125] Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 587.
[126] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 181.
[127] Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 586-7.
[128] Ibid.

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Betty Broadbent: "The Lady Who's Different"

CHRISTINA FABIANI

Abstract: As one of the most famous circus performers in early twentieth-century American culture, Betty Broadbent's extreme appearance mirrored other tattooed performers at the time. However, Fabiani explores the ways that Broadbent deviated from the common social and cultural practices of tattooed circus women by resisting sexual objectification, breaking from the boundaries of the freak show stage, and rejecting captivity narratives. Broadbent's circus career spanned four decades, but this article focuses on the peak of her popularity from her debut in 1927 to the outbreak of World War II. This essay identifies Broadbent as a unique case within her subculture in an effort to critically deconstruct the social context of negative stigmas and gendered normativity that dominated American tattooing practices at the time. Employing a vast primary source base, Fabiani demonstrates that Broadbent really was "the lady who's different."

Covered in tattoos from head to foot, with the inked faces of American icons gazing out over large audiences, the appearance of Betty Broadbent did not especially differ from other tattooed performers in early twentieth-century American circuses. However, her actions both on and off freak show stages illuminate her as a woman who broke the mold of this profession and upset generalizations about women in this subculture. Current literature on tattooed circus women highlights characteristics shared by these performers, but rarely showcases deviations from common traits and practices.[1] Here, I examine the

[1] Significant scholarship exists on early twentieth-century circus performers and provides the base arguments that this article both supports and challenges. For discussions of domestic circus life, see Katherine H. Adams, and Michael L. Keene, *Women of the American Circus, 1880-1940* (North Carolina: McFarland & Co. Inc., 2012). For information on tattooed circus performers; see Margo DeMello, *Encyclopedia of Body Adornment* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2007). For analyses of tattooed circus women, see Beverly Yuen Thompson, *Covered in Ink: Tattoos, Women, and the Politics of the Body* (New York: New York University Press, 2014); Margot Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion: A Secret History of Women and Tattoo.* (New York: Powerhouse Books, 1997); Christine Braunberger, "Revolting

ways Broadbent lived up to the moniker used to announce her circus performances—she truly was "the lady who's different."[2] Broadbent both fit into *and* complicated modern assumptions about tattooed circus women. She destabilized hegemonic gender roles and ideals of respectable femininity because her performances participated in normative discourses in ways atypical of her contemporaries. This analysis of Broadbent reveals gender as a flexible code constantly challenged and reconfigured by deviant bodies.

Broadbent mirrored some traits of other women in this profession with her financial self-sufficiency, the sexual elements of her performances, and her patriotic tattoo imagery. Tattooed circus women largely conformed to stereotypes that impacted American women, specifically the gendered domestic roles and conventional feminine behavior and beauty. However, I demonstrate that Broadbent explicitly rejected certain expected practices of her career, specifically sexual objectification, spatial regulations, and captivity narratives.

Broadbent, born Sue Lillian Brown in 1909, moved from Florida to Atlantic City at age 14 for a baby-sitting job. She recalled, "When I went to the boardwalk on my days off, I saw a tattooed man … that's when I decided to get tattooed."[3] She took her savings to New York City and spent the next two years under the needle of pioneer tattooist Charlie Wagner.[4] She started her circus career in 1927 as the "youngest tattooed woman in the world" with the Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus.[5] Broadbent was one of "about 300 completely tattooed men and women" in America who earned their living "by exhibiting themselves."[6] For the next four decades she travelled with various circuses and became one of the most famous tattooed performers in the country. She even toured Australia and New Zealand for a year, returning to America to work at John Hix's *Strange As It Seems* display at the 1939 World's Fair.[7] Broadbent ended her circus career in 1967 at age 57 as "one of the last working tattooed

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Bodies: The Monster Beauty of Tattooed Women," *NWSA* 12 (2) 2000: 1-23; Amelia Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady: A History* (Colorado: Speck Press, 2009); Victoria Pitts, *In the Flesh: The Cultural Politics of Body Modification* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[2] Judy Aurre, "Meet Betty Broadbent," *Tattoo Historian* 1 (1982): 21.

[3] Aurre, "Meet Betty Broadbent," *Tattoo Historian,* 21.

[4] DeMello, *Encyclopedia of Body Adornment*, 51.

[5] Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady,* 112.

[6] Albert Parry, *Tattoo: Secrets of a Strange Art* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1933), 73.

[7] Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady,* 112.

ladies in the country."[8] She reminisced on her decision to retire and claimed, "I was too old—it wasn't for me. I decided it was time for me to sit back and let the young folks have at it."[9] Broadbent ultimately had "no regrets for having chosen this unusual career path" and stated in a 1981 interview: "I really loved it."[10]

Broadbent's circus career spanned four decades, but this article focuses on the peak of her popularity from her debut in 1927 to the outbreak of World War II. To understand Broadbent as a unique tattooed circus woman, I situate her subculture in the larger social context of negative stigmas and gendered normativity that dominated American tattooing practices in this period. I then address the academic literature surrounding tattooed circus women of the 1920s and 1930s. Scholars tend to highlight the financial motivations behind these women's career choice, their patriotic tattoo imagery, their on-stage sexualization, and their domestic lives when "on the circuit" as key traits that link them to a distinct subculture.[11] However, the focus on similarities reduces the lives and performances of these circus women to a homogenous challenge of women's place in American society as "the second sex," and overlooks the nuances that disturb these generalizations.[12] I showcase Broadbent as an important example of defiance that unsettles modern simplifications and demands recognition of diverse, non-uniform histories.

Three key examples of Broadbent's practices exclude her from stereotypes of tattooed circus women. She struggled to deliver 'clean' performances, resisting sexual objectification beyond the scanty costumes required to display her tattooed skin. She broke from the confinement of freak show stages when she appeared in the first

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[8] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 25.

[9] Aurre, "Meet Betty Broadbent," *Tattoo Historian*, 40.

[10] Quotation from circus promotional material, postcard of Broadbent, 1950, found in Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady,* 113; Aurre, "Meet Betty Broadbent," *Tattoo Historian,* 40.

[11] Adams and Keene, *Women of the American Circus,* 66. The cited works by Braunberger, Mifflin, Osterud, Pitts, and Thompson all identify women in this profession as a distinct subculture, governed by its own rules and standards of practice. For further subculture theory, see Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen & Co, 1979).

[12] "Second sex" refers to Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949), a canonical feminist work that explored the subservient role imposed on women throughout history and the generational conditioning that kept women in inferior positions to men. See Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex,* trans. and ed. H.M. Parshley (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).

televised beauty contest at the 1939 World's Fair in New York.[13] She displayed her tattooed body in an unconventional space and challenged ideals of respectable femininity and beauty that this contest celebrated and reinforced.[14] Lastly, Broadbent rejected captivity narratives used by other tattooed performers to explain the origin of their body ink. These tales drew power from existing racial tensions and enabled performers to position themselves as victims of defilement. They could then shirk responsibility for their deviant appearances. These examples of agency remain largely overlooked in modern scholarship and the significance of Broadbent's actions merit recognition and analysis to better understand the complexity of the past.

The voice of "the century's most photographed, best loved tattooed woman" remains elusive. Broadbent gave few interviews and left no written record of her experiences in travelling circuses. Furthermore, restricted access to these sources hinders historical research.[15] For example, a 1982 interview with Broadbent resides with the Tattoo Archive, a collective managed by established tattooists and self-proclaimed tattoo historians. Although the website claims that "a wealth of knowledge is available just for the asking," my own research requests were denied because they were "not interested in being part of

[13] For discussion of Broadbent at the 1939 World's Fair, see Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady,* 112; Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 25; Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 13.

[14] It is important to note the distinction between "born freaks," "made freaks," and "novelty acts." According to these classifications, "born freaks" had a physical anomaly that made them unusual (such as Siamese twins or limbless people), "made freaks" rendered themselves unusual (such as tattooed performers), and "novelty acts" displayed an unusual performance (such as swallowing swords or charming snakes). See W. Gresham, *Monster Midway* (New York: Rinehart, 1948), 25-31. Gresham neglected to mention "the racial freak," who were not physically deviant in the context of their own culture, but their presence in the United States as examples of primitiveness served as the basis for their display. For further discussion of these classifications, see Leonard Cassuto, "'What an object he would have made of me!': Tattooing and the Racial Freak in Melville's Typee," in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, 241-245; A.W. Stencell, *Circus and Carnival Ballyhoo: Sideshow Freaks, Jaggers and Blade Box Queens* (Toronto, ECW Press, 2010), 29-35; Robert Bogdan, "The Social Construction of Freaks," in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, 28-29.

[15] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion*, 24. For more on the merits and challenges of using oral histories in academic research, see Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Anna Clark, "Talking About History: A Case for Oral Historiography," *Public History Review* 17 (December 2010): 62-76.

[my] project."[16] Due to scant and restricted archival records, I have used newspaper and magazine articles, promotional circus materials, staged and candid photographs, interviews with family and employers, and her tattoos themselves to uncover and reconstruct Broadbent's experiences as a tattooed circus performer in early twentieth-century America.[17]

Broadbent's World

American tattooed performers reached the height of their popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, at which point tattooed women achieved greater success than their male counterparts. Aside from the allure of travel and fame, tattooed women pursued this career for the financial independence it promised. Broadbent herself quit her job as a nanny "to undergo the tattooing operation in hopes of a circus fortune."[18] High rates of pay attracted individuals to this circus career but white, able-bodied men generally enjoyed more opportunities for a stable income outside of the circus than minority groups.[19] Women, on the other hand, had "little chance for an education, highly paid work, or travel" and some viewed circus life as "the only way … to have an independent career," especially as this profession "could command large salaries, up to $100-$200 per week."[20] In the 1930s, historian Albert Parry contended that women entered this traditionally male-dominated profession because they "longed for the profits of a tattooed body."[21]

The independent lifestyle represented by 'the tattooed lady' may explain the appeal this career had to women.[22] The apparent

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[16] The Tattoo Archive, accessed Mar. 25, 2016, http://www.tattooarchive.com/; C.W. Eldridge, email to C. Fabiani, Jan. 27, 2016. No other reasons were given for my access denials, which leads to speculation. This tattoo collective may be anti-academic, territorial about tattoo history, and/or discriminatory against women re-writing women's histories.

[17] Albert Parry's *Tattoo: Secrets of a Strange Art* (1933) also provides invaluable first-hand insights into the social attitudes towards tattooed bodies both on and off early twentieth-century circus stages.

[18] Parry, *Tattoo,* 64, 75.

[19] Amelia Klem, "A Life of Her Own Choosing: Anna Gibbons' Fifty Years as a Tattooed Lady," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 89:3 (2006): 32.

[20] DeMello, *Encyclopedia of Body Adornment,* 261-2. Note that this weekly salary equates to $1300-$2700 in 2017.

[21] Parry, *Tattoo,* 64.

[22] Ironically, their bodies excluded tattooed women from normative society but "gave them access to a world outside the home, free from … many restrictions otherwise

freedom of tattooed circus women differed from the financial positions of average American women who commonly remained dependent on a man, usually a husband or father. Contemporary scholars argue that circus women took part in "a bold rebellion against women's place in American society" and identify feminist elements in their performances.[23] Margot Mifflin, the current authority on women with tattoos, claims that these circus performers used their positions "as a premise for trampling conventional standards of feminine beauty and behaviour."[24] However, archival evidence and testimonies of tattooed circus women do not reflect conscious resistance, but instead show that these women became tattooed "to make a living."[25] Broadbent clearly articulated the financial motivations behind her career path when she stated in an interview, "I went into the circus as a business venture … I wanted to be independent and to take care of myself."[26] Her second husband, circus ventriloquist Charlie Roark, stated, "she wanted to be her own woman—she never wanted to be dependent on anyone for anything."[27]

Broadbent was not alone in the pursuit of financial stability. A career in the circus provided women the freedom to "shape their own adult lives, finding meaningful work for which they are respected and well compensated."[28] Broadbent's contemporary, Anna "Artoria" Gibbons, became tattooed "as a matter of survival" because she "didn't have any money."[29] Parry reported that Mae Vandermark, one of the first tattooed performers with the Ringling Brothers Circus, was "hesitant to mar [herself] for life" until testimonies of high salaries "easily persuaded [her] to become a professional tattooed woman."[30] Tattooed circus women, including Broadbent, chose the path of physical deviance to lead them to financial and personal freedom.

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placed on women's lives." See Jennifer Putzi, *Identifying Marks: Race, Gender, and the Marked Body in Nineteenth-Century America* (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 155.

[23] Putzi, *Identifying Marks,* 156. For further discussions of feminism and tattooed circus women, see also Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 2000; Pitts, *In the Flesh*, 2003; Thompson, *Covered in Ink*, 2014.

[24] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 17.

[25] Putzi, *Identifying Marks,* 156; Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady*, 10.

[26] Aurre, "Meet Betty Broadbent," *Tattoo Historian,* 21, 40.

[27] Charlie Roark interview by Osterud. *The Tattooed Lady,* 112.

[28] Adams and Keene, *Women of the American Circus,* 44.

[29] Arthur Lewis, *Carnival* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970), 155-161. See also Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 22.

[30] Parry, *Tattoo,* 64, 76.

Although Broadbent and her contemporaries did not explicitly challenge dominant views of womanhood as innately subservient, domestic, and docile, their steady employment and financial independence destabilized and deviated from the established gender norms. However, these norms dominated tattooing practices outside of the circus and dictated acceptable tattoos for men and women.

Off freak show stages, tattoos remained heavily stigmatized as the practice of criminals and 'degraded' sexually-deviant women (read: prostitutes).[31] Negative connotations of body ink in the public eye influenced tattooing practices and tattoo imagery; images that upheld gender stereotypes enjoyed a level of social acceptance.[32] Tattoo wearers typically chose designs that reinforced gendered identities and affirmed their own adherence to these norms.

Men opted for explicit homages to the foundational racial and Christian values of American culture and these images "operated as signs of class-specific, masculine group status."[33] Common designs on "soldiers, sailors, [and] civilized folk" affirmed heteronormative masculinity and enabled tattoos to permeate American culture.[34] For example, an anchor signified a man's military career, an American flag his patriotism, and female beauties his heterosexuality.[35] Generic images, or 'tattoo flash', hung on the walls of tattoo shops and remained popular among working-class men and military personnel

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[31] Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*, trans. Nicole Hahn Rafter and Mary Gibson, (N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), 116-120. See also Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies,"10.

[32] The stigmas that shadowed tattoos resulted in part from the pseudo-scientific link between tattoos and degeneracy established by Lombroso in his works *Criminal Man* (1887), *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman (1895), and Crime: Its Causes and Remedies* (1899). Lombroso advanced the notion that an individual's physical traits, such as deformed skulls, sloped foreheads, protruding jaws, and minimal sensitivity to pain, indicated their moral character and deviant personality. Tattoos thus "constituted the exterior sign of inward moral obtuseness" and indicated social danger. See M. Gibson, *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Origins of Biological Criminology* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Press, 2002), 59. The works of Austrian cultural theorist Adolf Loos and French criminologist Alexandre Lacassagne strengthened Lombroso's connection between tattoos and delinquency. For reference to "Dr. Lacassagne's book, *Ornament and Crime,* which was published in 1881," see George Burchett, *Memoirs of a Tattooist*, ed. Peter Leighton (London: Oldbourne Book Co., 1958), 85.

[33] Pitts, *In the Flesh,* 5.

[34] "Tattooing Out of Style," *The Port Jefferson Echo*, Aug. 28, 1909, 7.

[35] Burchett, *Memoirs of a Tattooist*, 37, 86. For further discussion of tattooing practices that supported heteronormative masculinity, see Parry, "Tattooing Among Prostitutes and Perverts," *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 3 (1934), 479; Parry, *Tattoo,* 85-87.

because these images left "no doubt as to one's masculinity" and affirmed one's identity as "a red-blooded American man."[36]

On the other hand, women applied tattoos as permanent makeup to reinforce beauty norms and invoke "hierarchies of ethnicity, race, economic status" and gender.[37] This early twentieth-century tattoo 'craze' continued for decades and remained fairly static in both practice and appearance.[38] Beauty salons offered 'cosmetic procedures' to "add a glow to one's cheek, an arch to one's brow, a pout to one's lips, and for the very brave, the illusion of a few more eyelashes."[39] A 1919 *Los Angeles Herald* article showcased the "professional tattoo man" who guaranteed the "perpetual bloom of youth [and] a rosy complexion."[40] Tattooists were "no longer … satisfied with decorating sailors or prize fighters with … national emblems" and incorporated permanent makeup in their practices.[41] This source reveals multiple gendered tattoo practices—traditional masculine and patriotic images for men, the male dominance of this practice, and the inclusion of women to the tattoo world under strict pretenses of preserving or enhancing normative beauty.[42] Archival evidence shows that, although

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[36] Samuel M. Steward, *Bad Boys and Tough Tattoos: A Social History of the Tattoo with Gangs, Sailors, and Street-Corner Punks 1950-1965* (New York/London: The Haworth Press, 1990), 57; Lyle Tuttle, interview by Fabiani, July 5th, 2016. See also Pitts, *In the Flesh*, 5, Rosemary Gallick, "The Tattoo: An American Pop Art Form," *The Mid-Atlantic Almanac* 5 (1996): 2.

[37] Pitts, *In the Flesh*, 39.

[38] "Society's Tattoo Craze," *South Side Signal*, pg. 4, Dec. 5, 1908. For more information on this 'craze', see "A Tattoo Artist claims he is able to tattoo a permanently rosy complexion on the face of anyone who will pay the price," *San Francisco Call*, vol. 87, no. 87, Aug. 26, 1902; "Tattooers Turn Beauty Doctors," *Los Angeles Herald*, no. 303, Oct. 21, 1919; "Girl Creator of Tattoo Fad is in LA," *Los Angeles Herald*, no. 125, March 26, 1920, 30. It is important to note that the clientele of permanent makeup practices were not exclusively women. Burchett reported occasional instances of men requesting "complexion tattoos" that concealed scars, birthmarks, and black eyes (151-152).

[39] Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 4-5.

[40] "Tattooers Turn Beauty Doctors," *Los Angeles Herald*, no. 303, Oct. 21, 1919.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Interestingly, women's tattooing practices went to "extravagant lengths" to avoid words that evoked negative stigmas. See Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 4. George Burchett, tattooist for over fifty years in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, noted in his autobiography *Memoirs of a Tattooist* (1958) that advertisements for permanent makeup described "medically supervised complexion treatments" that used "a mechanical process" to "improve the epidermis texture" (130-136). Procedures took place in "salons," where the tattooist "applied permanent, pink blushes to ladies' cheeks" (131). The "fortunate recipients" of these procedures rarely realized they had been tattooed because society avoided direct

tattoos were markers of deviance, they were tolerated when imagery supported a normative, nationalistic, gendered aesthetic.

Tattooed circus women, like Broadbent, rejected permanent makeup in favor of masculine tattoo imagery and "called attention to the artificiality of gender roles" when they reversed the socially-accepted use of tattoos.[43] Broadbent covered her body in 'all-American' imagery: famous war generals, presidents, and monuments. In an interview, she exposed the bald eagle soaring in front of an American flag on her chest and described, "I have Lindbergh on the back of my right leg and my back's covered with a copy of Raphael's *Madonna and Child*."[44] Broadbent and other tattooed circus women chose masculine tattoo designs for their female bodies, which established a common subcultural practice that audiences came to expect.[45] Parry stated that the designs on tattooed circus acts became so generic that tattooists often re-used stencils on multiple clients or mimicked existing work [Figures 1 and 2].[46] Circus women inverted social allowances of gendered tattoo imagery, challenged concepts of feminine beauty, and exacerbated tensions in the ambiguous boundaries of gender. However, the images that covered their bodies reinforced foundational American patriotic and religious values, as did the organization of domestic circus life.

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references due to negative stereotypes that surrounded tattooed women (139).

[43] Thompson, *Covered in Ink,* 39.

[44] Aurre, "Meet Betty Broadbent," *Tattoo Historian,* 21.

[45] Popular culture illuminated the appeal of circus women's American iconography as a generic element of their trade. A 1939 Groucho Marx song described *Lydia the Tattooed Lady*: "On her back is the Battle of Waterloo/Beside it the Wreck of the Hesperus too/And proudly above waves the Red, White, and Blue." Groucho Marx, *Lydia the Tattooed Lady,* 1939, qtd. in Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 8. These verses depicted the typical tattooed woman with images of American patriotism and folklore.

[46] Parry, *Tattoo,* 77.

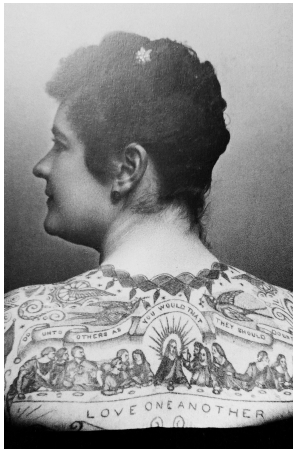

Figure 1. *Emma de Burgh.* 1880s. Circus World Museum, Baraboo, WI. Printed with permission from Circus World Museum.

Figure 2. *Princess Beatrice.* 1900s. Circus World Museum, Baraboo, WI. Printed with permission from Circus World Museum.

The daily lives of circus employees "did not especially differ from other Americans" at the time, as gender norms regulated their "working class realities."[47] Women cooked meals, cleaned, and raised young children, and circus men handled manual labour and public relations. Codes of conduct mandated employee behaviour "in the circus tent, around the lot, and in town" because, according to a Ringling Brothers rule sheet, "we should want the 'town folks' to feel that the 'show folks' are real … men and ladies."[48] Ventriloquist Charlie Roark recounted the common rules of behavioural contracts: no stealing, no alcohol, and no "loud noise after eleven o'clock."[49] Circuses regulated employee behaviour to avoid being run out of town and ensure the financial and professional security of the business. Furthermore, these rules obscured boundaries between circus staff and

[47] Adams and Keene, *Women of the American Circus*, 69; Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady*, 10, 19.

[48] Rule Sheet, 1912, Ringling Bros. Vertical File, Circus Women, in Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady*, 76.

[49] Charlie Roark, interview with author, in Stencell, *Circus and Carnival Ballyhoo*, 37-38. Roark married Broadbent in 1940, with whom he worked, travelled, and raised her young son for over a decade. For further information about their marriage, see Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady*, 112.

average Americans, an ideological link which underscored freak show performances.

Additional behavioural guidelines were applied to women and intended to "protect the girls."[50] Roark stated that "they had women-only cars with lady porters worse than a convent … you couldn't fraternize."[51] Circuses hindered sexual promiscuity and reinforced traditional ideals of chastity outside of marriage. Furthermore, employment contracts bound married women to room only with their husbands (if they travelled with the show) and to "not be seen socially in contact with other men."[52] These rules ordered domestic life for all circus performers, yet specifically drove women to exude feminine respectability in their stage persona, performance, and physical appearance.

Broadbent juggled the roles of performer, wife, and mother throughout her career and followed many gendered expectations of tattooed circus women. However, the lack of archival evidence prevents a more complete understanding of her personal life and leaves questions about whether her multiple marriages and her child born out of wedlock posed challenges to her employers. Her long and successful career implies that circuses permitted a more flexible domestic code than larger American society.[53] Tattooed circus women enjoyed more freedoms than women in the audience, yet remained subject to gendered regulations of feminine behavior and appearance to adhere to employment contracts and enrich their stage acts. Their performances "highlighted their similarities to as well as their differences from" female audience members and shook existing notions about the social roles and functions of American women.[54] Tattooed women exposed spectators to their self-determining lifestyles and implicitly spurred American women to demand more social independence and freedoms.

Broadbent's Defiance

Tattooed circus women often emphasized their 'all-American' good looks and demure behavior in ways that their employers and audiences expected. Their conventionally-feminine demeanors contrasted their masculine tattoos, and their bodies blurred the boundaries of gender

[50] Adams and Keene, *Women of the American Circus*, 75.
[51] Interview with Roark, in Stencell, *Circus and Carnival Ballyhoo*, 37.
[52] Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady*, 75.
[53] Ibid*.,* 72.
[54] Putzi, *Identifying Marks,* 154.

norms and seemed to "mock the very concepts of masculinity and femininity."[55] The natural beauty of women "mattered in the business of manufactured freaks," not only for sex appeal but also for relatability to audience members, a link crucial to freak show appeal and supported by formal contracts and informal expectations.[56] This nuanced relationship of differences and similarities between circus freaks and audiences reinforced "where the 'real' boundaries" were.[57]

Archival sources rarely emphasize a tattooed man's demeanor or physical appearance other than the spectacle of his deviant skin.[58] However, conventional feminine beauty and behaviour remained a quintessential trait in the stage personas of tattooed circus women. Parry stated that "beautiful and chic … girls are recruited for the platform" and achieved levels of fame unparalleled by 'less attractive' women.[59] The notoriety of one of the earliest tattooed circus women, Irene Woodward, "was due in part to her good looks."[60] Newspaper articles described "La Belle Irene" as a "brown-haired, brown-eyed maiden of about nineteen years of age, of medium-size, of pleasing appearance" and as "a lady of refinement."[61] Sources from the peak of Broadbent's popularity, nearly 50 years later, stressed the same characteristics.

Broadbent, "whose beautiful, dimpled smile and bobby socks reminded audience members of the girl next door," conducted herself both on and off the circus stage as a classy and refined 'all-American'

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[55] Thompson, *Covered in Ink,* 39.

[56] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 20.

[57] Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 12.

[58] Regarding Constentenus, the earliest and most profitable tattooed performer in American history, sources described his tattoo designs at length but rarely mentioned his physical appearance or personal character. An 1877 advertisement highlighted Constentenus as "tattooed from head to foot" but neglected further descriptions. See *The Aggregation*, July 25, 1877. Ethnohistorian Hanns Ebensten detailed the "388 small, delicately etched designs" that "covered every part of [Constentenus'] body" but mentioned no other physical characteristics in *Pierced Hearts and True Love: An Illustrated History of the Origin and Development of European Tattooing and a Survey of its Present State* (London: Derek Verschoyle Ltd., 1953), 17. An 1881 review of Constentenus revealed that he stood "about six feet in his boots" and "had a rather short temper." See "Farini's Foreigners," *Punch, or the London Charivari,* December 3, 1881, Vol. 81, 264, in article "T.A.B.C.," by C.W. Eldridge, *Tattoo Historian,* March 1983, 8-10. Such descriptions placed little emphasis on physical attraction other than the tattoos on his skin.

[59] Parry, *Tattoo,* 75-76.

[60] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 20.

[61] "The Tattooed Woman," *New York Times*, Mar. 19, 1882; "Museum," *Wichita Eagle,* Dec. 2, 1887, 5. See also Ebensten, *Pierced Hearts and True Love*, 17.

woman.[62] Her colleagues and employers remembered her as "a young … pretty girl" and "a lovely lady, with the emphasis on 'lady'."[63] A 1939 interview with Broadbent observed that "she has nice shoulders *but* there is an American eagle extending from one to the other."[64] This observation struggles to reconcile Broadbent's natural beauty with her deviant appearance and reflects the social tensions produced by an aesthetically-attractive woman encased in a stigmatized body.[65]

Contemporary scholars, including Mifflin, argue that circus performers covered their tattooed skin when offstage as a practical way to "protect their work from the sun's damaging rays" and "ensure that only paying customers took in the show."[66] However, primary sources show that Broadbent and other performers faced negative reactions to their deviant bodies in everyday interactions. A 1939 newspaper article reported that Broadbent "*has* to wear two pairs of stockings whenever she appears in public because of the decorations on her legs."[67] Although this source does not specify why Broadbent covered her tattooed skin, it conveys a distinct tone of social mandate.

Stigmas shadowed tattooed bodies and confined them to socially-sanctioned locations, such as circus stages. Freak shows provided spaces that suspended the existing norms and highlighted their fluid boundaries. Performers embodied 'otherness' and "what the culture fears most about itself."[68] These acts provided "an unstructured

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[62] Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady,* 113.

[63] Leonard St. Clair and Alan B. Govenar, *Stoney Knows How: Life as a Tattoo Artist* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1982), 145; Ward Hall interviewed by Osterud. *The Tattooed Lady,* 113.

[64] Interview with Broadbent, *Hamilton County Record*. July 27, 1939, 2. Italics my own.

[65] Other physically deviant circus women who blurred the conventional boundaries between genders, such as bearded ladies, also upheld behavioural standards of respectable femininity. See Sean Trainor, "Fair Bosom/Black Beard: Facial Hair, Gender Determination, and the Strange Career of Madame Clofullia, 'Bearded Lady,'" *Early American Studies* 12, no.3 (2014).

[66] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 23.

[67] Interview with Broadbent, *Hamilton County Record*, 2. Italics my own.

[68] Shirley Peterson, "Freaking Feminism: *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* and *Nights at the Circus* as Narrative Freak Shows," in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body,* ed. Rosemarie Garland Thomson, (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 291. See also Leslie Fiedler, *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 25-27. For further discussion of "the Other…as a mirror for the white, Western self, through which we can see ourselves, imagine ourselves differently, critique our social problems, or adorn ourselves in identities that satisfyingly contrast with and compliment our own," see Pitts, *In the Flesh*, 149.

testing ground" where cultural tensions bound by binary categories—male/female, beautiful/grotesque, normal/abnormal—were "explored in a controlled way.[69] The display of these bodies in sanctioned spaces "soothe[d] the onlookers' self-doubt by appearing as their antithesis."[70] Freak shows were removed from, yet intrinsically bound to, processes of daily life and provided spaces that perpetuated "an internal, articulated, and detailed control."[71] Hegemonic social structures targeted abnormal bodies for governance and rendered deviance "safely domesticated and bound by the [freak] show's forms and conventions."[72] Circuses made these bodies visible to the society that banned them from normative public life.[73] The "total authority" of "certain social groups" reinforced power structures in ways that appeared "both legitimate and natural."[74]

The anonymity of fully-clothed tattooed performers enhanced their appeal because they could easily blend into normative American society. Inconspicuousness meant that onstage "they could be the type of women your mother warned you about but offstage they could be everywhere."[75] Broadbent pinpointed the climax of her performance to her transformation from visibly normal to deviant:

> In the summer I wore a floor-length satin robe and in the winter a velvet one. The platform lecturer would announce, "And now, ladies and gentlemen, the lady who's different!" Up 'till then, nobody had the slightest idea what was different about me. I'd unzip my robe and I'd be wearing a costume underneath.[76]

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[69] Marvin Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 23. See also Atkinson, *Tattooed,* 36.

[70] Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 65.

[71] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 72.

[72] Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies, 65.*

[73] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 72.

[74] Hebdige, *Subculture,* 16. Interestingly, the classification of space within the circus "inverts the class distinctions of the outside world" because "the outcast freak show performers and carnival workers controlled who was allowed to enter what spaces and under what conditions." See Fenske, *Tattoos in American Visual Culture*, 67. Spatial power shifted to those ostracized to the margins of polite society and permitted avenues of agency.

[75] Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 12.

[76] Aurre, "Meet Betty Broadbent," *Tattoo Historian,* 21.

Only her undoubtedly skimpy costume exposed her tattooed skin as markedly different from the crowd.[77]

Tattooed bodies traversed social boundaries in ways other circus freaks could not. Performers rarely appeared in public with uncovered tattoos because of the negative connotations linked to their physical appearance. However, Broadbent broke from the boundaries of the freak show stage and thus from another common practice of her subculture when she appeared in the world's first televised beauty contest at the 1939 World's Fair in New York City. With this defiant act, she challenged ideals of gender, femininity, and beauty in an unconventional space.

It is unclear whether Broadbent knew "as a tattooed contestant she had no chance of winning" or if she entered the contest simply to capitalize on the free publicity.[78] Regardless of motive, this action subversively defied existing feminine standards in a space meant to celebrate them and illuminated how the meanings of tattooed bodies changed based on the spaces in which they performed. Beauty contests "showcased values, concepts, and behaviour" central to American normativity and provided an antithesis to the freak show stage.[79] Broadbent presented herself as she did in her circus performances—conventional hair and makeup and a long cape that concealed a tiny outfit—but the movement of her tattooed body from freak show to beauty contest stage conveyed different meanings. She transformed from "spectacle" to "monstrosity" as she elided "the gap between

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[77] Tattooed performances in the 1920s and 1930s echoed those of Constentenus, who began his act fully clothed and removed his clothes until "the grand reveal" of his tattooed body. See Robert Sherwood, *Here We Are Again: Recollections of an Old Circus Clown* (Indianapolis, IN: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1926), 151.

[78] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 25.

[79] Colleen Cohen, Richard Wilk, Beverly Stoeltje, eds., *Beauty Queens on a Global Stage* (New York, Routledge, 1996), 2. Braunberger points out that P.T. Barnum held credit for the introduction of beauty contests to America. In 1854, he suggested that "women take the stage so that their beauty may be judged." Newspapers quickly picked up these stories and "thus began the public warming to this form of scrutinized beauty." The introduction of beauty contests to American culture contributed "to the shift in the general public's perception of women as commodity images without women directly participating." By 1880, a Miss U.S.A. contest existed and by 1920, the Miss America contest was "designed to publicize resort areas." See Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 9-11. Moral codes of conduct still apply to beauty pageant participants to ensure their conformance to national values of gender. See official rules at www.missamerica.org.

beauty pageant and freak show" and became "two Barnum acts in one."[80]

A photograph of Broadbent at this contest reveals the sharp contrast between her appearance and the appearance of the other contestants [Figure 3]. This photograph may appear as an innocent moment from the contest, but we can extract the cultural discourses that flow through an image by analyzing the photograph's angle, focus, and frame.[81] I apply mainstream theories of photograph interpretation, which dictate that visual materials require an evaluation of the context, or the "cultural and historical forces circulating through a specific image," to uncover embedded messages.[82]

Figure 3. *Tattooed Lady with Cape.* 1939. The New York Public Library Digital Collections. Manuscripts and Archives Division. Accessed 3 April 2016. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e8-866b-d471-e040-e00a180654d7.

[80] Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 13.

[81] Terry Barrett, *Criticizing Photographs: An Introduction to Understanding Images* (California: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1990), 35; Barthes, *Camera Lucida,* 31-36.

[82] Fenske, *Tattoos in American Visual Culture*, 2. See also Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography,* trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 17-26.

In the photograph, Broadbent stands proudly onstage after she opened a long cape to reveal her short dress and tattooed skin. Rather than capture her in isolation, the photographer highlighted Broadbent's contrast to the other participants, visible behind her and in an elevated position in the frame. Interestingly, photographs of the other participants at this beauty contest do not include rich background activity, but instead position each woman alone in front of a blank wall [Figure 4]. Whether consciously or not, the photographer captured moments that highlighted Broadbent's deviance—her revealing clothing, her tattooed skin, her difference from conventional beauty.

Figure 4. *Television Girl.* 1939. The New York Public Library Digital Collections. Manuscripts and Archives Division. Accessed 3 April 2016. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e8-de05-d471-e040-e00a180654d7.

Although she did not win the Fairest of the Fair crown, Broadbent's appearance on this stage challenged the social expectations and restrictions placed on both tattooed and non-tattooed American women. She shook ideals of feminine beauty when she defied the traditional relegation of tattooed circus women to the freak

show stage, a bold move that further distinguished her from other women in this subculture.

Tattooed circus performers appeared almost naked onstage, but women's exposure was charged with an undeniable sexual energy absent from men's performances. Men's heavily-tattooed skin was the main spectacle of their performances—they "merely had to sit or stand nearly nude upon the stage" as audiences inspected them.[83] Women, on the other hand, "had to perform" rather than "sit or stand idly and draw the stares of admission-payers."[84] The scanty outfits and "sheer amount of the female body exposed … titillated male audiences" and established women's performances as "the most frequented and profitable shows on the midway."[85] Their bare flesh "trounced upon Victorian limits of what was deemed acceptable for women" and "brought a sexual allure to the sideshow that a tattooed man never could."[86] Parry stated that young and pretty tattooed circus women gained "a better box-office" and "healthier receipts" than men because their performances were "heavily and frankly tinged with the sex motive."[87]

Progressively shorter costumes reflected the changing "desire of the crowd to see the highly sexualized woman" that imposed greater demands on female performers' bodies.[88] Over the course of Broadbent's career, higher hemlines "forced [her] to tattoo her upper thighs, an area she had previously concealed with a skirt."[89] Broadbent reflected that by the time she retired in 1967, "you had to wear little or nothing to attract any attention."[90] Tattooed circus women chose their own costumes but the evolution of their outfits and sexualized

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[83] Mindy Fenske, "Movement and Resistance: (Tattooed) Bodies and Performance," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (2007), 61. See also Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 104-110, 247. Circus clown Robert Sherwood expressed sympathy for a tattooed male colleague, who had to "strip a dozen times a day to semi-nakedness" in cold temperatures "under a wet circus top in the early spring." See Sherwood, *Here We Are Again*, 151.

[84] Parry, *Tattoo,* 65.

[85] Michael Atkinson, *Tattooed: The Sociogenesis of a Body Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 35.

[86] Klem, "A Life of Her Own Choosing," 34. See also Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion*, 77; DeMello, *Encyclopedia,* 261; Fenske, "Movement and Resistance," 61.

[87] Parry, *Tattoo,* 73-75. See also Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 12; Atkinson, *Tattooed,* 35.

[88] Adams and Keene, *Women of the American Circus,* 85.

[89] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 27.

[90] Aurre, "Meet Betty Broadbent," *Tattoo Historian,* 40.

performances demonstrates that they reacted to "the pressure of employers and audiences" to maintain profits and large paychecks.[91]

Revealing costumes contrasted with their respectable feminine behaviour and linked these women to prostitutes and nude dancers because their "exposed bodies were purchasable commodities."[92] Tattooed circus women became "eroticized on the stage" as a "unique version of a peep show."[93] The amount of skin revealed "would have been lewd if not illegal" under other circumstances and allowed "showmen a way of sliding a little bawdiness into the freak show tent."[94] Many tattooed women "used their sexuality to sell tickets" and removed layers of costume in an overtly sexual "semi-strip tease" that added "a libidinal element to the veritable peep show."[95]

Freak shows provided legitimate spaces to sexually objectify women. Late-night circus "girlie shows" or "hooch shows" explicitly identified a sexualized woman as the main attraction, but the performances of tattooed women kept sex appeal implicit.[96] Exposure of tattooed women's bodies channeled peep shows and conveyed messages of sexual deviance absent from the performances of their male counterparts.

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[91] Adams and Keene, *Women of the American Circus,* 85.
[92] Fenske, *Tattoos in American Visual Culture,* 97.
[93] Ibid., 97.
[94] Bogdan, *Freak Show*, 251.
[95] DeMello, *Encyclopedia*, 645; Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 21. See also Atkinson, *Tattooed,* 35.
[96] Adams and Keene, *Women of the American Circus,* 121. See also Stencell, *Circus and Carnival Ballyhoo*, 65-68, for further information on hooch shows. He stated that "the cooch dance in the sideshow blow-offs [unmarked tents located behind circus grounds] was usually short and sweet. Male patrons sometimes saw total nudity but often just quick flashes of bare female flesh before the lecturer or the lone musician hollered, 'It's all out and over, gentlemen!'" (66).

Figure 5. *Tattooed Lady and Sailor.* 1939. The New York Public Library Digital Collections. Manuscripts and Archives Division. Accessed 3 April 2016. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e8-f5d9-d471-e040-e00a180654d7.

Though Broadbent contributed to the discursive production of deviant bodies, she also exercised agency in ways atypical of other tattooed circus women. A candid photograph of Broadbent at the 1939 *Strange As It Seems* exhibition at the World's Fair shows her smiling at a sailor (himself with a visible patriotic tattoo) as she lifts the hem of her dress to further expose her legs [Figure 5]. The exact context of this photograph, taken by the Fair's press for its annual review, remains unclear. It may capture an onstage comparison of tattooed bodies: the stereotypically-tattooed male sailor upstaged by a more heavily- and patriotically-tattooed circus woman. Audiences accepted both figures—a tattooed serviceman and a beautiful woman—but Broadbent combined elements of both and became deviant, exposing tensions in the gender binary. This photograph may also capture the common freak

show practice of inviting skeptical audience members to the stage to authenticate a performer.[97] Regardless, this moment reveals sexual objectification as the lived reality of a tattooed circus woman. Promotional circus materials featured female performers in low-cut shirts, short skirts, and sexualized poses, "staged in a highly … elaborated form with a set of rules articulated by the conventions of display."[98] Postcards of Broadbent sold at her performances captured her with a lifted skirt in positions reminiscent of traditional pin-up model poses [Figure 6].[99]

Figure 6. *Betty Broadbent.* 1930s. The New York Public Library Digital Collections. Billy Rose Theatre Division. Accessed 3 April 2016. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47d9-e973-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

[97] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 14.

[98] Fenske, *Tattoos in American Visual Culture,* 97. See also Richard Bauman, "Performance," in *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainment,* ed. Richard Bauman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 46.

[99] Images of sexualized women in provocative poses, popular in the first half of the twentieth century, were frequently cut from magazines, newspapers and postcards and pinned up on walls in male-dominated spaces (frequently military bases, barber shops, and taverns). For further discussion of pin-up girls, see Joanne Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material," *Journal of Women's History* 8, no.3 (1996): 9-35.

Broadbent accepted the necessity of near nudity for her circus performances but refused to capitalize on her sexuality, a common practice of other tattooed circus women. She maintained her performance as a "respectable" act, which differentiated her from "those carnival floozies with one or two tattoos who would bump and grind."[100] She shamed her contemporaries because they showcased their sex appeal as the main spectacle rather than their tattooed skin. When the Ringling Brothers management gave her the sexually-laden moniker "Tattooed Venus" on show bills, Broadbent protested directly to her employers and introduced herself to her audiences by her first name.[101] In the photograph with the sailor, Broadbent lifted her dress but stood slightly stooped, which implies that this extra exposure of her upper thighs was brief before she dropped her hem. Broadbent exposed unconventional amounts of skin for her circus career but resisted sexual objectification by employers and audiences. She presented her tattooed body as beautiful and lady-like and, unlike the other women in this subculture, rarely positioned herself as an object of sexual desire. Nor did she portray herself as an object of pity, another common practice of tattooed performers. Broadbent refused the traditional 'tall tales' told by her contemporaries to shirk their own involvement in their appearances and instead took full responsibility for her tattooed skin.

Early twentieth-century tattooed circus performers used stories of "capture, torture, tattooing, and dramatic escape" from groups of "savages" to explain their inked bodies.[102] Captivity narratives shielded performers "from taking responsibility for their condition" because they cast themselves as victims of racial violence.[103] This transference of power provided "the crucial element in these stories" and rendered tattooed bodies "acceptable in the eyes of the audience."[104] Tattooed circus performers harnessed gender and racial anxieties and shaped

[100] Aurre, "Meet Betty Broadbent," *Tattoo Historian,* 21.
[101] Interview with Roark, in Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady,* 112.
[102] Atkinson, *Tattooed,* 34. See also DeMello, *Encyclopedia,* 260. Interestingly, sex workers in early American culture also used captivity narratives. Brothels provided performance space for prostitutes to account for their entrance into this deviant career, likewise removing themselves of responsibility for their actions. See Anna Tinnemeyer, *Identity Politics of the Captivity Narrative after 1948* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 21-23.
[103] Thompson, *Covered in Ink,* 177.
[104] Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 9. See also Adams and Keene, *Women of the American Circus*, 141; Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady*, 52.

their texts in "constant awareness of the audience."[105] Men and women both used captivity narratives to invoke contextual tensions, but women's tales insinuated sexual violation.

Figure 7. *Olive Oatman with Tattoos on Chin*. 1858. The New York Public Library Digital Collections. General Research Division. Accessed 3 April 2016. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/b5e264bc-513b-4b69-e040-e00a18060150.

Captivity narratives painted a fearful image of an 'all-American' girl robbed of her dignity and agency by 'racial inferiors.' Tattooed women's tales drew power from allusions to forced slavery, racial violence, and sexual assault that resonated in American cultural memory. The tales of tattooed circus women in the 1920s and 1930s "were granddaughters in spirit" to the seventeenth-century autobiography of Mary Rowlandson, a Massachusetts pioneer kidnapped and held hostage by the Nashaway tribe, and the 1857 story of Olive Oatman, a young girl kidnapped and forcibly tattooed on her face by the Mohave tribe [Figure 7].[106] The Turkish-Armenian War of

[105] Putzi, *Identifying Marks,* 16.

[106] Mary Kosut, "Tattoo Narratives: The Intersection of the Body, Self-Identity and Society," *Visual Sociology* 15, no.1 (2000): 80. For Rowlandson's story, see Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God: Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson,* ed. Neal Salisbury (Boston: Bedford-St. Martin's, 1997, original 1682). For Oatman's story, see Royal B. Stratton, *Captivity of the Oatman Girls*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Whitton & Towne, 1857). After Oatman escaped, her story became an American legend and Pastor Stratton published a sensationally-written account of her harrowing experience that

1920 rehashed connections between tattooed women and forced slavery. American newspapers reported extensively on this conflict and sensationalized photographs of Christian Armenian women tattooed with the "mark of a slave" on their hands, breasts, and faces.[107] These histories served as prototypes "for the stylized life-stories" of tattooed women and origin tales in freak shows recycled common tropes.[108]

Captivity narratives "catered to prevailing fantasies that supported colonial and genocidal efforts" because they featured "savage interlopers" who "preyed on 'delicate pioneer women'."[109] They contained weighted words, such as 'violation' and 'indignity,' that delivered messages of sexual defilement and "tattoo rape."[110] These tales enabled circus performers to negate earlier connotations of tattooed women as sexual deviants.[111] They renounced responsibility for their tattoos and reinscribed themselves as "good girls."[112] Tattooed circus women "emphasized their chastity, femininity, and vulnerability" and scripted narratives which exploited the "horrifying possibility of the white body being permanently marked by an indigenous culture."[113] Existing racial prejudices encouraged audiences to overlook obvious contradictions, such as their American and

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sold over 30,000 copies in the first year. For more information on Oatman, see Edward J. Pettid, "Olive Ann Oatman's Lecture Notes and the Oatman Bibliography," *San Bernardino Museum Association Quarterly* 16 (Winter 1968): 19; Putzi, *Identifying Marks,* 28-48; Stephan Oettermann, "On Display: Tattooed Entertainers in America and Germany," in *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History,* ed. Jane Caplan (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 200-201; Thompson, *Covered in Ink,* 23-24; Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 16-18.

[107] "Harem Victim Tells Story," *Marin Journal*, 57, no. 48 (November 25, 1920). See also "No Smile Comes into the Eyes of Slave Girl," *Sacramento Union*, No. 4 (January 4, 1920); "Armenian Girl Pleads for Sisters," *Marin Journal,* vol. 60, no. 1 (January 3, 1920); "Cure for Tattooing is Sought: Need of Thousands of Turk-Disfigured Armenian Women has Aroused Medics," *Winona Republican-Herald,* (December 13, 1919).

[108] Oetterman, "On Display," 201-202. The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, which established all Native Americans as full US citizens, diminished the legal gap between white Americans and non-white indigenous groups. These heightened anxieties that surrounded race and gender in the 1920s and 1930s explained the continued allure of captivity narratives to American audiences.

[109] Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 9-10.

[110] Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady,* 53; Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 19. See also Klem, "A Life of Her Own Choosing," 34.

[111] See Lombroso, *Criminal Woman*, 1893 (2004); Parry, "Tattooing Among Prostitutes," 1934.

[112] Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 10.

[113] Putzi, *Identifying Marks,* 16. See also DeMello, *Encyclopedia*, 645-646.

Christian tattoo imagery, because captivity narratives demonized Native Americans and reassured audiences of their own "self-worth and the civility of urban life."[114]

Broadbent rejected the common subcultural practice of racially-charged tattoo origin stories. She declined to position herself as a helpless victim and instead took full credit for her appearance. Although no full record of her stage script exists, newspaper articles shed light on the details of her performances and imply that Broadbent told a factual, albeit romanticized, tale of leaving home at a young age to pursue a life of wealth, travel, and adventure.[115] Modern scholars of tattooed circus women consistently overlook Broadbent as an example of resistance to this common and expected performative element. She challenged existing hegemonic ideologies of gender and race in ways that other tattooed circus women did not when she refused to employ captivity narratives; yet another example of how Broadbent broke from the mold of this subculture and shattered contemporary generalizations.

Final Thoughts

By and large, scholars of early twentieth-century tattooed circus women pay little attention to instances of difference and instead focus on similarities to construct a homogenous subculture. Women in this career highlighted the ambiguity of gender norms but also remained subject to these ideals by the implicit and explicit rules of their profession. Generally, tattooed circus women were financially independent, conventionally beautiful, and conveyed 'respectable' and 'lady-like' behaviour both on and off the freak show stage. They inverted social tolerances of tattoos by covering their female bodies with 'all-American' imagery that traditionally signified

[114] Andrea Stulman Dennet, *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America* (NY: New York University Press, 1997), 7. Importantly, circus freak shows often featured displays of 'wild men' or 'savages' that reinforced racial stereotypes and prominent notions of white civility and superiority. In these acts, performers acted in "exaggerated stereotypic ways" and would "grunt or pace the stage, snarling and growling," dressed in a loincloth and perhaps "a string of bones around the neck." See Bogdan, "The Social Construction of Freaks," 28. Cassuto discusses the "standard practice to exhibit non-Westerners in freak shows as primitive humans or 'missing links'" in displays of "the racial freak." See Cassuto, "Tattooing and the Racial Freak," 241-245. See also Bogdan, *Freak Show*, 104-106; Stencell, *Circus and Carnival Ballyhoo*, 29-35. Such displays situated white society as the apex of human civilization and progress.

[115] Interview with Broadbent, *Hamilton County Record*, 2.

heteronormative masculinity. These women remained visible only on freak show stages, which were socially-sanctioned spaces that tolerated and even celebrated deviant bodies. They also used captivity narratives that drew power from contextual tensions to deflect accountability for their tattooed skin.

Broadbent shared commonalities with the women in her subculture, but she also differed in ways that make her historically unique. She accepted the professional requirement to display an unconventional amount of skin but resisted sexual exploitation and struggled to keep her tattooed skin the main spectacle. She further differentiated herself from other tattooed circus women by competing in the 1939 World's Fair beauty contest. By doing so, she blurred boundaries between 'normal' and 'abnormal' beauty as well as legitimate and illegitimate spaces for the display of deviant bodies. She also rejected tales of captivity and presented her body as the product of her own choices rather than the result of violation, victimization, and lack of power. Broadbent challenged ideals of gender roles, femininity, and physical beauty in ways that other tattooed circus women did not and she thus complicates modern generalizations of this subculture.

Following the Second World War, tattooed bodies no longer drew large circus crowds.[116] Hard economic times and competition from movies diminished the popularity of freak shows.[117] Since Broadbent's retirement in 1967, the presence of tattooed women outside of circuses has been progressively normalized. Today, no expectations for an elaborate origin story exist when American women ink their bodies.[118] Instead, women choose images that convey personal meanings often associated with individuality and triumph over trauma. However, gendered practices in the imagery, size, and location of tattoos endure. Today, women normally opt for small, brightly-coloured images linked to delicacy and natural beauty, such as flowers, birds, and butterflies, and place their tattoos in discreet locations, such as the lower back, shoulders, and bikini lines.[119]

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[116] Even before the war, primary sources reveal that "a tattooed arm is no longer a curiosity" because of the oversaturation of this circus profession. "Tattooing Decline," *WRH*, Sept. 2, 1936, 6. See also Marcia Tucker, "Pssst! Wanna See My Tattoo…" *Ms.,* April 1976, 31-33.

[117] Bogdan, "The Social Construction of Freaks," 23.

[118] Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 102.

[119] Ibid*.,* 104. Men continue to favour large images that attest to their normative masculinity, such as traditional patriotic and religious iconography, and tend to place their tattoos in highly visible locations, such as arms, hands, or neck. See Thompson, *Covered in Ink,* 159.

The sexualization of tattooed women likewise persists today. Tattoo magazine covers overwhelmingly feature women "as scantily-clad sex objects" and focus on their nearly-nude bodies rather than their tattoos.[120] Women appear without shirts and cover their breasts with their hands, despite an absence of tattoos on their torsos to necessitate toplessness. On the other hand, men stand in strong postures and use women as their heteronormative "sexual decoration," which displays tattooed men as "active [and] serious" in their appearances.[121]

Tattooed women's objectification occurs most overtly at body modification conventions, which often feature tattoo contests. In these "premier events," tattooed bodies parade onstage in front of large audiences and a judging panel "composed of prominent tattoo artists."[122] Stylistic, technical, and aesthetic elements of a tattoo decide the winner, and the tattooist and model receive prizes and magazine features.[123] These contests explicitly celebrate the craft of tattooing. However, votes typically favor "the sexiest body rather than the most beautiful artwork" and emphasize a women's physical desirability in conjunction with her tattoos.[124] These competitions offer spaces that combine elements of beauty contests and freak shows and reinforce gender norms because "tattooed women are expected to maintain their bodies within larger social codes of size and shape."[125]

The meanings of women's tattooed bodies have transformed throughout the twentieth century, but stigmas and stereotypes survive today. Broadbent's subversive actions accelerated transformations in the public's perception of tattooed women more drastically than her contemporaries. However, the progression of tattoos from a deviant to an acceptable, even celebrated, social practice is far from over and may only be successful when tattoo wearers challenge ideals of sex, beauty, and space with the same fervor and bravery as Betty Broadbent.

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[120] Thompson, *Covered in Ink,* 148.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Fenske, *Tattoos in American Visual Culture*, 43.
[123] DeMello, *Bodies of Inscription*, 29; Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion,* 49.
[124] Interview with Patricia Ball, "Living as a Work of Art," *Free Lance Star,* Aug. 11, 1990: 4.
[125] Braunberger, "Revolting Bodies," 16-17.

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Figure 1. *Emma de Burgh*. 1880s. Circus World Museum, Baraboo, Wisconsin. Printed with permission from Circus World Museum.

Figure 2. *Princess Beatrice*. 1900s. Circus World Museum, Baraboo, Wisconsin. Printed with permission from Circus World Museum.

Figure 3. *Tattooed Lady with Cape.* 1939. The New York Public Library Digital Collections. Manuscripts and Archives Division. Accessed 3 April 2016. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e8-866b-d471-e040-e00a180654d7.

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Philanthropic Neo-Malthusianism: The Rockefeller Foundation and the Mexico Agricultural Program, 1906-1945

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Abstract: At the turn of the twentieth century, the Rockefeller Foundation took a vested interest in promoting agricultural reform programs in the American South. With the success of these initiatives, the Foundation began looking abroad for similar opportunities, and turned to Mexico to implement a similar agenda for agricultural reform. This project, the Mexico Agricultural Program (MAP), reflected the emergence of transnational ideas relating to overpopulation, food production and land capacity that dominated transnational epistemic communities throughout the early half of the twentieth century. This paper looks at the nexus between the Rockefeller Foundation and the United States government and points to the way private philanthropy was used as a diplomatic arm of the American state. The MAP was seen not only as a way for the Rockefeller Foundation to promote its strategies for modernization, but also as a means to secure the state's geostrategic interests, which were also tied to biopolitical concerns relating to global land and food supplies.

In February 1941, the creator of the Time-Life Magazine empire, Henry Luce, took to his *TIME* publication with an impassioned call for the United States to be at the heart of global leadership in the coming decades. Luce's campaign for the "American Century" revolved around powerful ideas relating to a sense of (global) duty Americans owed to themselves and to the world. Although the United States had not yet entered the Second World War, he believed the conflict augured a watershed moment for reasons not entirely related to the European theatre. Luce was confident that the war in Europe presented the United States with an "opportunity of leadership," but was also wary that it was "enveloped in stupendous difficulties and dangers."[1]

[1] Henry Luce, "The American Century," in *The Ambiguous Legacy: U.S. Foreign Relations in the "American Century,"* ed. Michael J. Hogan (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 18.

His now controversial article articulated an eager and hopeful vision that placed the United States as the global hegemon capable of tackling not only the challenges of the present, but undoubtedly those of the future.

Luce claimed in his article that the American Century behooved the United States to assume a leadership role as a matter of both biblical and international calling, writing:

> We must undertake now to be the Good Samaritan of the entire world. It is the manifest duty of this country to undertake to feed all of the people of the world who as a result of this worldwide collapse of civilization are hungry and destitute – all of them, that is, whom we can from time to time reach consistently with a very tough attitude toward all hostile government. […] Every farmer in America should be encouraged to produce all the crops he can, and all that we cannot eat – and perhaps some of us could eat less – should forthwith be dispatched to the four quarters of the globe as a free gift, administered by a humanitarian army of Americans, to every man, woman and child on this earth who is really hungry.[2]

Luce referenced the "world-environment" in which the United States existed to speak of the country's obligation to secure not only its own future, but that of the entire world.[3] Greater American involvement throughout the globe was consequently understood as the surest way of ensuring a world order most favourable to the United States and to its interests.

Accordingly, the United States' opportunity for world leadership would arise not only from its participation in ending the war, but also from tackling complex issues like hunger, food, and agriculture.[4] Pairing together global security and food, his reference to American soil – specifically to its mastery by the American farmer – pointed to a key site from where the United States' global leadership would grow. His ideas largely reflected the mounting neo-Malthusian concerns of his time, the origins of which can be traced back to the latter half of the nineteenth century. Malthusians from the late nineteenth century referred to themselves as "neo-Malthusians," thinkers who continuously drew associations from the close relationship between sex and reproduction and matters of population,

[2] Luce, "The American Century," 27-28.
[3] Ibid., 21.
[4] Ibid.

land and food.[5] They believed that the strains of overpopulation and population density threatened not only ecological resources, but life itself. They vigorously defended contraception as the means to securing life by controlling the birth rate in order to maintain an equilibrium that did not risk endangering access to land and food.[6] By the 1920s, fears of food shortages within the United States began surfacing after Americans saw how Europe faced scarcity during the war. These fears amplified neo-Malthusian concerns related to population and food amongst intellectuals, activists and bureaucrats.[7] The Rockefeller Foundation understood this global mission as early as 1906 when it began promoting technical and scientific agricultural education in the American South, a program that would eventually be reproduced in Mexico in 1943. As the Foundation relied on its domestic model of agricultural assistance as a template to export, it was weaving together a new type of project that involved the use of international philanthropic intervention as an arm of American diplomacy.

Historian Nick Cullather argues that by refocusing "development *as* history, as an artifact of the political and intellectual context of the Cold War," we begin to glean a more complex and complicated picture of modernization.[8] Through an historicist lens, economic development during the twentieth century is thus reoriented from a "methodology" and made a "subject."[9] The result is an analysis that approaches "development without accepting its clichés."[10] Similarly, this paper attempts to situate the Rockefeller Foundation's Mexico Agricultural Program (hereafter, MAP) within an historical framework that evaluates it within the scope of American hegemonic expansion. Edward H. Berman highlights that despite public declarations from private philanthropies that their initiatives at home and abroad were solely motivated by providing humanitarian aid, such declarations are "simply not supported by internal foundation memoranda, letters, policy statements, and reminiscences left by their

[5] Alison Bashford, *Global Population: History, Geopolitics, and Life on Earth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 30.
[6] Ibid., 41.
[7] Ibid., 197.
[8] Nick Cullather, "Development? It's History," *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 642. Emphasis original.
[9] Ibid., 652.
[10] Ibid., 642.

officers."[11] Instead, internal communications among those at the Rockefeller Foundation reveal a desire to gain access to Latin America due to increasingly global concerns over food and geopolitical security. By tracing this philanthropic genealogy to the early twentieth century, I hope to show the way this modernization project reflected the neo-Malthusian concerns of room, food and soil.

This paper examines *how* the Rockefeller Foundation emerged as a veritable actor leading agricultural reforms both within and without the United States, paying particular attention to the MAP. With agricultural reforms premised as the keys to societal uplift and progress, the Rockefeller Foundation engaged in policy reform in Mexico by relying on similar strategies of modernization and quality of life it previously applied to the American South. This paper contends that while the Rockefeller Foundation framed the MAP as a project of agricultural modernization, it ultimately reflected geostrategic concerns motivated by neo-Malthusian ideas of population, land and food production. By positioning itself as an authority in agronomy capable of improving techniques and yields, the Rockefeller Foundation used philanthropy as a vehicle for promoting American interests globally. Indeed, the MAP was designed by a private foundation capable of forging an international partnership with a foreign state through its own volition, further extending the reach of the United States' empire in the region.

Establishing the MAP

When members of the Rockefeller Foundation began surveying Mexico during the mid-1930s, the country was still recovering from a lengthy revolutionary war. Under the political leadership of President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940), Mexico saw a large redistribution of land to the country's peasantry and rural agrarian communities, along with the nationalization of oil which led to sanctions from the United States, England and affected oil companies.[12] Cárdenas was succeeded by General Ávila Camacho (1940-1946), who began to implement a more conservative agenda that reversed many of the progressive strides taken under his predecessor. Camacho proposed an economic plan in

[11] Edward H. Berman, *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy* (Albany, NY: State University Press of New York, 1983), 3.

[12] Benjamin Keen and Keith Haynes, *A History of Latin America*, 8th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009), 330-332.

favour of private enterprise that involved the "freezing of wages, the repression of strikes, and the use of a new weapon against dissidents."[13] Desiring for Mexico's economy to industrialize, he believed foreign investment could assist in this restructuring.[14] Naomi Klein describes how crises have served as overtures for propelling capitalist agendas forward. According to Klein, liberal capitalist ideology that emerged out of the University of Chicago's Department of Economics during the 1940s onward and was championed by Milton Friedman has fostered ideas and institutions that have tended to view bewildering moments of despair and devastation as opportunities to seize the economic system as it is and begin the process of rebuilding it to their liking.[15] By advancing a capitalist agenda at home and abroad with the strength and singular determination of an army, corporatists have relied on the "shock doctrine" to implement their visions.[16] Capitalist intervention disguised as rapid response solutions is therefore less a byproduct of a crisis than it is its *sine qua non*. Along these lines, it was under Camacho that Mexico and the Rockefeller Foundation agreed to the MAP in 1943, and the American foundation began in earnest to develop a "scientific infrastructure in a foreign country on basic food crops" – the first of its kind for a private philanthropy.[17]

The breadth and the depth of American philanthropic interventions abroad during the early half of the twentieth century expanded even while a fierce national conversation at home contemplated the future of the United States' growing global hegemony. In the three decades following the end of the United States' war with Spain in 1898, American intellectual circles engaged in vigorous and often contentious debate over the country's international role and the Supreme Court struggled to grapple with the constitutional

[13] Keen and Haynes, *A History of Latin America*, 333.
[14] John H. Perkins, *Geopolitics and the Green Revolution: Wheat, Genes, and the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 106.
[15] Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008), 21.
[16] Ibid., 9.
[17] "Special Cable to The New York Times: Mexico Accepts Farm Aid," *New York Times* (21 October 1942) accessed 14 December 2015, http://search.proquest.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/docview/106376202?accountid=12339; John H. Perkins, "The Rockefeller Foundation and the Green Revolution, 1941-1956," *Agriculture and Human Values* 7, no. 3-4 (June 1990): 7.

consequences of an expanding empire.[18] Divisions between expansionists and isolationists, shaped by global challenges like the First World War and the country's subsequent rejection of the League of Nations, waxed and waned due to debate regarding what these kinds of engagements would mean for the country's future.[19] During this time, however, a triumvirate of privately-funded American philanthropic foundations emerged, partnering and building networks across business, academic and government sectors to provide aid and assistance throughout the world.

As global conflict increased in the interwar years (and throughout the Cold War) the American government either backed or partnered with these philanthropic organizations.[20] Among them was the Rockefeller Foundation, formally founded in 1913 by Standard Oil baron, John Davidson Rockefeller Sr., the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation. The Rockefeller Foundation was part of what Inderjeet Parmar calls the "Big 3 Foundations" that would be at the heart of building Luce's vision for the American Century. Together, the Big 3 spurred the "rise and consolidation of American power in international politics in the twentieth century."[21] Parmar explains that despite outward displays of generosity and charity, the Big 3 Foundations operate within an insidious "subculture" comprised of "religiosity, scientism, racism, and elitism."[22] This subculture shaped the Rockefeller Foundation's approach to its agricultural endeavours

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[18] See Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006).

[19] Christopher McKnight Nichols, *Promise and Peril: America at the Dawn of a Global Age* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2011), 18-20.

[20] Both during the interwar years and through the Cold War, philanthropies became an extension of American foreign policy. Cultural diplomacy was a way in which this influence was propagated, as was the creation and promotion of academic disciplines like the Area Studies Program in which foundations worked closely with the CIA to produce information on regions that were deemed geostrategic threats to the United States' security. For more information on these topics, please see: Bruce Cummings, "Biting the Hand That Feeds You: Why the 'Intelligence Function' of American Foundation Support for Area Studies Remains Hidden in Plain Sight," *Global Society* 28, no. 1 (2014), 70-89; and Volker R. Berghahn, "Philanthropy and Diplomacy in the 'American Century,'" *Diplomatic History* 23, no. 3 (1999): 393-419, respectively.

[21] Inderjeet Parmar and Katharina Rietzler, "American Philanthropy and the Hard, Smart and Soft Power of the United States," *Global Society* 28, no.1 (2014), 4.

[22] Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundation of the American Century: the Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 59.

both at home and throughout the world at the turn of the twentieth century. Although spirited debates at home have questioned the merits of a larger role for the United States on the international stage, private foundations have long been able to "promote ideas from 'behind the curtain,'" allowing for their reputations to "remain virtually untarnished after a century of undemocratic leadership in the United States."[23] Indeed, intellectual, political and corporate elites have been able to wield significant influence over the content and direction of domestic and international public and foreign policy as academics whose work is funded by philanthropic foundations.[24] As the Rockefeller Foundation worked to design the MAP, it borrowed from other large corporations already operating in Latin America at the time.

As early as 1938, the Secretary of Agriculture, Henry M. Wallace, began corresponding with Rockefeller Brothers' economic consultant Stacy May, expressing his worries over the need to secure democracy in the Western Hemisphere. Wallace suggested to May that she contact his technical assistant, Mr. Brestman, who then connected her with Mr. Lee from the Department of Agriculture and Mr. Popenoe from the United Fruit Company, both of whom had extensive experience with the "tropical agriculture" of Latin America. In fact, Wallace explained to May that any future agricultural project the Rockefeller Foundation envisioned in Latin American would be more effective if working in conjunction with his contacts. Such private correspondence between May and Wallace provides a glimpse into how epistemic communities operate. The Rockefeller Foundation's access to members of the federal government (in this case, high

[23] "Editor's Introduction The Hidden Hand: How Foundations Shape the Course of History," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 74, no. 4 (September 2015): 638. The article highlights that while critics from the Left and the Right have assailed the influence of "Wall Street bankers, lawyers, and lobbyists and feared the control of corporate gains over the lives of ordinary citizens," their criticism has seldom extended to the ties many of these elites have to major foundations.

[24] Ibid. The lack of transparency regarding the influence philanthropy and academia wield within the United States also extends abroad. In 2015, Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and the Rockefeller Foundation were sued in a class-action lawsuit with 800 plaintiffs from Guatemala alleging both American institutions were responsible for funding scientists and physicians during the 1940s and 1950s who conducted experiments on patients that involved infecting them with sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis. This program remained secret until it was accidentally discovered by college professor, Susan Reverby (Oliver Laughland, "Guatemalans deliberately infected with STDs sue Johns Hopkins University for $1bn," *The Guardian* [2 April 2015] accessed 20 July 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/apr/02/johns-hopkins-lawsuit-deliberate-std-infections-guatemala).

ranking members of the Presidential Cabinet) could be used to direct their next steps in planning their future project, and expand their networking opportunities and their resources. These interpersonal relationships and network building opportunities between private philanthropy, American transnational corporations and the federal government reveal the spaces of influence and power in which private foundations operated.[25]

Long before the United States government began pushing food policy as a veritable component of its Cold War anti-communist foreign policy agenda, the Rockefeller Foundation had already established technical assistance programs designed for agricultural reform.[26] Technical assistance agricultural programs such as those in the American South and Mexico (like the MAP) served as the building blocks that helped propel Luce's call for an American Century into fruition, but these initiatives were also vigorously encouraged due to anxieties regarding overpopulation, food production, resource depletion, "peasant insurgency and communism" that dominated epistemic communities throughout the world during the early half of the twentieth century.[27] Philanthropic foundations played a vital role in providing the funding to "population studies centres" to universities throughout the United States during the late 1930s and 1940s.[28] These grants helped fund a small group of academics heavily engaged in knowledge creation aimed at tackling population increases.[29] Their

[25] Stacy May, "Memorandum regarding Secretary Henry Wallace and Latin America," (9 November 1938) *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, accessed 11 December 2015, https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/memorandum-regarding-secretary-henry-wallace-and-latin-america.

[26] Bashford, *Global Population*, 268. Following the Second World War, neo-Malthusian ideas dovetailed with the United States' anti-communist strategy to contain the spread of communism throughout the world in the face of the burgeoning Cold War. Given these circumstances, hunger and famine posed potential geostrategic threats capable of destabilizing American national security throughout the world. Bashford writes that the geopolitical calculations that dominated the Cold War prompted large investments in "research, laboratory, and field development of agricultural sciences." During this time, food policy became a component in the United States' strategy to stave off the expansion of communism throughout the Third World.

[27] David Nally and Stephen Taylor, "The Politics of Self-Help: The Rockefeller Foundation, Philanthropy, and the 'Long' Green Revolution," *Political Geography* 49 (2015): 2.

[28] John Sharpless, "World Population Growth, Family Planning, and American Foreign Policy," *Journal of Policy History* 7, no. 1 (January 1995): 80.

[29] Ibid.

ideas were legitimated over time as they developed "consistency in methodology, analysis, and language" that helped "establish[] the credibility of demography as a policy science."[30] Next to government, privately-funded philanthropic foundations led the way attempting to address growing anxieties related to food and population increase.[31]

(Philanthropic) Neo-Malthusianism, 1920s-1930s

Historian Alison Bashford's exhaustive work presents twentieth-century neo-Malthusians as the descendants of a multi-generational epistemic community rooted in "Malthusian-Darwinian" ideas on eugenics from the eighteenth century. The conceptualization and evolution of these ideas manifested in different forms, but all were related to the politics surrounding life and death that deeply connected human sustenance to environmental capacity. Thomas Robert Malthus's 1798 conceptualization of land and population as an ongoing "struggle for room and food" suggested a "spatial limit" of available territory that was later used in the twentieth century as an intellectual guide, shaping geopolitical understandings of land, food and population. In particular, German geographer Friedrich Ratzel theorized the notion of "lebensraum" — or "living room" — during the nineteenth century to explain how islands' fixed geographic territory meant that their expanding populations were confined to the physical area on which they found themselves. Ratzel explained that because island countries' bounded spatialities were restricted to their shores, they were often induced into "either population-limiting practices or population-driven expansion." He was particularly interested in

[30] Sharpless, "World Population Growth, Family Planning, and American Foreign Policy," 80. In 1953, John D. Rockefeller III led academics and "population control activists" in establishing the Population Council. With support from the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Council was created with the goal of establishing a "consensus among academic, governmental, and cultural elites" concerning the clear and severe dangers the population growth posed. They were particularly perturbed by the risks it posed to developing countries of the Third World.

[31] Ibid., 79. Matters of food, famine and overpopulation were always closely related throughout the 1940s, but they grew in importance during the 1950s when it was believed demographic increases throughout the world could deplete agricultural resources. It was during this time that the United States began rethinking its foreign policy to include strategies capable of addressing the world's rising population as a means of ensuring political stability through food security. As Bashford writes, "Food/political security was the ends for which birth control was the means (Bashford, *Global Population*, 268).

England and Japan. Finding new space in order to recalibrate the "area to population" ratio required expansive solutions in the form of either emigration or colonization. Such practices served as "territorial outlet[s]" to regain this equilibrium.[32]

The term "geopolitics" was initially coined by Rudolf Kjellén, a Swedish student of Ratzel's, who believed the relationships between life, population and land were necessarily matters concerning the survival of the state. Germany's territorial expansion during the First World War seemed to confirm this nexus, serving as a cautionary reminder of the "dangers of overpopulation," and the severe measures a country might take to allay the stresses of population density. Economists and biologists who supported neo-Malthusian thought saw the First World War as a cruel and troubling confirmation of their ideas by directly linking population and conflict. To them, Bashford explains, "[p]opulation caused war, because it was about land, and it was about land, because it was about food." Territorial expansion of the state was thus a means of accommodating overpopulation and staving off scarcity. As such, a state was defined not only by the territory it occupied, but also by the people who "literally grew from it." This understanding of the state necessarily attributed to it a lifelike character that had to be sustained. As Bashford explains, "lebensraum was not simply 'living space' – an area to inhabit – but space that was, itself, living." Ratzel's ideas on lebensraum reemerged in the United States through the work of Chicago geographer Ellen Churchill Semple at the beginning of the twentieth century. For neo-Malthusians, concerns regarding overpopulation, agricultural production, land capacity and spatiality, and soil vitality were necessarily intertwined.[33]

The American South: Template of Agricultural Modernization at Home and Abroad

Although the MAP began in 1943, the Rockefeller Foundation's role in providing technical and financial assistance to impoverished rural communities can be traced back to its domestic projects in the American South at the turn of the twentieth century. These projects were overseen by two departments financed by a conglomeration of separate funds collectively known as the Rockefeller boards: one focused on agricultural reform and the other on public health. The

[32] Bashford, *Global Population*, 11, 56-57
[33] Ibid., 57, 63.

former, the General Education Board (GEB), received its first grant from the Rockefeller board in 1906 to provide support to farmers in eight southern states to eradicate the boll weevil decimating the region's cotton crops. This effort lasted until 1914, but during this time GEB administrators noticed that farmers in North Carolina were suffering from debilitating health issues beset by an outbreak of hookworm disease. Because public health concerns fell beyond the scope of agricultural reform, administrators at the GEB created a second department in 1909, the Sanitary Commission, which received Rockefeller's financial backing. Accordingly, the MAP was inspired by the Foundation's domestic pilot projects whose global counterparts, the International Education Board (1923) and the International Health Board, combined ideas of fitness and hygiene that necessarily bound agricultural assistance to neo-Malthusian concerns of land, food and quality of life.[34]

For John A. Ferrell, the supervisor of the public health branch of the Rockefeller Foundation in Mexico, however, extending agricultural assistance and aid to Mexico seemed the most holistically effective way of improving public health in the region. He believed that if agricultural practices could be improved, there was a greater likelihood that both the "quantity and quality of food" would inevitably increase.[35] Ferrell was not alone; Josephus Daniels, American ambassador to Mexico, believed agricultural reforms could be at the heart of overall uplift of the Mexican people. Using the American South as their point of reference, Ferrell and Daniels saw significant similarities between both Mexican and American farming populations whose farming techniques relied on "primitive methods."[36] As early as 1933 – a decade before the MAP officially began – both Ferrell and Daniels began proposing that the Foundation should extend its agricultural program to Mexico. Their efforts were thrice denied by the Foundation in 1933, in 1935 and in 1936, although Ferrell was

[34] William C. Cobb, "The historical backgrounds of the Mexican Agricultural Program (annotated edition)," (1 March 1956) *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, accessed 10 December 2015, https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/the-historical-backgrounds-of-the-mexican-agricultural-program-annotated-edition-. The IEB was responsible for technical assistance programs. It was eventually "discontinued as a separate entity" and the Rockefeller Foundation became the main philanthropic institution. By contrast, the IHB grew out of the former Sanitary Commission.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

nevertheless granted permission to conduct an exploratory mission to Mexico in 1935.[37]

From the 1920s onward, the idea of "world population" was couched within an intellectual framework that was "as much about geopolitics as it was about biopolitics."[38] As the Second World War raged throughout Europe, concerns for the world-environment *necessarily* tied American national security to food production and food supply, and pointed to just how palpable and profound these neo-Malthusian worries were. But in a political climate that had recently undergone land reform which broadened economic opportunity by dissembling the "traditional, semifeudal hacienda and peonage" that previously dominated Mexico, the Rockefeller Foundation likely confronted reluctance from this new land-owning rural population.[39] As previously mentioned, the shock doctrine operates upon the assessment that a crisis, by virtue of the turmoil and disorder it creates, generates enough promising momentum otherwise unavailable to industry leaders and policymakers to initiate large scale reforms. It presumes that affected societies are more receptive to recast economic and political systems as a result of their distress and their mourning. But what if the recipient population is deemed "unfit," "incapable" and lacking the necessary infrastructure of undergoing "modernization" on their own, an assessment Rockefeller Foundation administrators thought true of Mexicans (as they had of Americans in the South)? In a diary entry from 27 March 1941, Rockefeller Foundation officer Harry M. Miller noted that Mexico's agronomic challenges were due to the country's politics being riddled with corruption and cronyism, in addition to the daunting prospect of having agriculture "in the hands of the Indian."[40] He lamented that the "demonstrations of most agricultural improvements" they tried had "failed," recalling when the iron plow was introduced to replace the trusted wooden plow.[41]

Klein explains that the process of economic rebooting in the wake of trauma means preventing the body politic from salvaging the remains of the disaster it has undergone.[42] The detritus from these

[37] Cobb, "The historical backgrounds of the Mexican Agricultural Program."
[38] Bashford, *Global Population*, 3.
[39] Keen and Haynes, *A History of Latin America*, 331.
[40] Rockefeller Foundation. "Rockefeller Foundation Records, Officers' Diaries, RG 12, M-R (FA393): January 2-April 1, 1941," accessed 22 April 2017. Available here: http://dimes.rockarch.org/ee344903-38b5-4581-a9ac-6ec0556a50f9.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Klein, *Shock Doctrine*, 8.

catastrophes is instead repackaged into something new (and often detrimental) as a sign of regeneration replacing what once was. Significantly, "disaster capitalists have no interest in repairing what was."[43] Traditional techniques used by indigenous farmers in Mexico were trivialized by Miller who noted, "if one farmer is given choice seed his ultimate higher yield simply convinces his fellow-villagers that magic has been invoked."[44] Miller's assessment matched the way the GEB had previously identified the American South as an "under-developed area" where the rural community "worked the soil at a primitive technological level," demeaning the communal knowledge of agriculture and land.[45] With the MAP potentially arriving in Mexico, similar anxieties over Mexicans' abilities and competence arose amongst Rockefeller Foundation administrators.

Building a Network of (Philanthropic) Knowledge

By the 1920s-1930s, Bashford notes, "symbolically, politically, economically, and literally, *soil* was the substrata of the population problem" (emphasis added).[46] As indicated above, the MAP was a blend of earlier programs of technical assistance the Rockefeller Foundation had applied domestically to the Southern United States, and in many ways, it reflected similar essentializing assumptions of rural communities and their farming techniques. Both were deemed to be rooted in "backwardness" and in need of "uplift," all of which were considered corrigible with the Rockefeller Foundation's philanthropic assistance. Along these lines, assistance was framed not merely as the desperate lifeline rural communities impatiently awaited in order to be lifted from their destitution and rescued from their abject quality of life, but as an *education program wresting farmers from their own lack of knowledge*. William C. Cobb, a former staff member at the Rockefeller Foundation's Office of Publication, understood the GEB's Southern program in similar light when he described it as a much-

[43] Klein, *Shock Doctrine*, 8. Today, such United States hegemony is expressed in various forms such as soaring profits private military contractors amassed as they entered contracts with the American federal government to wage war in Iraq, and the dismantling of the New Orleans public school system in order to give way to the rise of charter schools (5; 13). Klein points to both examples as *post facto* reforms that followed the devastations of Iraq War and Hurricane Katrina, respectively.

[44] Rockefeller Foundation. "Rockefeller Foundation Records, Officers' Diaries, RG 12, M-R (FA393): January 2-April 1, 1941."

[45] Nally and Taylor, "The Politics of Self-Help," 2.

[46] Bashford, *Global Population*, 181.

needed lifeline for the farmers who "could do little themselves because they lacked technically trained leadership and they lacked funds."[47] To Cobb, both Mexicans and their American counterparts in the South, found themselves trapped in a precarious position – one of "poverty and ignorance" – that created a vacuum for assistance that the Rockefeller Foundation could fill.[48] As a result, the MAP relied heavily on the model of agricultural reform previously applied to Southern states, just as Ferrell and Daniels had hoped. The Rockefeller Foundation and its teams of experts and scientists thus became the purveyors of American promises of modernity, uplift and an enhanced quality of life. By recruiting researchers, committing the financial funding and coordinating collaboration between researchers in the United States and South America, private philanthropies were not only claiming a stake in the region, they were also justifying their presence there.[49]

The stresses of the First World War placed increased focus on the conflict's impact on food supplies, distribution and hunger, designating the state as responsible for ensuring both "food consumption and production."[50] In particular, the calorie became the metric by which to understand the conflict's potential totality and effectively positioned the United States as the world's leader of scientific knowledge.[51] Indeed, the discovery of the calorie in the

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[47] Cobb, "The historical backgrounds of the Mexican Agricultural Program." In lieu of federal funds from the Department of Agriculture, the Rockefeller board funded a grant of one million dollars to the effort in the American South. The GEB's campaign ended in 1914 when the federal government passed the Smith-Lever Act to institute a cooperative extension program.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ricardo D. Salvatore, "The Enterprise of Knowledge: Representational Machines of Informal Empire," in *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, eds., Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 82.

[50] Nick Cullather, "The Foreign Policy of the Calorie," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 2 (April 2007): 347.

[51] Ibid. As the United States prepared to enter the war, President Woodrow Wilson implemented a "national food authority" and turned to Herbert Hoover, "a mining engineer and chief organizer of the Belgium relief," to head the new division. Under Hoover's leadership, food (scarcity, specifically) came to be seen as a vital component of the war with the potential of unsettling the international order and could eventually compromise American security. Hoover explained to Wilson that the United States' security framework had to equally consider the untold and unquantifiable consequences if food scarcity were to wreak havoc throughout Europe. He posited starkly, "famine breeds anarchy. Anarchy is infectious, the infections of such a cess-pool will jeopardize France and Britain, [and] will yet

United States during the 1890s and the subsequent reliance upon it as a quantitative measurement of consumption and nutrition transitioned from being a "hygienic necessity" applicable to the domestic sphere, to a national security concern to be overseen by the military as the war threatened to devastate and deplete European food resources.[52] But in the war's aftermath, the United States' prewar application of the calorie as related to hygiene was revived, this time globally, and infused with eugenic ideas of fitness and population.[53] Private philanthropies rushed to the fore to propagate these ideas, embarking on what Cullather describes as a "new style of international activism" that saw a rise in projects designed to export the "American standard of living" around the globe.[54] The Rockefeller Foundation's push for agricultural reform thus dovetailed with other distant, although similar food-related projects knitting together science and modernization that flourished in the United States during the Progressive Era.

The Foundation's turn toward Latin America in the 1930s was consistent with the rise of "scientific philanthropy" that saw private foundations participate in what historian Ricardo D. Salvatore has called an "enterprise of knowledge" that shaped the expansion of the United States' early informal empire abroad. Salvatore explores how the latter relied on various forms of repeated cultural representations of South America that have hardened within the American imaginary over time. He divides these representational efforts into two periods: "*mercantile engagement* (1820-1860)" and "*neo-imperial engagement* (1890-1930)." Each period was marked by American business interests utilizing the technologies of their time to produce field reports assessing foreign regions for readers back home. Salvatore highlights that these "ambassadors of 'American culture' in South America" spanned manifold professional circles, and returned to the United States with new evaluations, interpretations and "insights" of the regions and the peoples they encountered. As such, "These representational practices constituted the stuff of empire as much as the activities of North Americans in the economic, military, or diplomatic fields." Together, they created an anthology of "encounters" that

spread to the United States" (Quoted in Cullather, "The Foreign Policy of the Calorie," 350).

[52] Cullather, "The Foreign Policy of the Calorie," 347.

[53] Ibid., 354-355.

[54] Ibid., 356.

captured the way the metropole understood and recreated the other in its own mind.[55]

Permeating the United States' official stance and cultural conceptualizations of Latin America has been a longstanding perception of the region as inferior and in need of assistance and uplift. Within this national imaginary, such perceived inferiority fundamentally buttresses its utility to the United States' grand-strategy in the region by justifying intervention on the basis of protecting assets and interests. Similar ideas were crucial to informing the United States' approach to Mexico since the 1820s, when Americans began settling in Mexican Texas and ultimately disrupted Mexico's efforts at national consolidation following its independence from Spain. As Schoultz writes, "It was not diplomacy but demography that spelled the end to Mexico's sovereignty over Texas." These newcomers used their new residence in Texas as a means to extend their "Anglo culture" and "their slave economy," and reorient the region toward the surrounding American states in the South. Indeed, it has long been common for Americans to treat Mexico as an unofficial, foreign and inferior extension of the United States.[56]

In May 1941, the Rockefeller Foundation Board of Trustees resolved that ten thousand dollars (or as much was required) would be allocated to the Commission to Survey Agriculture in Mexico. The three-man commission was assigned with compiling recommendations to be submitted to the Board before the end of the year. By December 1941, the Commission's report reached the Board of Trustees, and through "unanimous opinion," the small group agreed that the situation in Mexico was in "urgent need for improving agricultural conditions and practices." They considered the MAP worthwhile because "time is propitious" and "there is now enough potential and partially functioning talent to justify the opinion that substantial improvement could be accomplished." As such, the Foundation's intervention in Mexico was considered not only a matter of agricultural necessity, but also for the "amelioration of living and health conditions," knitting together ideas on food, quality of life and modernization.[57]

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[55] Salvatore, "The Enterprise of Knowledge: Representational Machines of Informal Empire," 69-70, 72-73, 76-77, 82. Emphasis original.

[56] Lars Schoultz, *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1998), xv-xvi, 21, 35.

[57] Rockefeller Foundation, "Memorandum on creation of commission to study agriculture in Mexico," (16 May 1941) *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, accessed 8 November 2015, https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-

Building a Mexican Elite

For the Rockefeller Foundation and the Mexican government, the MAP was less about providing long-term solutions for the farming community as a whole than it was about restructuring the country's political economy. John Perkins explains that neither institution – philanthropic nor governmental – was concerned with "improv[ing] the lives of peasant farmers *in their capacities as peasant farmers*." At its core, the MAP was the result of an "alliance" between the Mexican government and an American foundation "promot[ing] liberal democratic capitalism" – the same economic system the Mexican government struggled to establish on its own.[58] As Cotter writes, the Rockefeller Foundation was acutely aware that training the *agrónomos* [Mexican agronomists] in the United States would help to shore up American economic and political interests for the present and the future.[59]

Pivotal to the GEB's technical assistance program in the American South was the education and training component, referred to as the extension program, which was the vessel through which agricultural reforms were implemented. Consisting of "county agents, home demonstration workers as well as boys' and girls' club participants," the extension program essentially demonstrated to farm workers how to adapt their methods of operating to local contexts.[60] At the urging of the Board, the extension program was to be racially segregated, with training offered to African American agents who would be responsible for instructing African American farmers.[61] By

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/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/memorandum-on-creation-of-commission-to-study-agriculture-in-mexico.

[58] Perkins, *Geopolitics and the Green Revolution*, 115. Emphasis original.

[59] Joseph Cotter, *Troubled Harvest: Agronomy and Revolution in Mexico, 1880-2002* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 210.

[60] Nally and Taylor, "The Politics of Self-Help," 4. For many Americans living in the Southern United States, land and agriculture played a significant role in culture, ideology, regional and national politics, among many other factors, that all contributed to the construction of imaginaries and identities. Attachment to the land was understood beyond simply scientific measurements of yields and chemicals – it was "above all a home," and given this emotional attachment, "[t]o reform the farm was thus to reform the homestead."

[61] Cobb, "The historical backgrounds of the Mexican Agricultural Program." Geographer Mona Domosh highlights how these modernizing efforts in the American South were deeply racialized and gendered initiatives that helped inform development practices that would then be applied globally. In particular, the United

undergoing behavioural transformation – a rebooting of agricultural technique – it was believed that American rural farmers from the South could abandon their "traditional agrarian world" in exchange for "a new rural modernity."[62] Administrators hoped for similar outcomes in Mexico. The GEB's domestic efforts during this time would prove to have a lasting impact on American corporations that would use the introduction of their agricultural machinery into the Southern United States as the appropriate springboard for their eventual foray into foreign markets.[63] Here, "primitive" farming techniques – at home and overseas – could be banished and modernity attained through economic consumption of technologies prescribed by Northern experts.[64]

The extension program was aimed at social management in order to increase agricultural yields and economic turnovers aligned with market interests. Crucially, however, Mexico lacked the "cohesive and responsive farming population and a sophisticated federal apparatus" already in place in the American South, thus forcing the Office of Special Studies (OSS) to rely on the land-grant system in Midwestern states which privileged affluent commercial farmers to transmit and implement the MAP.[65] The American administrators' vision for agricultural reforms in Mexico reflected the one behind the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1861, which was the land-grant college system that couched its vocational training curriculum as a way to combine the "home-centred values" of farm families with scientific

States Department of Agriculture used its extension program to create the concomitant Home Demonstration Work (HDW) project designed to make more modern "producers and consumers" within the United States among American farm and rural women. Domosh argues that HDW efforts created the conditions in which African American women could be closely monitored and become the "particular targets" of these "development" initiatives. See Mona Domosh, "Practising Development at Home: Race, Gender, and the 'Development' of the American South," *Antipode* 47, no. 4 (2015): 915-941.

[62] Nally and Taylor, "The Politics of Self-Help," 6.

[63] Ibid., 7.

[64] Mona Domosh, "International Harvester, the U.S. South, and the makings of international development in the early 20th century," *Political Geography* 49 (November 2015): 27. Following the GEB's example, International Harvest, a large corporation from Illinois manufacturing agricultural machinery, saw its development model in the Southern United States as an opportunity that would make their expansion into new foreign markets "inevitable." As such, international agricultural campaigns equally served as vehicles for promoting the purchase of a corporation's technologies, advertised as capable of bringing into the fruition the promises of development and modernity.

[65] Deborah Fitzgerald, "Exporting American Agriculture: The Rockefeller Foundation in Mexico, 1943-1953," *Social Studies of Science* 16, no. 3 (August 1986): 471.

expertise.[66] The result was a specialized and technical knowledge of farming that benefited a small affluent community of farmers.[67] Together, this team of American administrators responsible for implementing the MAP during its first decade became a "land-grant network" informed by their similar educational and training experiences.[68]

During the 1930s, due to a desire to export ideas about development and modernization which were thought to be capable of bringing the American quality of life to foreign populations, private philanthropies designed and implemented various scientific programs abroad. Historian Darlene Rivas explains that this philanthropic thrust matched Americans' "vision of what they had to offer, such as respect for the dignity of individual workers and farmers, technical expertise (or 'know-how'), capital, and values of efficiency and rationality, which they believed the people of other nations needed."[69] In pursuing agricultural programs, the Rockefeller Foundation targeted regions it believed were hindered by their "primitive" techniques and thus their inability to care for their own land. As such, technical assistance programs were often pursued by recruiting elites who shared the Foundation's vision for modernization and they relied on social networks predicated on power asymmetries that tended to belie the way philanthropic work was outwardly presented. Much like the agricultural program in the American South, the MAP reflected this desire for modernization, agricultural production and rural uplift. Reflective of this, was the rise in theories examining population issues during the 1920s-1930s which contained palpable remnants of Malthusian social prejudices against the poor.[70]

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[66] Fitzgerald, "Exporting American Agriculture," 461.

[67] Ibid., 462. In 1941, when the Rockefeller Foundation's three-man team was initially assembled, it was composed of Elvin C. Stakman from the University of Minnesota; Richard Bradfield from Cornell University and Paul C. Manglesdorf from the University of Texas A & M, all of whom were the products of the land-grant system (first as students, later as experts) and previously held positions within the USDA at one point (463-464).

[68] Ibid., 463-464. Although Stakman had been the Rockefeller Foundation's first option to lead the MAP in 1943, he declined the offer and instead suggested it be given to his former student, J. George Harrar, a plant pathologist at the University in Pullman, who accepted the position. Like Stakman, Harrar was a product of the land-grant system.

[69] Darlene Rivas, *Missionary Capitalist: Nelson Rockefeller in Venezuela* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 5.

[70] Perkins, *Geopolitics and the Green Revolution*, 123.

Mexican elites – officials in "government, the agricultural science community, media, and farmers" – all showed support for the proposed project. The Rockefeller Foundation's abundant resources – personnel and financial – were seen as being able to fill the vacuum left by the American and Mexican states. As Mexico moved away from the pro-agrarian policies of President Cárdenas to the more conservative President Camacho, there was palpable support for the Rockefeller Foundation's proposal for the MAP. In the early 1930s the Mexican government hired its own agricultural scientists to conduct research in an effort to study the country's staple crops. Yet, when domestic critics of land reform reemerged in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the government turned to American scientists to find the answers to their questions on modernization. After years of failed domestic agricultural reforms and a lack of necessary infrastructure to be able to conduct their own scientific research and agronomic technical adjustments, the Rockefeller Foundation's initiatives for modernization were warmly greeted by Mexican elites who desired to "enhance the image of competence." If anything, the Foundation's legitimacy was tied to its ostensible capacity to deliver the resources, training, assistance and eventual prosperity that governments alone could not facilitate or guarantee.[71]

Private foundations simultaneously extended their commercial influence and American hegemony through seemingly benign and neutral projects, and occasionally garnered the support and willingness of local private actors and governments who saw these projects as opportunities to develop capitalist economies and to pursue modernization and development on their own terms.[72] Mexican

[71] Joseph Cotter, "The Rockefeller Foundation's Mexican Agricultural Project: A Cross-Cultural Encounter, 1943-1949," in *Missionaries of Science: The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin America*, ed., Marcos Cueto (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 97-98

[72] Rivas, *Missionary Capitalist*, 7. Rivas's work looks at Nelson Rockefeller's efforts in the mid-1930s to marry what he gleaned from his acquaintances in "business, philanthropic, diplomatic, and scholarly communities" in North America with his own ideas to formulate his own vision of what economic development and scientific modernization might look like in Venezuela (Ibid., 6). While he coordinated with willing elites in Venezuela, he was never granted *carte blanche* in the country as his plans were regularly "reject[ed], resist[ed], and accommodate[ed]" by locals (Ibid., 8). See also Steven Palmer, "Central American Encounters with Rockefeller Public Health, 1914-1921," in *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, eds., Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 311-332.

administrators of the MAP benefitted from their partnership with the Rockefeller Foundation. Trips to New York to attend meetings could be extended to the Midwest and the South to gain access to American elites all over the United States. This access allowed Mexican state officials to traverse powerful American geographies relevant to their own project with the MAP. A trip to Illinois could allow picking up tractors and other agricultural machinery Mexico lacked, while a detour to Chattanooga meant studying the Tennessee Valley Authority to prepare for the introduction of a newly designed corn hybrid developed by Rockefeller technicians and Mexican scientists. These commercial partnerships bound together the financial hub of Manhattan, the agricultural technology of the Midwest and the expertise and experience of the American South, all of which exposed Mexican officials to opportunities to further expand their relationships with American agribusiness.[73]

By 1947, disgruntlement began to settle in amongst Foundation administrators who believed Mexican farmers demanded too much from the MAP, failing to take responsibility for their own "progress." The educational component that had been vital to the GEB in the American South helped package agricultural reforms as a form of "self-help" by placing the onus on recipients of aid to be "actively enrolled in the process of securing their own salvation."[74] But in Mexico, recipients had high expectations for the MAP that were often irreconcilable with those of Foundation officials. While spending time in Mexico during 9-20 May 1947, Elvin C. Stakman remarked of the "tendency of some of the young Mexicans to expect too much in the way of emoluments and special privileges."[75] He again recorded similar thoughts in 1948 when he derided Mexican fellows for their perceived indolence:

> Some of them think that when the Foundation gave them a fellowship it also assumed the obligation of an indulgent foster parent. The 'You gave me a bathing suit, now dig me

[73] "Mission Arrives here to Solve Mexico's Corn-Growing Needs," *New York Times* (27 June 1947) accessed 12 December 2015, http://search.proquest.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/docview/107755756?accountid=12339.

[74] Nally and Taylor, "The Politics of Self-Help," 2.

[75] Elvin C. Stakman, "Latin-American agricultural institutions - preliminary report of the trip," (1947) *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, accessed 22 July 2017, https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/latin-american-agricultural-institutions-preliminary-report-of-the-trip.

> a lake to swim in' attitude is too prevalent. And when the lake is provided, the temperature of the water must be then statistically controlled.[76]

Stakman's infantilizing rhetoric revealed the power asymmetries between donor and recipient, as captured in Stephen Greenblatt's notion of the "*representational machine*," described as "collections of dispositives or devices (each one with its own logic of representation) organized for the production of cultural difference."[77] Ultimately, these official Rockefeller Foundation reports presented Mexican recipients as avaricious and disagreeable, and helped perpetuate depictions of the United States as the intervening caregiver called upon to rear Mexico – a neglected (and ungrateful!) child – into maturity and adulthood.

Given that the MAP operated along the American land-grant model, Mexican wheat farmers tended to enjoy greater success precisely because they shared greater similarities with their American counterparts who had adopted hybrid corn than they did with their fellow Mexican farmers. Notably, Mexican wheat farmers were more likely to be affluent, have greater access to resources and show greater interest in adopting experimental practice. Similarities with American hybrid corn farmers created an "effective 'fit'" with the MAP's administrative body, the OSS.[78] The MAP (much like the plans for agricultural reform in Colombia), point to what William Roseberry has referred to as the "internalization of the external."[79] The contributions

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[76] "MAP, Report of Stakman for March 10 to April 3, 1948," RFA, R.G. 1.1, Series 323, Box 3, Folder 19, RAC quoted in, Cotter, "The Rockefeller Foundation's Mexican Agricultural Project: A Cross-Cultural Encounter, 1943-1949," 110.

[77] Salvatore, "The Enterprise of Knowledge," 72-73. Emphasis original. Salvatore relies upon Greenblatt's notion of "representational machine" in his own work.

[78] Fitzgerald, "Exporting American Agriculture," 469.

[79] William Roseberry, "Social Fields and Cultural Encounters," in *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, eds., Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 521. Following the MAP's implementation in Mexico, Colombia became the next country targeted by the Rockefeller Foundation for the export of agricultural reforms. Similarly to Mexico, Colombian officials such as Secretary of Agriculture, Ciro Molina Garcés, and director of the Agriculture Credit Bank, Miguel López Pumarejo, both actively solicited the Rockefeller Foundation for their modernization project. For his part, Molina believed that enhanced agricultural techniques and greater crop diversification could alleviate the Cauca Valley's rural problems (Timothy W. Lorek, "Imagining the Midwest in Latin America: US Advisors and the Envisioning of an Agricultural Middle Class in Colombia's Cauca Valley, 1943-1946," *The Historian* 75, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 293). While Thomas Lynn Smith, a rural sociologist from the University of Louisiana who served as an advisor to the Rockefeller Foundation, and his

and active requests for American philanthropic aid necessarily made these programs transnational agricultural modernization projects, and the extension component of these reforms ultimately helped train and establish the very technocrats upon which both the recipient countries and the Rockefeller Foundation depended to propagate and expand the programs.[80] By 1947, Stakman, one of the Rockefeller Foundation's initial three-man commission sent to Mexico as part of a preliminary reconnaissance team, noted in a "Latin-America Agricultural Institutions" report compiled between 8 May and 14 July 1947 that "there is a general improvement in tone of virtually all Mexican agricultural agencies that are associated with the Rockefeller Foundation," progress he found "gratifying."[81] Indeed, neo-Malthusian outlooks on land, population, agriculture and modernization shaped not only the way private philanthropy conceptualized aid and assistance, but also the goals and benchmarks states set for their economic development and the *personnel* they recruited to achieve these targets. Much of these determinants hinged on the Rockefeller Foundation's racialized notions that fabricated the Mexican (and Latin American) "other."

Racialized Recruitment for Modernization

The Rockefeller Foundation's role in the MAP was motivated by racialized assumptions of Latin America that produced a hierarchical understanding of the "other" in need of their assistance. But the Foundation's project also reflected the firm belief shared amongst other American philanthropies that science and technology were the gateways to uplift.[82] The American agricultural scientists behind the MAP were no different. Their convictions were such that their understandings of Mexico, agricultural reforms, "modernization" and the environment were all framed strictly along scientific and technical terms, and they insisted in keeping their independence from the reach

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Colombian affiliates contended that a rural Colombian middle class could be fashioned by using the American model (Ibid., 298). Along these lines, Smith believed that with greater impetus and ambition, Colombian peasants could also pick themselves up by their "own bootstraps" (Ibid., 300).

[80] Perkins, *Geopolitics and the Green Revolution*, 108.

[81] Stakman, "Latin-American agricultural institutions - preliminary report of the trip."

[82] Mark Dowie, *American Foundations: An Investigative History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 107.

of social sciences.[83] Crucially, however, this shared faith in scientific and technical progress was also riddled with racialized understandings of an imagined other that permeated the way development, modernization and population were conceived and constructed. As Jennings writes, although agricultural reform appeared neutral on its face, couched within "objects of knowledge" such as "seed, plants, pathogens and yields among others," such characterizations allowed "attention to be consistently diverted from social and political phenomena."[84] Despite its neutral referents, the MAP was born of hegemonic ideas and discourses on race.

As Perkins highlights, concerns regarding overpopulation were not principal factors motivating the initial MAP of the 1930s and early 1940s, but concerns over *food production and food supply*—anxieties that emerged from discourses on overpopulation between transnational epistemic communities—were important factors.[85] The Rockefeller Foundation believed that investing in both areas could secure and maintain a standard of living and a quality of life, which are beliefs that were also related to neo-Malthusian concerns. As a result, like in the American South, the MAP was predicated on an education program designed to translate American concepts and practices to the Mexican context. Agricultural reforms and modernization, then, were considered *teachable* only if the recipients were "fit" enough to understand and apply them.

The MAP – and the Rockefeller Foundation in particular – was seen as the product of "cordial cooperation" between private philanthropy and the Mexican government. With contributions coming from the "benevolent foundation and private investors," the partnership the Rockefeller Foundation formed with the Mexican government gave hope of what the world might become should conflict cease and peace be achieved. Yet, the MAP was predicated on the idea that financial aid and assistance would be disbursed so that it could be used effectively to provide some kind of return on investment to the Rockefeller

[83] Dowie, *American Foundations*, 108. The Green Revolution – a descendent of the MAP – has been a point of criticism from academic circles for its devastating social and ecological ramifications. See Peter J. Jacques and Jessica Racine Jacques, "Monocropping Cultures into Ruin: The Loss of Food Varieties and Cultural Diversity," *Sustainability* 4 (2012): 2970-2997.

[84] Bruce H. Jennings, *Foundations of International Agricultural Research: Science and Politics in Mexican Agriculture* (Boulder, CO and London: Westview Press, 1988), 27.

[85] Perkins, *Geopolitics and the Green Revolution*, 138.

Foundation and benefit the interests of the United States. Administrators at the Rockefeller Foundation therefore believed that not all were racially fit or capable of learning the sciences of food, land and life. [86]

In his 2005 article, Chris J. Shepherd reveals that the Rockefeller Foundation's agricultural reforms were built on the construction of Latin America as an "other." Looking at the case of Peru, in particular, Shepherd's work shows how embedded assumptions of Latin America that began with the MAP helped conjure a "social context that was imagined to be replete with contaminants," ranging from "personal, moral, administrative, political and methodological," thus creating a context favourable to American aid and assistance.[87] Although the Rockefeller Foundation could supply scientists, technology and expertise, it could not account for the "other," which is why amid characterizations of Latin America as seemingly desperate and incompetent there also existed "a sense of optimism" that the region's potential could be achieved with the "right kind" of intervention.[88] In 1941, Warren Weaver captured this sentiment of faint hope and praise with his relief that "most people have under-estimated the capacity of the better class of Mexicans."[89] This suggested that the recipients of the MAP's philanthropy were considered by administrators to be the "better class" among a broader group of Mexico's undesirables.[90] Weaver's assessment was in stark contrast to that of Thomas Lynn Smith who suggested that race could prove to be too insurmountable for Colombians when he wrote, "the fact that most of them are of more or less colored does not aid the prospects of the members of Colombia's lower classes."[91] It is clear that race and class were inextricably linked in the way assistance was

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[86] "Mexico's Private Point Four," *New York Times* (11 October 1952) accessed 14 December 2015, http://search.proquest.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/docview/112382507?accountid=12339.

[87] Chris J. Shepherd, "Imperial Science: The Rockefeller Foundation and Agricultural Science in Peru, 1940-1960," *Science as Culture* 14, no. 2 (June 2005): 113.

[88] Ibid., 119.

[89] Staff Conference, 18 February 1941, RFA, R.G. 1.2, Series 300, Box 13, Folder 103, RAC, 1952, quoted in, Shepherd, "Imperial Science," 120.

[90] Ibid.

[91] T. Lynn Smith, "Observations on the Middle Classes in Colombia," undated, T. Lynn Smith Papers, Box 9, Folder 26, 9 (Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico) quoted in Lorek, "Imagining the Midwest in Latin America," 300.

framed and the likelihood of "modernization" was forecast. While the Rockefeller Foundation believed the most pressing issue facing Mexico in 1941 was the need to reform cultivation practices given the country's "serious erosion and depleted soils," it is clear that racialized ideas behind philanthropy shaped *where* assistance was sent and aid invested.[92] These ideas formed the way the Rockefeller Foundation approached and assessed future countries and peoples.

These racialized assumptions were reflected in internal communications between the Foundation and the scientists working on their behalf. For instance, in 1945 Carl O. Sauer, an American geographer from UC Berkley captured these sentiments of racial categorization in a field report prepared for Joseph H. Willits, the Director of the Social Sciences at the Rockefeller Foundation. In what is largely akin to an anthropological study of the "other," Sauer's journal broached many concerns that undergirded the MAP. Although Sauer would come to regret the direction the MAP was headed (his doubts grew increasingly conspicuous), he nevertheless relied on racialized dialogue used between Foundation administrators to capture the seeming "need" for modernization through philanthropic intervention.[93] His correspondence from his travels to Oaxaca reveals an imperialist gaze rooted in "assessing" a peoples' "fitness" on the land. Sauer spoke of how demand for American agricultural assistance throughout Latin America was due to the need for field instruments and methods he thought were not only "unsuited to the country [Mexico]," but also to the rest of Latin America – barring Argentina.[94] The latter, Sauer explained, "is the only country that was *designed* to fit into the North Atlantic pattern of agriculture."[95] While Sauer's observations pointed to the country's agricultural compatibility, it also touched on peoples, place, soil and foodstuff. Shepherd highlights that other academics working for the Rockefeller Foundation such as Stakman believed Argentina's racial composition made it an outlying country destined for agricultural success. In 1947, Stakman spoke of

[92] Jonathan Harwood, "Peasant Friendly Plant Breeding and the Early Years of the Green Revolution in Mexico," *Agricultural History* 83, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 391.
[93] Shepherd, "Imperial Science," 125.
[94] Carl Ortwin Sauer, "Letter from Carl O. Sauer to Joseph H. Willits, 1945 February 12," *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, accessed 14 December 2015, https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/letter-from-carl-o-sauer-to-joseph-h-willits-1945-february-12.
[95] Ibid. Emphasis added.

how Argentina's population was of "relatively recent European origin," which made it necessarily unique "from typical Latin American countries. Many of the institutions are modern. Agricultural research is on a modern conceptual basis."[96] In comparing Mexico to Argentina, Sauer's observations make it clear that the likelihood of achieving modernization was determined by race. While in Oaxaca, he spoke of how the "soil erosion is pretty bad all over south Mexican uplands as it is in Central America and the whole country is bursting at the seams with too many people."[97] Indeed, his field report assessed Mexico's ecological challenges along twin forces of population and space – otherwise understood as lebensraum.

Such discourse also reveals that even before the seminal texts from 1948 such as *Road to Survival* by William Vogt and *Our Plundered Planet* by Fairfield Osborn structured the United States' anti-Communist "population-national security theory" coupling resource exhaustion and hunger, the Rockefeller Foundation had already begun tackling these global concerns on its own.[98] For those concerned that the Rockefeller Foundation's agricultural assistance program might have promoted unintended consequences in which "better food and health would probably result in further increase in population," Weaver assuaged these doubts, stating that "a higher standard of living in the long run usually results in a reduced birthrate, and improvements in agriculture are among the first essential steps in improvement of the living standards of a country."[99] Indeed, at a time in which "food insecurity meant political insecurity," seldom were concerns regarding overpopulation and fitness divorced from geopolitical considerations.[100]

If food production depended on the ability to properly tend to the land, then the *people* responsible for the land had to be deemed fit and capable. These racialized thoughts surrounding the fitness of recipients in Mexico raised serious apprehensions for Miller when in March 1941 he expressed that the country's indigenous populations might be too unteachable for the MAP to be a success. His assessment of the program's fate was less than optimistic when he wrote that

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[96] Elvin C. Stakman. "Latin American Agricultural Institutions: Preliminary Report of Trip May 8 to July 14, 1947," RFA, R.G. 1.1, Series 300, Box 6, Folder 37, RAC., quoted in Shepherd, "Imperial Science," 118.
[97] Sauer, "Letter from Carl O. Sauer to Joseph H. Willits, 1945 February 12."
[98] Perkins, *Geopolitics and the Green Revolution*, 135.
[99] Sauer, "Letter from Carl O. Sauer to Joseph H. Willits, 1945 February 12."
[100] Bashford, *Global Population*, 198.

"unless he [indigenous populations] can be convinced, or his sons educated or persuaded, the benefits of scientific research in agriculture will be ephemeral."[101] Although the MAP was promoted as a modernizing initiative bringing agricultural transformations to Mexico, it was predicated on neo-Malthusian concerns regarding land and food, both of which were inextricably tied to population. The latter served as the motivating factor that propelled this embryonic agenda of development forward and also helped determine which countries and peoples were deemed more "fit" to receive the Rockefeller Foundation's scientific and financial aid. Racialized assumptions that essentialized Mexicans not only shaped the MAP, but also helped to articulate and establish an understanding and a template for future agricultural assistance throughout Latin America.

From the MAP to the Green Revolution—Future Hegemonic Uses

Between the years of 1940 to 1965, Mexico underwent a dramatic agricultural transformation that earned it the reputation as a standard-bearer for scientific agronomy known as the Green Revolution. Elements of this agricultural transformation were borne of American philanthropy at the turn of the twentieth century, when neo-Malthusian concerns regarding density, land, overpopulation, food, soil and quality of life emerged in American epistemic communities, articulating global fears over ecological sustainability that tied distant geographies together. During this time, Mexico served as a vessel for a burgeoning American strategy that brought together foreign policy and diplomatic efforts abroad, proving to be a subtle way of forwarding both private and national interests. In 1949 when President Harry Truman presciently promised in his Point IV Program, "We are here embarking on a venture that extends far into the future. We are at the beginning of a rising curve of activity, private, governmental and international, that will continue for many years to come," he was pointing presciently to the future – and inadvertently to the past – of American diplomacy and development assistance programs.[102]

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[101] Rockefeller Foundation, "Rockefeller Foundation Records, Officers' Diaries, RG 12, M-R (FA393): January 2-April 1, 1941." Miller referred to Mexico's indigenous peoples as "Indian."

[102] Committee on Foreign Affairs, "Point Four Background and Program," July 1949. Retrieved 27 November 2015, http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pcaac280.pdf.

However, by 1951 administrators from the Rockefeller Foundation still harboured similar animosities and concerns toward recipients of technical assistance packages, judging countries and peoples on their economy's reliance on agricultural labor. The move away from an agrarian economy suggested a more diversified and technically-oriented people and economy – a sign of progress. In a *communiqué* with Chester I. Barnard, the President of the Rockefeller Foundation, Warren Weaver, the head of the Department of Natural Sciences wrote candidly, "In most of the underdeveloped countries, agriculture is in about the same stage as it was in the more advanced countries 150 years ago. Usually from 60-90 percent of the people is [*sic*] engaged in agriculture."[103] This perceived stagnation in economic development was based on a standard of living championed by American elites who now defined agricultural modernization and technical capacity as a move *away* from the land. This quandary reflects what Cullather highlights succinctly of recipients of development projects, "Those on the receiving end of modernization initiatives have long complained that development is a moving target."[104]

The MAP was a collaboration between the Rockefeller Foundation and the United States that highlights the way private philanthropy served as a diplomatic arm of the American state. Through the MAP, the Rockefeller Foundation was not only able to advance its modernizing agenda, it also worked to secure the United States government's geostrategic interests in the region, both of which were related to concerns over global land and food supplies. What began as a domestic philanthropy promoting agricultural reforms in the Southern United States, grew into an international privately-funded responder capable of filling the vacuum left by federal governments at home and abroad. Acting independently from the American government, while also remaining "consistent" with United States

[103] Rockefeller Foundation, "The world food problem, agriculture, and the Rockefeller Foundation," (21 June 1951) *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation,* accessed 14 December 2015, https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/the-world-food-problem-agriculture-and-the-rockefeller-foundation.

[104] Cullather, "Development? It's History," 646.

policy, the Rockefeller Foundation was a reflection of American philanthropy exercising smart power throughout the world.[105]

[105] Perkins, "The Rockefeller Foundation and the Green Revolution, 1941-1956," 9; Parmar and Rietzler, "American Philanthropy and the Hard, Smart and Soft Power of the United States," 3.

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Imagining Girlhood in Seventeenth-Century Female-Authored Fairytales

MEGHAN KORT

Abstract: Over two-thirds of the fairytales published in late seventeenth-century France were authored by female conteuses who recount the births of beautiful and virtuous princesses. Although little is known about these authors' personal lives, their portrayals of girlhood reveal glimpses of their individual ideas and experiences. Applying Robert Darnton's cultural approach to fairytales, I situate these tales and their tellers within their historical context. In each story, the girls' virtue or vice are not developed over time, but are embedded at birth, demarcated by beauty or ugliness. This entwining of beauty and virtue is typical of late seventeenth-century salon and educational writings. However, the conteuses' girl characters also challenge gendered stereotypes, playing assertive roles and holding authority over older male characters. The conteuses *crafted their conceptions of girlhood in dialogue with individual and cultural influences, culminating in a shared conception of noble girls as virtuous, beautiful, and capable individuals.*

"In those happy days when the fairies were alive, there reigned a king who had three daughters. They were beautiful and young, and they were good but the youngest was the most lovable and the most beloved."[1] These are the opening lines of Madame d'Aulnoy's fairytale "The Ram," published in 1698, in which she introduces her protagonist, Merveilleuse. Beautiful, young, and virtuous characters like Merveilleuse were common heroines in late seventeenth-century fairytales, especially those written by women. While d'Aulnoy was the first woman to publish fairytales in France, she was not the only one. In fact, women initially dominated the genre. Two-thirds of the one hundred tales written between 1690-1715 are attributed to a small

[1] Marie Catherine Baronne d'Aulnoy, "The Ram," *The Fairy Tales of Madame d'Aulnoy*, translated by Annie Macdonell and Miss Lee, illustrated by Clinton Peters, http://www.surlalunefairytales.com/authors/daulnoy.html (accessed Oct. 4, 2014). Since I accessed digital versions of d'Aulnoy's tales, there are no page numbers available. Instead I have provided the title of the tale.

group of elite female authors, also known as *conteuses*.[2] The opening lines of many of these tales, like "The Ram," introduce the protagonist as a young child and the tales tend to revolve around the girlhood adventures of these characters. Typically, these young female protagonists were not only beautiful and virtuous, as was expected for elite women in late seventeenth-century France, but they were also intelligent, brave, and heroic. In the *conteuses'* minds, girls could be the heroes of their own stories. Therefore, the *conteuses* combined socially acceptable feminine traits with more audacious characteristics in attempts to challenge patriarchal views of girlhood.

Literary and historical scholars have long examined the *conteuses'* tales as proto-feminist works interacting with the highly patriarchal context of late-seventeenth century elite French society. [3] However, these studies tend to focus on the gender of the tales' protagonists, rather than their age. Girlhood studies, a field that focuses on the unique constraints of youthful femininity in a world dominated by adults and men, offers an interdisciplinary set of analytical tools that enriches discussions of the *conteuses'* works.

Historians of girlhood and childhood argue that age, like gender, is "imbued with cultural assumptions, meaning, and value."[4] Indeed, the categories of age are constructed differently in every culture and are associated with a set of power relationships. Conflicting notions about age and power existed simultaneously in seventeenth-century France. For example, the church identified sixteen as the age of

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[2] The term "*conteuse*" is French for a female storyteller. This definition is included in *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* published in 1694 and the word continues to hold the same meaning today. Scholars of fairy tales and folklore often use the term "*conteuse*" to refer to the vogue of female fairy tale writers in late seventeenth-century France. "Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, 1st ed. (1694): Conteur, Conteuse," The ARTFL Project, *Dictionnaires D'Autrefois*, (2010), http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/navigate/3/4256/. Lewis Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France 1690-1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 84.

[3] Marina Warner, *From The Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1994); Patricia Hannon, *Fabulous Identities: Women's Fairy Tales in Seventeenth-Century France* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994); Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France*; Elizabeth Wanning Harries, *Twice Upon a Time: Women Writers and the History of the Fairy Tale* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[4] Steven Mintz, "Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008), 93.

reason, while legally, twenty-five was the age of majority.[5] Therefore, young women falling somewhere in the nine years between these ages were caught in an ambiguous stage. They were legally defined as children and subject to their parents' authority, yet the church permitted them to choose religious life and get married against their parents' will. Interestingly, many of the young female protagonists in the *conteuses'* tales fall between these years. The *conteuses* were fascinated with this stage of life, during which girls' identities were particularly fluid. Adolescent girls were no longer little children, but were not yet wives. An examination of youthfulness, alongside gender, offers an interpretive lens that enriches historical discussions of the *conteuses'* proto-feminism.

Historical inquiry into cultural constructions of youth began with Philippe Ariès' work *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien regime*, in which he identified modern sentiments towards children and then argued that these did not exist prior to the eighteenth century.[6] For the next decade, historians of childhood relied heavily on educational treatises written by moralists, sources that fostered characterizations of early modern childhood as harsh and loveless.[7] More recently, historians have challenged these assumptions using legal and notarial documents to reveal affectionate ties between family members and a diversity of family structures.[8] These historians have successfully argued that childhood did exist before the eighteenth century, and have opened avenues for research on the intersections between age and other constructed categories.

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[5] René Pillorget, "Vocation religieuse et état en France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles," in *La vocation religieuse et sacerdotale en France* (Angers: Université d'Angers, 1986), 12; Barbara Diefendorf, "Give Us Back Our Children: Patriarchal Authority and Parental Consent to Religious Vocations in Early Counter-Reformation France," *The Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 2 (1996), 286.

[6] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962).

[7] Lloyd de Mause, *The History of Childhood* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974); Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (London: Basic Books, 1976); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).

[8] Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Kristin Gager, *Blood Ties and Fictive Ties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Julie Hardwick, *Family Business: Litigation and the Political Economies of Daily Life in Early Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Matthew Gerber, *Bastards: Politics, Family, and Law in Early Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Cultural History and the Interpretation of Tales

My study of the *conteuses* tales, particularly with its focus on gender and age, is inspired by cultural historical approaches to fairy tales. However, there are two other schools of interpretation, psychological and social, that also warrant mentioning, since the cultural historical approach developed in response to these earlier movements. The psychological approach, pioneered by Erich Fromm and Bruno Bettleheim, assumes that tales are timeless and explain essential truths about human nature.[9] Fromm ignores the historical context of symbols, arguing that their meanings are universal and embedded in the shared language of human nature.[10] As a child psychologist, Bettleheim removes fairy tales from their historical context, interpreting them through Freudian assumptions, and applying his findings to modern child development.[11] Bettleheim assumes that fairy tales are always intended for a young audience, which is not the case for the *conteuses'* tales since they were read by adults to an adult audience in a salon setting. Although Fromm and Bettleheim's approaches may inform discussions about human nature, dissociating the tales from their historical context obscures their meaning and creates "a mental universe that never existed."[12] Therefore, psychological interpretations of fairy tales often tell more about the interpreter than about the tale.

Social approaches to fairy tales assume that tales are historically constructed through the interactions of tellers and audiences who are embedded in socio-economic classes. As a social historian of fairy tales, Jack Zipes is interested in the movement of written tales from Italy to France through court and elite networks, and the movement of oral tales between villages and nurseries.[13] Zipes argues that "tales are reflections of the social order in a given historical epoch, and, as such, they symbolize the aspirations, needs, dreams and wishes of common people in a tribe, community, or society."[14]

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[9] Bruno Bettleheim, *Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairytales* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977); Erich Fromm, *The Forgotten Language: As Introduction to the Understanding of Dreams, Fairy Tales, and Myths* (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 1957).

[10] Fromm, *The Forgotten Language,* 7.

[11] Bettleheim*, Uses of Enchantment,* 7, 39.

[12] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 11; Harries, *Twice Upon a Time,* 15.

[13] Jack Zipes, *Breaking the Magic Spell* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 10.

[14] Ibid., 7.

Therefore, tales reveal past social systems, material conditions and group identities. Ruth Bottigheimer also takes a social approach to the history of fairy tales, as she differentiates between the storytelling structures of various classes.[15] According to Bottigheimer, folk tales and fairy tales evolved in separate literary spaces. Folk tales circulated in cheap print literature amongst the lower classes, and fairy tales developed in elite circles of court entertainment and novella writing.[16] Bottigheimer argues that there is little evidence that the two social spheres intersected before the eighteenth century.[17] This social approach is vital for situating fairy tales in their historical contexts. Indeed, the tale-writing vogue of the late seventeenth-century did not appear at random, but was connected to earlier genres, especially the novel.[18]

The cultural approach to the history of fairy tales, like the socio-historical approach, assumes that tales are historically situated, but its lens of analysis is culture rather than class. This approach is exemplified in the work of Robert Darnton and Lewis Seifert, who argue that fairy tales reveal the mental universe of their tellers.[19] These scholars apply the tools of anthropology, seeking to understand the culture in which the tales were told. However, unlike an anthropologist, historians cannot use their five senses to take in the dynamic storytelling scene.[20] Therefore, Darnton argues that historians should look for common themes, recurring motifs and standard plot lines and be wary of drawing conclusions based on obscure symbols as is common in the psychological approach.[21] These overarching similarities reveal cultural patterns and group identities.[22] For example, the seventeenth century *conteuses'* tales are the product of a narrow cultural elite, which flourished at the French court and in urban

[15] Ruth Bottigheimer, ed., *Fairy Tales Framed: Early Forewords and Critical Words* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 9.
[16] Ibid., 6, 11, 101.
[17] Ibid., 7.
[18] d'Aulnoy and L'Héritier's tales in particular, because of their length and complex characters, bare many similarities to the form and structure of novels. Tatiana Korneeva, "Rival Sisters and Vengeance Motifs in the contes de fées of d'Aulnoy, Lhéritier and Perrault," *MLN* 127, no. 4 (September 2012), 751.
[19] Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 11; Lewis Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France 1690-1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 175.
[20] Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 18.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., 46

salons.[23] Most of their plot lines are based on contemporary, medieval or classical myths, but even these are altered significantly to suit the cultural preferences of their elite audiences.[24] Cultural interpretations of fairy tales are valuable for understanding the historical process of constructing ideas about gender and age. Indeed, through the lens of cultural history "social categories once treated as if they were firm and fixed, now appear to be flexible and fluid."[25] Challenging essentialist assumptions about the categories of age and gender enhances both historical and current discourses on girlhood.

Applying the cultural approach to fairy tale analysis, I will examine the images of girlhood in the tales of five *conteuses*: Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier, Catherine Bernard, Marie-Jeanne de Murat, and Charlotte-Rose de La Force.[26] First, I will examine a selection of each of these *conteuses'* tales to determine each author's personal conception of girlhood. This approach is guided by Jonathan Dewald's argument that nobles construct their identity in their writing.[27] Secondly, I will examine the *conteuses'* portrayals of girl characters in light of their cultural context in elite French society.[28] Their shared conception of the beautiful, virtuous, and capable princess is rooted in seventeenth-century girls' education literature, but their images of active and politically engaged princesses exceed their culture's girlhood norms. In the *conteuses'* tales, girls are often capable individuals who exceed gendered stereotypes in their familial and political contexts.

Noble Individuality and Unique Conceptions of Girlhood

Jonathan Dewald argues that in the seventeenth-century French nobles began to establish themselves as individuals.[29] Through their writing, both men and women expressed affection, secured political alliances,

[23] Domna Stanton and Lewis Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence: Fairy Tales in Seventeenth Century French Women Writers* (Toronto: Iter, 2010), 5.
[24] Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France,* 62, 219.
[25] Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Polity, 2012), 83.
[26] I chose these five because they were the most prolific female fairy tale writers of the late seventeenth-century and because their works are easily accessible in English translation.
[27] Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1993), 174.
[28] Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence*, 7.
[29] Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience*, 174.

and challenged moral norms.[30] Even highly structured genres such as letters and novels reveal the personal identities of their writers.[31] As noble and upper bourgeois women, the *conteuses* also defined themselves in their writing.[32] Seifert argues that "the unreal and the implausible—in short, the marvelous—can explore the potentially real and plausible realms of different gender identities."[33] In fact, the employment of magic and the marvelous gives the *conteuses* creative freedom to express their individual and shared gendered identities.[34] Little is known about the girlhoods of seventeenth-century *conteuse*s. However, the information that was recorded about their families, educational experiences, motherhoods, and salon contexts reveals individuals with a unique set of experiences. These experiences shaped their individually and culturally constructed conceptions of girlhood.

Madame d'Aulnoy was the most prolific of the seventeenth-century *conteuses*. She published eight novels and twenty-five fairy tales under one of the most prestigious publishers of the period, Claude Barbin.[35] She held her own salon and was active in those of other women, possibly attending the famous salon of Anne-Thérèse.[36] She was born into an aristocratic family, married at age fifteen and gave birth to six children.[37] Her first two, a boy and a girl, died in infancy, but her next four daughters lived through to adulthood. She published her first novel when her youngest daughter was thirteen and her collections of fairy tales soon after in 1697 and 1698.[38] Her tales are longer than those of the other *conteuses*, and it is likely that she developed her story lines and characters during the girlhoods of her daughters.

In d'Aulnoy's tales, births of daughters are much more common than that of sons, perhaps reflecting her own experience. But most significantly, the birth of a daughter, even if she is the only child, is always greeted with kingdom-wide celebration.[39] This attitude contrasts with the French court's strict preference for sons over

[30] Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience*, 176.
[31] Ibid., 192.
[32] Harries, *Twice Upon a Time,* 14.
[33] Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France,* 175.
[34] Hannon, *Fabulous Identities,* 14.
[35] Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 97.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid., 98.
[38] Ibid.
[39] d'Aulnoy, "The Bee and the Orange Tree," "The Good Little Mouse," "Babiole," "The Green Serpent," "The Hind in the Woods," and "Princess Mayblossom."

daughters.[40] Indeed, according to Salic law only boys could inherit the French crown, and royal midwives were often paid more for the delivery of sons.[41] d'Aulnoy uses the tense atmosphere of a succession crisis to set up several of her tales. But in these stories, instead of hoping for sons, queens celebrate the births of daughters, even eating foods that were thought to encourage the conception of girls.[42] As a mother of four daughters, d'Aulnoy has a special understanding of the social values and personal emotions surrounding the birth of a girl. Her stories of royal births indicate that, to her, a daughter was worth just as much as a son.

Catherine Bernard was born in 1663, in Rouen, to a Protestant merchant family.[43] Growing up in the lively intellectual atmosphere of Rouen, she had access to literary culture early on. She made her way to Paris sometime before her twentieth birthday, and converted to Catholicism at the age of twenty-two, an event that was published in *Le Mercure Galant*.[44] This conversion was against her Protestant family's wishes, but it was an important step if she hoped to pursue a literary career in Catholic-dominated Paris.[45] Bernard never married, and her tales reflect this disenchantment with romance, as she aimed to "only show unhappy lovers so as to combat as much as I can our penchant for love."[46] In both "Prince Rosebush" and "Riquet with the Tuft," parents play controlling roles in their children's access to romantic love. Both the widower king and the widowed queen in "Prince Rosebush" are emotionally wounded by their past love lives.[47] These parents try to control their children's romances, the queen parades her chosen suitors before the princess, and the king locks up his son. Similarly, in "Riquet with the Tuft," the king and the queen try to protect their daughter when they realize that her intelligence is attracting less than ideal suitors.[48] Bernard shows disapproval in an

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[40] Holly Tucker, *Pregnant Fictions: Childbirth and the Fairy Tale in Early-Modern France* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 2003), 84.
[41] Ibid., 79.
[42] d'Aulnoy, "The Doe in the Woods," "The Orange Tree and the Bee," "White Cat."
[43] Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 48.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Catherine Bernard, as translated and quoted by Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 49.
[47] Bernard, "Prince Rosebush," in Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 52.
[48] Catherine Bernard, "Riquet with the Tuft," *Beauties, Beasts and Enchantments: Classic French Fairy Tales,* ed. and trans. Jack Zipes (New York: New American Library, 1989), 95.

aside to the reader: "but prohibiting a young and pretty person from loving is like preventing a tree from bearing leaves in May."[49] In her personal life, Bernard made decisions from a young age to pursue a literary career, by leaving her hometown and abandoning her parents' religion. Therefore, her decisions as a young woman and her depictions of parental control reveal a notion of girlhood that is independent and contests the bounds of parental authority.

Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon was the most involved in salon culture of all of the *conteuses*. Her salon met about twice a week, and there is some indication that d'Aulnoy, Bernard, and Murat were guests.[50] She was the daughter of Louis XIV's historiographer and a close relative of the renown fairy tale writer, Charles Perrault.[51] In fact, L'Héritier's tale "Marmoisan" is dedicated to Perrault's daughter—one of her second cousins. During her youth, these family connections offered L'Héritier access to educational opportunities unavailable to other girls of her time. This education is evident in the countless historical, geographic, and scientific references made in her tales. For example, two of her tales, "Marmoisan" and "The Subtle Princess," are set in medieval France.[52] In each tale, L'Héritier establishes herself as a historian, indicating her sources and explaining contextual details such as medical practices, torture techniques and political climate. She also references both real and fictional historical figures including the Roman consul Regulus and Count Ory.[53] In "The Subtle Princess" the king locks his three daughters in a tower to protect their chastity, but L'Héritier assures the reader that they received food and "documents designed to keep them well informed."[54] She assumes the princesses are literate, and that it is natural for girls to take an interest in political events. L'Héritier's conception of girlhood encompasses the possibility that girls are interested in pursuing knowledge and that family can facilitate this pursuit.

Henriette-Julie de Castelnau, Comtesse de Murat, was born into an aristocratic family, married at age twenty-three, and had one

[49] Bernard, "Riquet with the Tuft," 96.
[50] Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 62.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence*, 63; Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon, "Marmoisan," in Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 73; Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon, "The Subtle Princess," in *Wonder Tales,* trans. Gilbert Adair and ed. Marina Warner (New York: Straus and Giroux, 1996), 69.
[53] L'Héritier, "The Subtle Princess," 76.
[54] Ibid., 73.

son. She was active in salon circles and knew both d'Aulnoy and L'Héritier. Unfortunately, nothing is known about her experience of girlhood, therefore her conceptions of female youth are only revealed in her adult writings. Every time Murat mentions youth it is associated with beauty, joy, and delight. In "Little Eel," a fairy gives Princess Plousine the choice between beauty and intelligence. When she chooses intelligence, the fairy marvels at the princess's wisdom beyond her years, as surely most young girls would have chosen beauty. As a reward for her maturity, the fairy grants her beauty as well, allowing her to choose from the features of any Greek goddess. Plousine selects Hebe, the goddess of youth, since she believes that young beauty is superior to all other manifestations.[55] This close association between youth and beauty means that in Murat's stories the delights of girlhood also fade with age. For example, in "Wasted Effort," Murat writes the story of a "daughter whose beauty was extraordinary from the moment she was born."[56] In any of the other *conteuses*' tales, particularly those of d'Aulnoy, this beauty would set the girl up for a virtuous and rewarding life. However for Murat, beauty only entails a happy life up to the age of about fifteen. After this time, the protagonist in "Wasted Effort" is subjected to repeated rejections from lovers, and eventually her mother leaves her in the Land of Love's Injustice, where she can live with other lonely and unhappy people.[57] Murat's association between aging, ugliness, and unhappiness is most clearly evident in her tale "Young and Beautiful," in which an aging fairy struggles to maintain her husband's affection.[58] For Murat, beauty and its rewards fade with youth.

Compared to the other *conteuses*, Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force was the most active at court. She was born into a noble Protestant family and was probably related to Murat. She began her first service position at age sixteen and served as lady-in-waiting for Queen Marie-Thérèse, the *duchesse* de Guise, and the *dauphine*, Marie-Anne-Victoire de Bavière.[59] At court, she quickly gained a scandalous reputation for allegedly possessing pornographic novels

[55] Murat, "Little Eel," in Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 239.
[56] Henriette-Julie de Castelnau, Comtesse de Murat, "Wasted Effort," in Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 270.
[57] Ibid., 281.
[58] Henriette-Julie de Castelnau, Comtesse de Murat, "Jeune et Belle," *Les Contes de Fées du XVIIe Siècle*. https://www.lescontesdefees.fr/contes-et-auteurs/mme-de-murat/jeune-et-belle/. (Accessed 17 May 2016).
[59] Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 190.

and participating in romantic affairs. She was married at age 17, but it only lasted two years since she successful petitioned for an annulment. In an autobiographical piece, La Force reflects on her personal life admitting: "I banish constraints...my mind is quite libertine."[60] La Force also refused to conform to stereotypical patterns when writing her plotlines and characters. For example, her heroines were not always young princesses, but were also older queens and adult women. In addition, while many of her girl characters are heroic and brave, in some tales, like "The Enchanter," girl characters are silent and objectified.[61] This variety shows that girlhood was not always La Force's focus, and in fact Marianne Legault argues that La Force was more interested in discussing female intimacy and eroticism.[62] So La Force's tales remind us that even though the *conteuse* often featured girl characters, we should recognize that these authors also had interests beyond girlhood.

Shared Conceptions: The Virtuous, Beautiful, and Capable Girl

While each *conteuse* portrays girlhood differently according to their experiences and interests, there are also similarities that bind the tales together and reveal a shared conception of youthful femininity. The most common image of girlhood between these authors' tales is the virtuous, beautiful and capable princess. This recurrent motif of girlhood reflects some of the luxuries of elite life, the discussions of salon society, and the ideals found in elite education manuals, but the *conteuses'* conceptions of girlhood also challenge and exceed these cultural influences.

As elite women, the *conteuses* were involved in two competing cultural milieus particular to seventeenth-century France—the court and the salon. Many of the *conteuses* worked at or visited court and almost all of their tales are about royal families. The *conteuses'* lives were immersed in material wealth and Murat describes them as "beautiful, young, with a good figure, fashionably and richly

[60] As translated and quoted in Marianne Legault, *Female Intimacies in Seventeenth-Century French Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 183.
[61] Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force, "The Enchanter," in Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 196.
[62] Legault, *Female Intimacies,* 210.

clothed and housed."[63] In fact, d'Aulnoy addressed her first book of tales to Charlotte-Elisabeth of Bavaria, Louis XIV's sister-in-law, and Murat addressed two of her books of tales to the Dower Princess Marie-Anne de Bourbon, who was one of Louis XIV's natural daughters.[64] While some of the *conteuses* frequented court, their more immediate cultural circle was the Parisian salon. This was a unique social and cultural space in early modern France in which women hosted discussions and acted as arbiters of literary taste. Domna Stanton argues that "the salon threatened dominant gender relations," and offered new opportunities for women to access knowledge and intellectual engagement.[65] Yet women's rational capacity was not uncontested in these spaces. The men and women who attended Paris's salons continued to participate in the *Querelle des Femmes,* a debate dating back to the fifteenth century about women's nature and capacity for reason.[66] These debates were particularly lively on the topic of girls education.

Over the course of the seventeenth century, education opportunities for girls of all social classes increased, with the opening of 500 new teaching convents and the publication of treatises on girls' education by François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon and Jacques Du Bosc.[67] Teachers of elite girls, like Madame de Maintenon, were quick to implement the advice of these writers in these new schools. Girls of the lower nobility and upper bourgeoisie, like the *conteuses*, especially benefited from these changes, as the new educational curriculum was designed to equip them for successful interactions at court or in the salons.

In 1687, Fénelon published a treaty on the education of girls, encouraging the development of moral purity, chastity, self-constraint, and humility.[68] These virtues are embodied in many of the *conteuses'* princesses. In Murat's "Little Eel" and La Force's "Green and Blue,"

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[63] Henriette-julie De Castelnau, Comtesse de Murat, "To the Modern Fairies," in Bottigheimer, ed. *Fairy Tales Framed*, 203; Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 6, 8.

[64] Bottigheimer, ed., *Fairy Tales Framed*, 168, 199.

[65] Domna Stanton, *The Dynamics of Gender in Early Modern France: Women Writ, Women Writing* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 96.

[66] For a brief overview of this 400 year history see Joan Kelly, "Early Feminist Theory and the 'Querelle Des Femmes,' 1400-1789," *Signs* 8, no. 1 (1982): 4–28.

[67] Elizabeth Rapley, "Fénelon Revisited: A Review of Girls' Education in Seventeenth Century France," *Social History* 20, no. 40 (1987), 301.

[68] Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France*, 204.

the princesses are naturally compassionate, kind, and modest.[69] Even though Bernard's princesses never get happy endings, their girlhood virtue is still celebrated, as her girls are typically charming and joyful.[70] Almost all of d'Aulnoy's princesses are virtuous, and even when one acts contrary to her gender, like the cross-dressing Belle-Belle, she too is described as modest and humble.[71] Just as noble girls in Madame de Maintenon's school learned to "live inside the narrow intellectual and occupational limits that society assigned to them," many of the *conteuses'* virtuous princesses bring joy to their parents and end up with ideal marriages to perfect princes.[72]

Fénelon contrasts his list of virtues with a list of vices such as vanity, dishonesty, long-windedness and seductiveness. The juxtaposition of virtuous and vicious female characters is a common trope in some of the *conteuses'* tales, especially those of L'Héritier. In both "The Subtle Princess" and "Marmoisan," the older sisters exhibit all of Fénelon's vicious categories, and the youngest sisters are purely virtuous. In "The Subtle Princess," the oldest two sisters are known by their nicknames, Lackadaisy and Loquatia. Lackadaisy is lazy, fat, frumpy, and speaks with a lisp. She only wears slippers because "she found the wearing of shoes unutterably fatiguing."[73] Loquatia is just as idle as her older sister, occupying her time with gossip and trying to seduce the court's young men.[74] In contrast to her sisters, Finessa—the youngest—is clever, forgiving, wise, and chaste. Similarly, in "Marmoisan" the oldest sister is a nagging critic, the second oldest an indolent gambler, and the third a lavish partygoer. In opposition, the youngest is pleasant, clever, and knows "how to rule her passions."[75] The contrasting of virtues and vices is a common theme in the *conteuses* tales, indicating that girlhood was considered a transparent life stage, and revealed each young woman's natural inclination.

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[69] La Force, "Green and Blue," in Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 214, 220; Murat, "Little Eel," in Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence*, 238, 239.

[70] Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence,* 55.

[71] Some of the more typical virtuous girls in d'Aulnoy's tales include: Gracieuse in "Gracieuse and Percinet," who is described as humble, happy, obedient and modest and when she is punished she suffers "as meekly as a lamb." Joilette in "The Good Little Mouse" who is described as obedient and good, as she does not cry like most newborns, but only smiles.

[72] Rapley, "Fénelon Revisited," 304.

[73] L'Héritier, "The Subtle Princess," 66, 72.

[74] Ibid., 67.

[75] L'Héritier, "Marmoisan," 89.

In the *conteuses'* tales, virtue is often synonymous with beauty. This is the correlation drawn by another influential seventeenth-century writer, Jacques Du Bosc, in his well-received publication, *L'Honneste Femme*.[76] In this manual he argues that it is possible to determine girls' natural inclination towards virtue based on their God-given beauty.[77] The *conteuses* tend to comply with this assumption, providing detailed descriptions of each girl's appearances at birth. For example, in La Force's "Green and Blue," the baby princess's features reveal "grandeur, nobility, and pride worthy of her blood line," accentuated by her beautiful blue eyes and ceaseless smile.[78] Girls such as Gracieuse, Goldilocks, Mayblossom, Rossette, Joliette, Merveilleuse, Belle-Etoile, and Belle-Belle were declared the most beautiful princesses at their births.[79] d'Aulnoy's tale "Blue Bird" provides one of the best examples of beauty in the predetermination of virtue. The king's daughter, Florine is described as "fresh, young and beautiful," her hair is adorned with flowers and she is clothed in taffeta and jewels, while her step-sister, has opposite physical characteristics.[80] She is given the name Truitonne because "her face had as many red spots as a trout. Her black hair was so dirty and greasy that you could not touch it, and oil oozed out from her yellow skin."[81] These physical characteristics, assigned in their youth, are direct indications of the characters' virtue. Florine attracts the love of Prince Charming effortlessly, while Truitonne employs trickery and ends up uglier than she began. The correlation of beauty with virtue in these *conteuses'* tales indicates that in the elite imagination, girls' physical appearance was an indicator of their morality.

The *conteuses'* girl protagonists are more than beautiful and virtuous. In fact, although the *conteuses* agree with some of Fénelon's ideas about girls' virtues and vices, they have different ideas about girls' intellectual and social abilities. On these topics, the *conteuses'* portrayals of young female figures are more in line with authors, like Du Bosc, who subscribe to the popular seventeenth-century notion of

[76] Fitzgerald, "To Educate or Instruct? Du Bosc and Fénelon on Women," in *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Barbara Whitehead (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1999), 162, 173.
[77] Ibid., 170.
[78] La Force, "Green and Blue," 213.
[79] d'Aulnoy, "Gracieuse and Percinet," "Blue Bird," "Fair Goldilocks," "Princess Mayblossom," "Princess Rossette," "The Good Little Mouse," "The Ram," "Belle-Belle," and "Princess Belle-Etoile."
[80] d'Aulnoy, "Blue Bird."
[81] Ibid.

honnêteté. The term *honnête* according to Joan DeJean is "among the most frequently used adjectives in seventeenth-century French prose from this period and one of the most difficult to translate."[82] In practice, an *honnête* person was well read in classical literature, able to control their natural impulses, inclined to rational discourse, attuned to social propriety, and most of all, adept at conversation. Therefore, *honnêteté* was not achieved through status, but required education and constant work. While most seventeenth-century literature on *honnêteté* concerned adults, the *conteuses* believed that young girls should also aspire to this fashionable ideal.

The frequent inclusion of maxims in the *conteuses*' tales is an indication of virtuous education that is specific to salon culture. When discussing salon society in a letter, L'Héritier explains the importance of proverbs, which were popular in seventeenth-century salons.[83] She praises her friends' knowledge of several maxims in a number of languages.[84] The *conteuses* often place these maxims in their female protagonists' mouths, situating girls as active and wise educators. When Lackadaisy is about to be raped in "The Subtle Princess," she speaks in a maxim saying "it is no use locking the bedroom door if the thief is already under the bed."[85] In one of d'Aulnoy's tales, Gracieuse reminds Percinet to control his passions with a witty saying: "Discretion adds a grace and charm to wooing; then tell your love not in the world's ear, lest, as a cruel judge your joys pursuing, it makes their harmlessness as crimes appear."[86] In La Force's "Green and Blue" the princess scolds herself, saying, "physical beauty is nothing without the ornaments of the mind and the qualities of the soul."[87] The repeated placement of wise words in the mouths of young and virtuous girls idealizes the image of the witty and well-spoken girl. Girls not only transparently reveal virtue through their beauty, but also actively participate in teaching and advising those around them.

Several tales also highlight the importance of intelligence for young girls. These tropes are a product of salon culture's emphasis on intellectual and witty conversation. In Bernard's "Riquet with the Tuft"

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[82] Joan DeJean, *Against Marriage: The Correspondence of La Grande Mademoiselle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 29.
[83] Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon, "Letter to Madame D.G.," in Stanton and Seifert, eds., *Enchanted Eloquence*, 286.
[84] Ibid., 287.
[85] L'Héritier, "The Subtle Princess," 75.
[86] d'Aulnoy, "Gracieuse and Percinet."
[87] La Force, "Green and Blue," 217.

she describes the young princess as "so stupid that her naturally beautiful features only served to make her appearance distasteful."[88] While the *conteuses* celebrate youthful beauty in their girl protagonists, they value intelligence just as highly. Princess Blue in La Force's "Green and Blue" is born beautiful, but also intelligent and rational.[89] In Murat's "Little Eel," the young princess receives gifts of wit and beauty from a fairy, but she is recognized and celebrated most for her intelligence.[90] In all three cases beauty is an important companion to the more useful quality of intelligence. Nevertheless, d'Aulnoy and Murat assume that girls are most likely to choose beauty over intelligence, thus both of their stories didactically encourage a reverse prioritization. In d'Aulnoy's "Belle-Etoile" the princess pursues beauty, but then realizes that it is nothing without wit, while in "Little Eel" the princess chooses intelligence, and Murat explains that this choice is uncharacteristically wise for such a young girl.[91] Therefore, the *conteuses* celebrate the beauty of girlhood, but they also criticize girls' tendency to naively choose beauty over intelligence.

The *conteuses* were not entirely in agreement with Fénelon's conception of girlhood. In fact, they challenged his ideas on girls' roles in the household. According to Fénelon, girls' education should teach correct pronunciation of words, legible handwriting, proper spelling, Latin for religious purposes, and some music.[92] All of these subjects should be applied practically to household duties such as instructing servants, taking care of accounts, educating children and cultivating religious devotion.[93] Madame de Maintenon's school at St-Cyr implemented this curriculum, educating elite girls in religious morals, household handiwork and noble comportment.[94] While it is unlikely that any of the *conteuses* went to St-Cyr, they would have been educated with similar ideals, which are evident in some of their depictions of girlhood education. In d'Aulnoy's "Babiole," the newborn princess receives an education that follows Fénelon's standards. She is taught to walk gracefully, speak eloquently, play the

[88] Bernard, "Riquet with the Tuft," 95.
[89] La Force, "Green and Blue," 213.
[90] Murat, "Little Eel," 236.
[91] Ibid., 239.
[92] Fitzgerald, "To Educate or Instruct?" 180.
[93] Karen Carter, "'Les garcons et les filles son pêle-mêle dans l'école:' Gender and Primary Education in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 31, no. 3 (2008), 421.
[94] Ibid.

harpsichord, and express her affection modestly.[95] These skills are used to entertain the queen and increase the prestige of the household. However, the *conteuses'* references to girlhood domesticity are not so straightforward. For example, L'Héritier makes sarcastic reference to Fénelon's instructions in "The Subtle Princess" when she describes Princess Finessa's competence in household duties. She explains that Finessa not only aided her father in running the kingdom, but was also accomplished in "the finicky little tasks of the hand, which are reputed to divert those of her sex." [96] In this case, L'Héritier shows awareness of cultural norms of girlhood, yet shows a disdain for their limits.

While Fénelon restricts girls' activities to household spaces, du Bosc encourages young women to engage in more public spaces such as the salon. He argues that virtuous women have the capacity to "outstrip conventional or archetypical male leaders."[97] However, du Bosc intends this argument to apply only within a confined conversational setting, rather than as a permanent subversion of patriarchal norms. Nevertheless, the *conteuses*' take his idea beyond its intended limits in their depictions of girls' interactions with their fathers and brothers. In both d'Aulnoy's "Belle-Belle" and L'Héritier's "Marmoisan," daughters convince their fathers to comply with their plans to cross-dress as warriors.[98] Both fathers are easily convinced. The daughters not only manipulate their father's will, but also trick other authoritative men. Marmoisan leads a military campaign for several years, using her authority to reform violent military practices and encourage compassion rather than violent pillaging of conquered territories.[99] She even takes on a masculine chivalric role when she attacks two of her soldiers who are about to rape a girl. In d'Aulnoy's "Belle-Etoile," the young female protagonist dresses as a man to save her cousin Chéri. In the process, she also rescues her three brothers and several other kings and princes, who "all threw themselves at her feet, calling her the saviour of kings."[100] In all three of these tales, girls subvert the patriarchal order of the household, proving their dominance over their fathers and brothers.

One of the most politically influential girls in this set of tales is Finessa, in L'Héritier's "The Subtle Princess." Finessa manages the

[95] d'Aulnoy, "Babiole."
[96] L'Héritier, "The Subtle Princess," 67.
[97] Fitzgerald, "To Educate or Instruct?" 164.
[98] d'Aulnoy, "Belle-Belle;" L'Héritier, "Marmoisan," 93.
[99] L'Héritier, "Marmoisan," 94.
[100] d'Aulnoy, "Belle-Etoile."

king's household, disciplining dishonest officers, and interceding in foreign affairs. The entire kingdom knew that "young as she was," Finessa "had cleverly discovered, in a treaty that was just about to be signed, that a perfidious foreign ambassador had laid a cunning trap for the king, her father."[101] L'Héritier recognizes gendered expectations, yet emphasizes Finessa's youth in the extraordinary nature of these accomplishments. At the time of these tales' publishing, late seventeenth-century France was enjoying the stability of Louis XIV's adult reign. Yet not long before this period of calm, France's political situation was far more precarious, in part due to the age and gender of its ruler. When Louis was a young boy, the nobles rebelled against royal authority, sparking the tumultuous years of the Fronde. Prior to this, the regencies of Catherine de Medici, Marie de Medici, and Anne of Austria, proved the instability of female rule. Therefore, the troubles of young or female rulers were instilled in collective memory, and would have been common knowledge for the *conteuses*. Nevertheless, L'Héritier's protagonist, Finessa, combines both stereotypical traits of a weak ruler: she is not only female, but she is also young. L'Héritier's use of historical sources in her writing proves that she must have been aware of this historical pattern and wished to use Finessa's character to challenge cultural assumptions about effective rulers. The *conteuses* depict their girl protagonists as powerful and intelligent, able to overcome the limitations of their gender and age and subvert patriarchal authority.

Conclusion

As elite authors, the *conteuses'* writings reflect their individual identities and their shared cultural context. d'Aulnoy and Murat craft positive images of girls, celebrating the births of daughters and idealizing the naivety of girlhood, while La Force's conceptions are ambiguous, encompassing a range of young female identities from independent to objectified. Bernard and L'Héritier's conceptions are also unique, as Bernard depicts girls acting in defiance to parental authority, while L'Héritier sees families as facilitators of girlhood education. Amidst these various portrayals, one motif of girlhood prevails in all five of the *conteuses*' tales. Each of these taletellers discuss girlhood virtue, denoting protagonists as virtuous and antagonists as vicious from a young age. The qualities of virtue and

[101] L'Héritier, "The Subtle Princess," 68.

vice are not developed over time, but are embedded in the essential identities of the girls at birth, demarcated by beauty or ugliness. The *conteuses* celebrate beauty as an indicator of virtue, but argue that only intelligence can make these qualities useful. Therefore, active and assertive roles are given to beautiful, virtuous, and intelligent girls. Despite the constraints placed on girls' activities in seventeenth-century educational treatises, in the *conteuses'* imaginations, girls could assert authority beyond their years. Therefore, the *conteuses'* tales not only spoke to ongoing debates about women's nature in early modern France, but also made a strong statement about female youthfulness. Girls caught in that ambiguous stage between sixteen and twenty-five could be brave, intelligent, and even more powerful than adult men.

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