
TIMEPIECES

2017

Undergraduate Journal

UNB Department of History

Contents

1000 Level	5	Mark Neadow <i>Analysis of Michael G. Vann’s “Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi”</i>
	9	James Thériault <i>The Story of Abraham Ulrikab: Entertainment, Consumerism, and Racism towards the Inuit in 19th Century Europe</i>
2000 Level	14	Tiffany Adams <i>Germany and the Outbreak of World War One</i>
	25	Marissa Flinn <i>Women of the French Revolution: A Battle for Lives and Rights</i>
	36	Jamie Roberts <i>The Establishment of William Penn’s Goals in Pennsylvania</i>
3000 Level	50	Chris Fortin <i>Servants of the Fatherland: The Success and Failures of Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff during the First World War</i>
	60	Emily Wood <i>Menstruation in the Holocaust: The Victims, the Nazis, and the Outcomes</i>
4000 Level	70	Shannon Benjamin <i>“Tell Me Whom You Love and I’ll Tell You Who You Are”: The Calculated Objectives of Marriage in Renaissance Italy</i>
5000 Level	84	Alan Jones <i>“Too Few Children”: Continuity and Change in French Natalism throughout the 20th Century</i>
	103	Jessica Hinton <i>The Hearts of New Brunswick Men in the Great War: Support from the Home Front and Maintenance of Morale</i>
	119	Brittany Long <i>Outsiders, Mavericks, and Revolutionaries: Women in the French Resistance</i>
	134	Kayla Mann <i>“A Supremely Human Event”: The Active Role of Civilians in the Liberation of Normandy</i>
	148	Josh Sheppard <i>Reservations: Catalysts of Suicide</i>

Special Thanks

The UNB History Society is honoured to present the 18th edition of *TimePieces*, the UNB Undergraduate History Journal. The essays that comprise this edition of *TimePieces* feature a broad range of topics as well as course levels. Readers will observe that the journal is divided into five sections: one section for each course level, from the 1000 level to the 5000 level. It was extremely difficult narrowing down the 30 submissions to 13 selections, but we believe this collection of work represents the talent and diversity of UNB History students. These essays are not only a testament to the abilities of their authors, but also speak to the quality of the education that History students are receiving at UNB.

Alex and I would like to thank the faculty and staff of the History department for their dedication, enthusiasm, and encouragement, as well as their willingness to help their students learn and succeed. We would like to recognize Dr. Lisa Todd and Dr. Sean Kennedy in particular for their major contribution to this year's journal.

We would also like to extend our sincere thanks to our fellow History students. The History Executive, as well as the 18th edition of *TimePieces*, would not have existed without your willingness to get involved. This journal represents one aspect of the diverse and exciting community you have helped us create. Congratulations on another successful year for *TimePieces* and the History Society. We hope you enjoy *TimePieces* 2017.

The 2016-2017 History Executive

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Editor's Note:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Alex Landine, the *TimePieces* co-editor, without whom this edition of *TimePieces* would not have been what it is today. Alex's hard work, dedication, creativity, and positivity are unparalleled and I could not have asked for a better co-editor.

I would also like to thank the selection committee, comprised of Brittany Long, Kayla Mann and Alan Jones, for the many hours they spent reading, comparing and selecting the best essays for this year's *TimePieces*. I would also like to thank Seshu lyengar, an impromptu addition to the selection committee, for his valued contribution to this year's journal.

Lastly, I would like to thank the 30 students who had the initiative and courage to submit their papers to our journal.

~ Sadie Gallibois

1 0 0 0 L E V E L

Analysis of Michael G. Vann's "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi"

Mark Neadow

In his article "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi," Michael Vann focuses on violence as a focal point, invoking a sense of power towards the Vietnamese through violence: "racialized physical violence saturated every aspect of life in colonial Hanoi."¹ Violence in Vann's reading differs from the others discussed in class; the violence is physical, but also relays a message. Violence is used to not only subdue rebellion, but was aimed towards demonstrating dominant power and presence. Vann concludes that violence was a way of establishing a French presence within Vietnam, and showcasing a more civilized way of living. Through violence the French demonstrate power, while instilling the Vietnamese with fear.

Vann's paradoxical thesis of power and vulnerability rarely lacks the mention of violence whether it is white on native violence, or native on white violence. The whites and non-whites living in such proximity, led to the bluntly obvious acts of violence.² Violence is surely to arise with the prominent daily contact with one another. The whites possessing such influence and power made them quite vulnerable and targets to the natives. Living the high life while constantly fearing the possibly of being attacked by native individuals made the white civilian population desperate for protection, which is the paradox; having power all while being vulnerable. "[T]he

¹ Michael G. Vann, "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi." *Colonial White Images and Imaginings of "Native" Violence* in Martin Thomas (ed.) *The French Colonial Mind: Violence, Military Encounters, and Colonialism* (University of Nebraska Press). 2011, 52-52.

² Vann, "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi," 56.

racialized fear was a paradox to colonial identity while in power they were constantly afraid."³

Violence seems to be a technique of communication used both by the Vietnamese and whites. For the whites it was a way to show control, while still subconsciously implicating that they were living in fear, being the minority. The Vietnamese and Chinese were the majority of the population, where as the white population was too small to promise a calm and tranquil state.⁴ The whites were constantly scared, obsessing over the fear of being attacked, and the fear was evident through violence they upheld. The whites had all the power and privilege; however, they always had to watch their backs. On the other hand, the Vietnamese used violence to voice their opposition to repression. Certain forms of violence by the natives were to state that the whites owed what they had due to them.⁵

Bombings, poisoning the white's food, assassinations of administrators, the murders of employers and having different laws that benefited the whites all were discussed in Vann's article. The French fear of being poisoned by their servants became so dominant that vendors had to stack laxatives.⁶ How could the colonizers feel in control when they were constantly over looking their shoulders? Laws were applied differently to the French. The whites had rarely been convicted of over punishing their servants. The non-whites would be convicted, or punished harshly for as little as a theft, which led to disputes.

The key points why violence was prominent in Hanoi were also: French population being the minority and living in close proximity to the Indigenes, fear induced violence, resistance, different laws, social class and over all power and control.

³ Vann, "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi," 70.

⁴ Vann, "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi," 50.

⁵ Vann, "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi," 55.

⁶ Vann, "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi," 69.

Vann argues that the French as the minority and living in such close proximity made them prime targets for attacks, which in turn made the French respond to the Vietnamese opposition with more extremes. It is what created and destroyed the colonial city. The colonial city was born in violence, nurtured, came of age, and died in violence.⁷ Vann's article states that the pyramided of race granted the whites power without evident guidelines, and encouraged the chance of abuse against the colonized. Humiliating and degrading the Vietnamese publicly, served to bestow a sense of shame and enforce white superiority.

Vann uses multiple sources for the development of his interpretation, but the most prominent being primary sources with the incorporation of a few secondary sources such as academic papers and studies. Examples of primary sources included: police reports, court procedures, journals, memoirs, political reports and others. Rapport correspondence is a prime example of a primary source. An eye witness that seen a bombing at the Hanoi Hotel describing the attack as a means to remind the colonizers for the need of racial solidarity.⁸ It is perfect example of a primary source, a statement from an eyewitness.

Colonial rule and daily violence go hand to hand. Violence was a huge aspect of colonial rule and arguably the most important. Daily violence was the result of the indigènes being deemed less intelligent, not civilized, being the majority and constantly making faults; which would result in the colonizers being frustrated and physically harming their servants. While the dominance encouraged violence, it was the racial status that gave the whites immense power over the non-whites. Giving economic, political and physical control over the non-whites without guidelines motivated the physical and mental abuse that the non-whites had to endure. Each one

⁷ Vann, "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi," 52.

⁸ Vann, "Fear and Loathing in French Hanoi," 66.

of those elements gave indigenous people a reason to fight back. The Vietnamese fought against the injustice and mistreatment that the whites were imposing.

In conclusion Vann demonstrates that the violence and fear are the elements of control of the French in Hanoi. The French population being given such power over the Vietnamese, while being the minority created numerous amounts of conflict. Violence used in a way which to express communication from both parties led to drastic outcomes from both sides. Violence is used to indicate a lot more than being violent.

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The Story of Abraham Ulrikab

Entertainment, Consumerism, and Racism towards the Inuit
in 19th Century Europe

James Thériault

Imagine taking a hundred people wearing blue coloured shirts and putting them together in a room, with only the context that because they are all wearing blue then they are the superior group based on shirt colour alone. Then throw a man in the middle of this room, in a glass box and wearing a red shirt. Surely everyone will stare, wondering why this man is here, and trying to see how he differs from those wearing red outside the box. For Abraham Ulrikab and his family, Inuks from Hebron, Labrador, their lives in Human Zoos were not just mere experiments with coloured shirts. Their noticeable physical differences lead them to be put on display across a predominantly white Europe, all for the promise of money to repay their debt back home.¹ During their time in Europe they were used to entertain the local population, and were exploited for monetary gain by selling their uniqueness and difference to Europeans, many of whom had never seen individuals who appeared physically different than themselves. Finally, they were exposed to racism, both direct (being called Eskimos²) and indirect (the fact that they were on display for being a non-white people). These three factors lead to the reinforcement (in some cases creation) of racial prejudice in 19th century Europe.

¹ "Letter from B.G. Kretschmer to Brother Connor," as reprinted in Hartmut Lutz, Editor, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and Context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005, p. 6

² The term "Eskimos", while deemed racially offensive in Canada, is used throughout this work to describe Abraham and many people similar to him throughout the time period in which he was alive. Words and thoughts like these, while containing racial and ethical prejudices, must be included in this paper, as to not use them while reflecting upon this awful point in human history would be the same as pretending that these racial and ethical prejudices never existed in the first place.

To begin, one of the main reasons that they were brought over was to entertain and pique the interest of Europeans. As the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported, "The Eskimos started their show on Sunday in the Zoologischer Garten to massive applause from an audience of almost 7000. The most interesting part of the show is probably the seal hunt."³ This demonstrates how Abraham's family, as well as another family from further north (Nakvak) and whom practice magic⁴, were put on display not just to better the education of their audience, but more so to entertain them, like a busker on the street. While they were given the chance to shed light on their lifestyle, the general attitude of the audience, and society, towards their presence and way of life was more so of a "dance monkey dance" way of thinking. This can be shown through various other articles such as one published in *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, stating "Among the curious people coming to the Eskimos on Monday were also very many children, who tried to communicate with the Eskimos by language and gestures."⁵ This reinforced the idea that these people were brought around Germany, France, etc. to entertain the people, as if they were more of an interactive museum and not living, breathing human beings.

The fact that they were brought overseas to entertain the local populations of Europe ties in well to the economic/consumerism aspect of the era that they lived in and the mindset of entrepreneurs who would do anything to make a quick buck, even at the expense of other's human rights. The mere fact that 7000 people came out to view the family in a zoo on one day alone shows how much attention, and therefore

³ "Abraham, Tobias and Terrianiak demonstrate a seal hunt," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 487, Oct. 18, 1880, as reprinted in Hartmut Lutz, Editor, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and Context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005, p. 14

⁴ "Diary of the Hebron Eskimo Abraham about his stay in Europe 1880," as reprinted in Hartmut Lutz, Editor, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and Context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005, p. 7

⁵ "Tobias' fondness for children" *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 487, Oct. 18, 1880, as reprinted in Hartmut Lutz, Editor, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and Context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005, p. 15

revenue, that these zoos may have been generating. The man responsible for bringing them over, Carl Hagenbeck, was an entrepreneur by trade.⁶ Both the business side and the entertainment side of this operation to bring over Inuit peoples to put on display are connected to the racism that was prevalent throughout the text. The business of the human zoo is to provide entertainment through displaying peoples of other “races”, which is by definition, racist. While many kids and adults enjoyed the *entertainment* and interaction they received by having these foreigners brought to their town, they were merely *consumers* of an industry built on *racism*. By paying a fee to see these human exhibits, one only allows for the exhibition of humans to continue, whether those consumers agreed with the idea or rather just wanted to see what all the hype was about. The racism aspect in relation to consumerism also stretched as far as advertising, depicting that Abraham would want his wife, Ulrike, to abandon her traditional attire because “your sealskin coat is out-of-fashion, the apron suits you terribly – I’d like to see you as a dandy!”⁷ These documents show the raw nature of the entertainment based, consumer driven, racist act of bringing foreigners of different “races” to tour countries, to be the talk of the town, to be singled out for being *different*.

The human zoos mentioned in the text created, more so for those being displayed in said zoos, a sense of racism, or built upon any racists ideas that may have existed. The human zoos were racist in many ways. On a macro level, the importation of other humans, from very different parts of the world, for entertainment purposes, or to make money, is racist. Singling out an individual (or group) for the colour of their skin, for their culture, or for the way they act and who they are, is racist. Beyond the

⁶ “Letter from B.G. Kretschmer to Brother Connor,” as reprinted in Hartmut Lutz, Editor, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and Context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005, p. 3

⁷ “Mrs. Ulrike,” *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 252, Oct. 27, 1880, as reprinted in Hartmut Lutz, Editor, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and Context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005, p. 38

scientists who wanted to examine these individuals⁸, there was no reason that they were brought over besides for being different. If you stop and think, is that not eerily similar to the Atlantic Slave Trade, where Europeans on boats show up to foreign land to take foreign peoples (non-white) to another location for purposes which usually don't end well for those people of colour/different culture. On a micro level, Abraham et al were subjected to racism in the form of the term "Eskimo"⁹ and regarded with less intelligence, or "as children".¹⁰ Either way, these human zoos to a racist prejudice against individuals who differed from those in power (white Eastern Europeans) which only continued to grow ever the more prominent long after Abraham's time.

To conclude, through Abraham's diary, those interested in his family's lives in a human zoo are able to gather a better understanding of their lives during this horrendous escapade, and the documents help show the connections between entertainment, consumerism, and racism. While Abraham and his family may have not lived long enough to return to his homeland, thanks to his diary and the other documents collected, his story will live on forever so to serve as a reminder to all of humankind that all "races" are simply fancy names for the only race that truly exists: the human race.

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⁸ "Eskimos at the Berlin zoo," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 12, 1880, as reprinted in Hartmut Lutz, Editor, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and Context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005, p. 57

⁹ See footnote 2.

¹⁰ "Letter from B.G. Kretschmer to Brother Connor," as reprinted in Hartmut Lutz, Editor, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and Context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005, p. 12

2000 LEVEL

Germany and the Outbreak of World War One

Tiffany Adams

The First World War was a global phenomenon that was declared on the twenty eighth day of July 1914.¹ Spanning from 1914 until 1918 the war involved a significant amount of European countries including Germany and Britain as well as countries overseas such as the United States and Canada. There are many arguments historians have regarding why the war started and who was responsible and the topic, therefore, remains controversial. Many assert that the onset of war was due a single event: the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Although this may have been the final straw, it is evident that growing social and political issues were the driving force behind the notion of war. German society prior to 1914 was in a state of growth. The growth of wealth, population, militarism, nationalism, and ultimately hostility. The growing sentiment of nationalism among the people of Germany and the actions of particular German diplomats and organizations had a significant role in the outbreak of world war one.

Austria-Hungary was the first country to initially declare war in 1914. It declared war on Servia (modern day Serbia) due to many political factors. For one, there was a movement in Serbia directed at removing a section of Austro-Hungarian territory from their monarchy.² This movement brought about the creation of many pro-Serb terrorist groups who would use radical techniques to get acknowledged. The Serbian government was aware of these movements but did nothing about them and Austria,

¹"War Declared By Austria." *Times* [London, England] 29 July 1914: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. URL: <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=fred46430&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=CS134415101&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

² Dennis L. Cuddy, "Immediate Origins of the First World War," *International Review of History and Political Science* 26, no. 2 (2016), 2.

therefore, saw it as a potential threat which they wanted to eliminate. During a trip to Bosnia, the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by a pro-Serb named Gavrilo Princip. This assassination sparked Austria to issue an ultimatum to the Serbian government which included a variety of articles such as the government must "suppress any publication which incites to hatred and contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. . ." ³ Ultimately The Serbians disregarded parts of the ultimatum and Austria announced their declaration of war, in which they stated that the government of Serbia had not given them a "satisfactory reply" and the Austrian government found it necessary to go to war to "safeguard its rights and interests".⁴ Although this was a significant and clear outbreak of war, there were many other countries involved and their own social and political problems led to this war reaching a global scale rather than remaining just a war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia.

One of the most significant political problems which led to Germany's involvement in the First World War was the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. The Franco-Prussian war was a significant victory for Prussia (which would later become part of Germany) which meant that the relationship between France and Germany became strained. This war was sparked due to the rising tensions between the increasingly powerful Prussia and a weakened France. It began when Prussian leader Otto Von Bismarck campaigned for the German Leopold von Hohenzollern to become ruler of the Spanish throne instead of following its prior dynastic format. France's Napoleon III protested this and was against German control of Spain. Bismarck believed that continuing his support for Hohenzollern could weaken France, but Napoleon chose

³ Cuddy, "Immediate Origins of the First World War," 4.

⁴ "Austrian Military Plans." *Times* [London, England] 29 July 1914: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. URL: <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=fred46430&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=&docId=CS117637885&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

another direction: war.⁵ Prussia and the German army fought through a harsh winter and continued to take ground while the French focused on helping their citizens in Paris who faced a lack of food, and disease due to malnourishment.⁶ This lack of direct opposition allowed Prussia to occupy almost one third of the country and by the end of the war on January 26 1871, there were 139, 000 French casualties, doubling that of the Germans.⁷ The war, therefore, left relations between France and Germany strained due to way the Germans crippled the French army and economy.

This severe defeat of the French army left them in ruins financially and socially. Apart from the devastation of their army and citizens, Germany also annexed the French territory of Alsace and Lorraine. The people of France had their lives, financial stability, and sense of safety taken from them and the annexation only furthered their resentment towards the Germans. After this war the balance of power in Europe started to shift significantly and France no longer “commanded the world’s fear and respect”.⁸ This shift also meant that Germany was growing increasingly powerful and admired. Negative attitudes and animosity intensified between France and Germany due to this. The German army destroyed the French regiments, annihilated their civilian population, and consequently pilfered France’s political power in Europe. French citizens also began to change their state of mind regarding war. Prior to 1870, the last significant war in France was in the era of Napoleon Bonaparte and the French people had steered clear from conflict since that time. After the Franco-Prussian war, however, they believed that another war would indeed be inevitable and they were reluctant to relive the same defeat. Therefore, they prepared themselves to be ready to fight back

⁵ Rachel Chrastil, *Organizing for War: France, 1870-1914* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 3.

⁶ Chrastil, *Organizing for War: France, 1870-1914*, 5.

⁷ Chrastil, *Organizing for War: France, 1870-1914*, 5.

⁸ Chrastil, *Organizing for War: France, 1870-1914*, 6.

with the intention of restoring their prior reputation as a significant European power.⁹ Although the Franco-Prussian war had an impact in Germany's role in the outbreak of the Great War, there were also internal factors at play.

In 1871, Germany's ongoing fight for unification succeeded and they became the German Empire. During the pre-war period many states fought for unity besides German, such as Italy. This movement brought a sense of great nationalism to the common people as well as their leaders. Some argue that there was "a radicalization of the national debate after unification", by which they mean that the ideas of nationalism became increasingly profound and a portion of society began to idealize their unity and nation.¹⁰ The radical nationalists began to believe in the idea that the German Empire was the epitome of a nation and if others disagreed they must be a threat to German society. They began to become paranoid of certain groups such as the Jews, Freemasons, and socialists and argued that these groups were involved in "a broadly based conspiracy. . . with the aim of harming Germandom".¹¹ These feelings of increasing hostility were directed at people within the German state, in Europe, and abroad which created a sense of fear and isolation among the radical nationalists. These nationalist themselves also instilled a sense of panic in their socialist, liberal, and conservative counterparts in Germany because of their radical racist, xenophobic, and anti-Semitic actions. The movement towards radical nationalism created hostility and fear in Germany as well as throughout Europe and abroad. Although significant, the ongoing sense of nationalism was not the only reason for tension between Germany and other European countries.

The naval race between Britain and Germany created tension between the two countries. Germany, partially due to their newfound nationalism, felt that they deserved

⁹ Chrastil, *Organizing for War: France, 1870-1914*, 7.

¹⁰ Mark Hewitson, *Germany and the causes of the First World War* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2004), 39.

¹¹ Hewitson, *Germany and the causes of the First World War*, 40.

much more overseas power and recognition than they received. They argued that their country was “not gaining as large a share of colonial possessions as its economic strength and great power status merited”.¹² Although they felt they deserved more, they initially did not want to take away from other countries in order to meet their goal. This sentiment is expressed through the statement by the German Chancellor Bulow, “we don’t want to put anyone else in the shade, but we too demand a place in the sun”.¹³ All that considered, Britain held the majority of colonial and economic power in Europe and the German government felt that they would have to first weaken the British in order for them to gain any power. The German Kaiser was fearful and jealous of Britain’s status, as he feared their power but also wanted his country to be like Britain when it came to influence and success. He knew that in order to weaken Britain the government must challenge its naval supremacy.¹⁴

Germany began to participate in a naval race against the British in the late 1890’s. Hostility began to form between the two countries because the growing idea in Germany that “we are powerful too” continued to manifest. The creation of the German navy showed the other European countries that Germany was growing increasingly powerful and that the Germans demanded the same respect as was given to other great powers, such as Britain. Germany’s navy also had other functions in their society such as rousing “the patriotism of the German population” and also serving “as a unifying force to overcome social tensions”.¹⁵ The creation of their navy gave them the social status and power they desired and it also enhanced their increasing nationalism. The impact of these circumstances meant that Germany knew they could keep Britain in their place because if they tried to attack the German’s, their navy

¹² Ruth B. Henig, *The origins of the First World War* (London: Routledge, 1993), 8.

¹³ Henig, *The origins of the First World War*, 8.

¹⁴ Henig, *The origins of the First World War*, 8.

¹⁵ Henig, *The origins of the First World War*, 8.

would become sufficiently weakened.¹⁶ It also meant that the hostility with Britain was growing because in order to stay as mighty as they were, Germany needed to keep British power and influence in a state of depletion. It is also evident that the nationalism in Germany was booming, which further led to hostility towards other countries. Of course, particular diplomats and leaders also had significant roles in German relations.

The leader of Germany during the pre-war period as well as during the First World War was Kaiser Wilhelm II. Wilhelm himself was one of the reasons for Germany's involvement in the Great War. He was well known by Germans, and other Europeans alike, for being militaristic. This is explained through his early life in which he received "an extensive education in military matters."¹⁷ As Kaiser of Germany he had a lot of powers including complete control over the military and the ability to appoint and dismiss chancellors. Therefore, Wilhelm II held a lot of "power and influence over the shape of the empire's military, economic, and social policies".¹⁸ He focused much of his influence on improving and expanding Germany's military power through the navy, field artillery and aircraft.¹⁹ Wilhelm also believed that "Germany benefited when problems cropped up within the French or British empires".²⁰ The Kaiser focused most of his attention on improving the German military because he believed that a strong army was important in running a successful country. He was a militaristic leader and this led to his involvement in World War I when he was given the chance to show the power of Germany.

¹⁶ Henig, *The origins of the First World War*, 8.

¹⁷ Kevin Hillstrom, *World War I and the age of modern warfare* (Detroit, MI: Omnigraphics, Inc. 2013), 150.

¹⁸ Hillstrom, *World War I and the age of modern warfare*, 150.

¹⁹ Hillstrom, *World War I and the age of modern warfare*, 150.

²⁰ Hillstrom, *World War I and the age of modern warfare*, 151.

The people of Germany also believed that Wilhelm II was very volatile when it came to decision making. Bismarck, the chancellor of Germany in the 1870's, once commented on this unpredictability, stating that Wilhelm "had an opinion about everything, but that it was a different one everyday".²¹ This volatility made it very difficult for the people to trust his actions, as he was also always making spur of the moment decisions which, depending on the situation, could put his country's safety in jeopardy.²² Kaiser Wilhelm II had a militaristic approach to running the German Empire and this paired with his tendency to make unpredictable, in the moment decisions was another reason why Germany was involved in the outbreak of the First World War. For instance, Wilhelm II had been friends with the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, so upon his assassination the Kaiser urged Austria-Hungary to go to war with Serbia. He even took into consideration that alliances would mean that with the declaration of war, much of Europe would be involved. Despite acknowledging this, Wilhelm continued to push the idea of war onto Austria-Hungary, and in return remained an ally to them.²³ Although Germany would benefit by gaining power through this war, it is clear that Wilhelm's friendship with the Archduke pushed him to make such a rash decision despite the potential consequences. This is a prime example of how his militaristic thinking and quick decision making led to events with significant historical outcomes. The Kaiser was also involved in other events that had significant consequences for his country's relations within Europe, such as the Moroccan Crises.

Germany's involvement in the Moroccan Crises had significant implications for the relations it had with other countries. The first Moroccan crisis occurred from 1904-

²¹ Mombauer, Annika, and Wilhelm Deist, *The Kaiser: new research on Wilhelm II's role in imperial Germany* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 195.

²² Mombauer, Annika, and Wilhelm Deist, *The Kaiser: new research on Wilhelm II's role in imperial Germany*, 196.

²³ Mombauer, Annika, and Wilhelm Deist, *The Kaiser: new research on Wilhelm II's role in imperial Germany*, 151.

1907 and was in a sense caused by the tension between France and Germany. France had created agreements with multiple countries such as Britain and Italy concerning French control over Morocco. These countries agreed to respect France's rights to Morocco and in return France obliged to the requests of their counterparts. Although it was a significant power, France failed to negotiate an agreement with Germany due to the fact that they believed "German interests in Morocco were minimal and because the French foreign minister refused to deal with the Germans".²⁴ The German Kaiser, Wilhelm II took advantage of this and travelled to Tangier to express that Germany had interest in Morocco.²⁵ He further declared that the people living there (the Sultan) should have a say in their government and be autonomous instead of living under an absolute monarchy. This declaration led to the people questioning French rule in Morocco which alarmed France and their allies. During the pre-war period alliances between countries started to form and this crisis displayed the beginnings of these alliances. Britain and Italy sided with France due to their prior arrangements and Germany recruited their sole ally of Austria-Hungary due to friendly relations between their diplomats. The crisis was temporarily averted when the country signed agreements at the Algeiras conference in 1906.²⁶

The second Moroccan crisis was the turning point for German relations with the French and their allies. Citizens of Morocco began a revolt in January of 1911 and the French wanted to send in troops to stop the quarrel. However, this would go against the agreements they had signed years earlier. The tensions from the previous crisis between France and Germany remained and the German government asserted that if the French sent in troops, the agreement would be invalid.²⁷ Since Britain was a close

²⁴ Gregory D. Miller, *The shadow of the past: reputation and military alliances before the First World War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2012), 94.

²⁵ Miller, *The shadow of the past: reputation and military alliances before the First World War*, 94

²⁶ Miller, *The shadow of the past: reputation and military alliances before the First World War*, 112.

²⁷ Miller, *The shadow of the past: reputation and military alliances before the First World War*, 155.

ally with France at this time, they too felt greatly involved in Morocco and when the Germans made this statement to France, Britain pledged their support. Once again there was a negotiation in which France gave Germany “part of its possessions in the Congo” in return for Germany’s acceptance of France’s protectorate in Morocco.²⁸ This agreement led to tension within the individual countries because the citizens felt that their leaders gave up too much for too little. On a grander scale, the Moroccan crises created severe hostility between European countries and Germany and also tightened the alliances that were forming between countries.²⁹

The outbreak of World War I was caused by a series of German social and political factors that affected relations within Europe. Germany’s involvement in the Franco-Prussian war as well as the Moroccan crises led to hostilities with France and also created an uneasiness among the citizens. When Germany unified, their sense of nationalism grew as well and radical groups began to believe that Germany was the epitome of a nation. This nationalism led to the idea that people would do anything for their country. Therefore, when Wilhelm II proposed militaristic ideas, a portion of Germany was well behind him. Furthermore, all the tension created by Germany’s policies and diplomats allowed alliances to form and when Austria-Hungary declared war against Serbia, world war would be inevitable. Germany’s leadership, however, weakened throughout the First World War and the German army was starved out and defeated by The Triple Entente (comprised of Russia, France, and Britain).³⁰ World War I resulted in the deaths of 7-10 million civilians and 8.5 million soldiers; these significant casualty rates altered the way countries interacted years later.³¹ Germany’s involvement

²⁸ Miller, *The shadow of the past: reputation and military alliances before the First World War*, 157.

²⁹ Miller, *The shadow of the past: reputation and military alliances before the First World War*, 157.

³⁰ Hillstrom, *World War I and the age of modern warfare*, 97-100.

³¹ Hillstrom, *World War I and the age of modern warfare*, 102.

in the outbreak of war lead to their misfortune when Europe negotiated The Treaty of Versailles, as the blame fell upon the German Empire.³²

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³² Hillstrom, *World War I and the age of modern warfare*, 107-110.

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Women of the French Revolution

A Battle for Lives and Rights

Marissa Flinn

The French Revolution saw its beginning in July of 1789 with the storming of the Bastille prison and proved to be a time of chaos and upheaval in France. Because of the over-abundance of money — almost 12 million pounds¹ — that the monarchy had spent on trivial goods over the years, France's economy was at its worst and citizens of the great country were tired of living off scraps. The citizens who were most affected by the ignorant ways of the monarchy were women, especially but not limited to those of the Third Estate with families to clothe and feed. On top of this, women of the bourgeoisie were also significantly affected, albeit in a much different fashion—through political and social inequality. Many people believe that because of the narrow constraints placed upon women in the eighteenth century that the French Revolution was an entirely male-dominated phenomenon; however, it is in part because of these limitations, as well as a lack of basic survival needs, that women chose to join in on the activism in the first place. While women of both the Third Estate and the bourgeoisie were hoping for different outcomes from the Revolution, neither class ever gave up or went down without a fight. Some women chose to act out through violence while others chose to fight the monarchy through their writing; however, revolutionary women followed their hearts and stood by their beliefs in an attempt to better not only their own lives, but the lives of the entire population of women in France. By analyzing the actions of women in the 1789 revolution against the monarchy it becomes clear that although the end of the French Revolution brought about very few changes for

¹ *Summary of the Livre Rouge*, <http://alphahistory.com/frenchrevolution/summary-french-royal-spending-1789/>

women, their involvement in the rebellion was just as influential as that of the so-called “dominant” men.

Before explaining the many ways in which women became active in the French Revolution, it is crucial to take a look at the situation of women regarding their rights and living conditions in pre-revolutionary France. Women in early modern Europe were confined primarily to domestic duties—sewing, cooking, cleaning, and raising the children. Because they were very much limited to the household, very few opportunities arose concerning careers, education, and political rights. However, women did obtain certain highly respected jobs such as seamstresses, who made clothing and linen for their fellow citizens. They also possessed several other high-paying, yet dangerous jobs in the factories, as well as in “ill-paid, labor-intensive industries like the lace trade.”² Despite these few job exceptions outside of the domestic sphere, women were prohibited from certain careers such as doctors or lawyers and were unable to hold political office, or even vote for that matter.³ As far as education went, some women were able to attend colleges, however, the object of their education was to become a good and obedient wife, and how to perform household duties well.⁴ As becomes clear, women were very much under the control of men and the societal constraints that had been assigned to them and some did not even realize until the Revolution that they were being deprived of their rights. In addition to this, women were also being deprived of their basic survival needs, most prominently bread. The monarchy had accumulated an immense debt over the years,

² Jane Abrey, “Feminism in the French Revolution.” *The American Historical Review* 80/1 (Feb., 1975), 43-62, here 44.

³ Najeeb, Abdul, “Women’s Roles and Contributions in and to French Revolution.” *Idea of History*. N.p., 2014. Web. 29 Mar. 2016.

⁴ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*. J. Stockdale, 1793. P. 113.

mostly because of Queen Marie-Antoinette's lavish and excessive spending habits⁵ and as a result of this, taxes and bread prices were significantly raised – making it impossible for citizens of the Third Estate to live sufficiently. Because of their lack of both food and rights, women began petitioning and rioting for their own safety and advancement.

Although many women were involved in the 1789 storming of the Bastille prison⁶, the first major female-oriented riot during the French Revolution was the March on Versailles on October 5th, 1789. On this occasion, a large group of approximately 7,000 armed women⁷ marched from Paris to the Palace of Versailles in order to demand bread and express their anger towards the current situation in France. The women managed to break past the National Guards and into the palace where they planned to not only demand that King Louis XVI give them bread, but that he make it more affordable for them.⁸ The March on Versailles proved to be one of the first acts of violence that women would commit independently during the Revolution. Although they did not harm the royal family, two royal bodyguards were killed— their heads impaled on sticks to demonstrate just how serious these women were about achieving their demands.⁹ When the women involved in the March on Versailles realized the amount of power they held in their hands they decided it was best to use it to their advantage. The women managed to convince the King to divide all the bread he was holding in his palace amongst them, as well as threatened him by holding the heads of his royal bodyguards on pikes before him, to accompany them back to Paris where the

⁵ Caroline Weber, "What Marie Antoinette Wore to the Revolution" in *Queen of Fashion*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), p.29.

⁶ Hans-Jurgen Lusebrink, Rolf Reichardt and Norbert Shurer, *The Bastille: A History of Despotism and Freedom* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 1.

⁷ Elizabeth Colwill, "Just Another "Citoyenne?" Marie-Antoinette on Trial, 1790-1793," *History Workshop*, No. 28 (Autumn, 1989), p. 67.

⁸ Carole Bos, "Women's March to Versailles," (awesomestories.com, Oct 7, 2013)

⁹ William Beik, "The Violence of the French Crowd from Charivari to Revolution", *Past & Present* 197. 1. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 101.

royal family would remain as prisoners until their respective executions in 1793. This women-oriented event worked in favour of the citizens of Paris because now the royal family was closer than ever to the political and social upheaval of France. A final demand that these women had upon arriving at the Palace of Versailles was that the King sign the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. This declaration would later prompt a wave of feminist writing and talk of equality for women as well because it did not say anything about the role of women in society.¹⁰ It is important to remember that it was women who made this declaration official, not men, and had the royal family not been virtually forced to move back to Paris, the abolition of the monarchy may have taken ten more years to complete, or it may not have happened at all.

While women-orchestrated bread riots were a significant part of the French Revolution, the majority of activism came from the middle class, or bourgeoisie women, one of the most prominent of these females being Olympe de Gouges. Her real name was Marie Gouze and she was the daughter of a bourgeoisie family in Montauban, France. She married young, at age 16 and had an unhappy marriage. Fortunately for her, the marriage was short-lived, her husband, Louis Aubrey, died about a year or two after they were wed. After this turn of events, Marie changed her name to Olympe de Gouges and escaped to Paris to pursue a career as a playwright.¹¹ With little success in the field of theatre, de Gouges decided to take up writing in a feminist point of view.¹² Her most influential piece of writing was *The Declaration of the Rights of Women*, a pamphlet written and addressed to Marie-Antoinette concerning

¹⁰ *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, 26 August 1789.

<https://chmm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/295/>

¹¹ Woolfrey, Joan. "Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793)." *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. West Chester University of Pennsylvania. <http://www.iep.utm.edu/gouges/>. March 29, 2016. Web.

¹² "Women in the French Revolution." Ed. Fausta Deshormes La Valle. In *Women of Europe Supplements*. No. 33. Chapter, "Women and Political "Feminism"" pg. 13.

the ignorance of the monarchy towards women's rights. De Gouges had written this pamphlet in opposition to the earlier mentioned *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, which she claimed disregarded the female sex.¹³ In her declaration, de Gouges stresses the cluelessness of women when she says, "Oh women! Women, when will you cease to be blind? What advantages have you gathered from the revolution? A scorn more marked, a disdain more conspicuous."¹⁴ Olympe de Gouges received a plethora of discontented replies to her attempt for equality, including the negative attention of Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette, the Paris council president who would later outlaw women's political clubs because he said they were dangerous to the Republic.¹⁵ Concerning Olympe de Gouges' declaration he exclaimed in his 1793 speech, "It is shocking, it is contrary to all the laws of nature for a woman to want to make herself a man."¹⁶ In saying this, Chaumette was expressing the concern of the majority of the male population. Men were afraid that if women got too caught up in politics they would attempt to overthrow them, and at the same time neglect their roles as women in the domestic sphere.¹⁷

Despite these warnings, de Gouges continued to write freely. Many of her plays, including *La Necessité du Divorce*,¹⁸ relate her own concerns about society. In revolutionary France, once married, women typically lost their sense of self and had no control over their belongings.¹⁹ As divorce was not an option, it seems the only way a

¹³ Olympe de Gouges, *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman*, (September 1791), <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/477/>

¹⁴ De Gouges, *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman*

¹⁵ "Women in the French Revolution." Ed. Fausta Deshormes La Valle. In *Women of Europe Supplements*. No. 33. Chapter, "Women and Political "Feminism"" pg. 8.

¹⁶ Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette, "Speech at City Hall Denouncing Women's Political Activism," (17 November 1793).

¹⁷ Mary Seidman Trouille. *Sexual Politics in the Enlightenment: Women Writers Read Rousseau*. SUNY Press, 1997. p. 187.

¹⁸ http://olympedegouges.eu/outlines_plays.php.

¹⁹ Jane Abray, "Feminism in the French Revolution." *The American Historical Review* 80/1 (Feb., 1975), 43-62, here 43.

woman could be free was by the death of her husband, which is precisely what had happened to Olympe. Despite her luck in the matter, de Gouges did not wish for other women to have unhappy marriages. Although most of her work was unpopular or ill-received, she continued on in the hopes of sparking independence in women and perhaps to make them realize that divorce was a good place to start on the journey towards female equality. Her avid opposition to the monarchy's workings caused her to be arrested and tried, with her eventual death sentence being fabricated from the following charge: "writings tending towards the reestablishment of a power attacking the sovereignty of the people."²⁰ It seems that Olympe de Gouges knew that her time had come, even admitting in her defense that she was the founder of several popular clubs and societies for women. Knowing that she had done her very best to encourage women to take a stand for their beliefs, Olympe de Gouges walked towards the waiting guillotine on November 3rd, 1793, while smiling at the spectators.²¹

Whereas Olympe de Gouges stuck to writing in order to initiate a wave of feminism during the French Revolution with her *Declaration of the Rights of Women*, actress Claire Lacombe played a more radical role in activism for women. The beginning of Lacombe's revolutionary career entailed battling alongside rebel men in the storming of the Tuileries Palace, however, she is best known as founder of the 1793 Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, a Jacobin rooted female political club.²² It seems that the inspiration for this club was Jean-Paul Marat,²³ a politician and radical journalist of the Revolution. Marat believed that violence was the key to success for the people of France, with his most radical suggestion being to kill the king. He also

²⁰ "The Trial of Olympe de Gouges," eds. Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, and Mary Durham Johnson, (University of Illinois, 1979)

²¹ "The Trial of Olympe de Gouges"

²² http://gutenberg.us/articles/Claire_Lacombe

²³ Elizabeth R. Kindleberger, "Charlotte Corday in Text and Image: A Case Study in the French Revolution and Women's History," (Duke University Press, 1994), p.978.

believed that he was the voice of the lower class, and urged them to take back their nation.²⁴ Samuel Bernstein writes on the words of Marat saying, "The presence in France of 15,000,000 men who were wasting away through poverty and hunger, he said, and the fact that no one but himself had risen to their defense, made him all the more militant."²⁵ Members of the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women were typically of middle-class stature, and all wished to have the right to bear arms, to be militant citizens,²⁶ and fight against the supporters of the monarchy.²⁷ They agreed with Marat that violence was the only way to stop the Revolution and made their fame by challenging the gender roles and politics of men who feared female leadership, and the monarchy who feared the same during the French Revolution. Despite the fact that their attempts were short-lived, their role in the French Revolution gave hope to future generations of feminist and equal rights fighters.

The Society of Revolutionary Republican Women worked through violence and upheaval to achieve their goals, however, their Girondin counterparts believed in a more peaceful approach and thought that, though the king should be dethroned, he should not be killed. One member of the Girondin party, Charlotte Corday, has become a household name over the years for her infamous crime—the assassination of Jean-Paul Marat. Charlotte Corday, born Marie- Anne-Charlotte de Corday d'Armont, was born into an aristocratic family. At age thirteen, her family sent her to a convent in Caen where she began reading heavily and as a result of this reading, she became a Republican. As it so happens, after the long battle between the Jacobins and the Girondins concerning proper tactics for the Revolution, Marat had started an uprising in which the Girondins were forced to flee to Caen, the location where Charlotte Corday

²⁴ Samuel Bernstein, "Marat, Friend of the People," (Guilford Press, 1941), p.311.

²⁵ Bernstein, "Marat, Friend of the People," p.318.

²⁶ Darline Gay Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite, "Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris," (1989), p.87.

²⁷ Darline Gay, "Women and Militant Citizenship," p.93.

resided. This caused Corday to become aware of Marat and his leadership which led her to believe that he had to die in order for the immense bloodshed of the Revolution to end.²⁸ After carrying out her plan to murder Marat, and because Marat was both popular and unpopular, Corday's crime was received in different ways for different groups of people. The Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, who had idolized Marat, were furious at this turn of events. Founder and president of the club, Claire Lacombe had this to say: "Certainly nature created a monster who has deprived us of the Friend of the People [Marat]; but are we responsible for this crime? Was Corday a member of our society? . . . Our sex has produced only one monster."²⁹ Lacombe and her group of women wanted to distance themselves from the crime of Corday, for it seemed as if women as a whole were being blamed for the dastardly deed. On the other hand, Corday was commended, being called an "extraordinary woman" and being said to possess "courage and sangfroid."³⁰ Losing the bias of Jacobin versus Girondin outlooks, it is safe to say that Corday's bravery and imminent death offered more redemption than Marat's death because she wished to be "the last victim"³¹ of the Revolution. Although Charlotte Corday was sent to the guillotine for murder, she did not believe in violent activism, which was further proven at her trial as "whenever she spoke there was complete silence, for her voice, though assured and pleasant, was soft."³² In essence, Charlotte Corday committed an act of violence in attempt to end violence.

²⁸ "Charlotte Corday," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Vol. 29. Detroit: Gale, 2009. Biography in context. Web. 29 March, 2016.

²⁹ Elizabeth Racz, "The Women's Rights Movement in the French Revolution," (Guilford Press, 1952), p.169.

³⁰ *Journal des Deabts et des Decrets*, 14 July 1793

³¹ Elizabeth R. Kindleberger, "Charlotte Corday in Text and Image: A Case Study in the French Revolution and Women's History," (Duke University Press, 1994), p.997.

³² *Journal des Debats et des Decrets*, 14 July 1793.

Although Charlotte Corday believed that by murdering Jean-Paul Marat the bloodshed of the Revolution would end, she was entirely wrong. In fact, the years following both Marat and Corday's deaths became known as the most horrible periods of the Revolution – the Reign of Terror. Maximilien de Robespierre, the leading member of the Committee of Public Safety in France, was wary of another event such as the assassination of Marat happening again. Therefore, any person who seemed to pose a threat to the workings of the Revolution was to be executed. By the end of the Reign of Terror in 1794, it is estimated that 17,000 citizens were officially guillotined³³ – and although there is no known number for how many of these deaths were women, it is easy to say that not one of them was safe.

In conclusion, although there were many more instances in which women became involved in the French Revolution, the above-mentioned women are the most prominent in history. It becomes clear throughout this essay that the women of the Third Estate fought for much different things than the women of the bourgeoisie; for them, it was a fight for their lives, while the middle-class women fought for their rights. While many women such as Claire Lacombe and those who participated in the March on Versailles were violent and agitated in nature, there were women such as Olympe de Gouges who chose to use a pen as their weapon. On the other hand, there were women like Charlotte Corday who believed that in order to end violence, one radical event must happen—in this case, the death of Marat. By the end of the French Revolution, any of the progress that women had made had disappeared. Despite this, women would continue to fight for both their lives and their rights for many, many years to come, all thanks to the influential activism of women in the eighteenth-century French Revolution.

³³ "Reign of Terror." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 2015. Web. 29 March 2016.
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The Establishment of William Penn's Goals in Pennsylvania

Jamie Roberts

It was religious persecution in England which inspired William Penn and his Quaker counterparts to establish a "colony of tolerance" in the New World. The Charter of Pennsylvania (March 4th 1681), awarded by Charles II, granted William Penn "that tract or part of land in America" and symbolized the start of his "holy experiment" to establish Pennsylvania, a colony in which his Quaker ideals could thrive.¹ Penn idealized his new "utopia" based on a safe place for all to practice their religion, tolerance, pacifism and equality of the sexes. While historians argue that Penn's colony was successful in terms of rapid and prosperous colonization and his policies would shadow Pennsylvania for years to come, the consensus is that Penn's long-term goals ultimately failed to materialize. While Penn enjoyed some successes, such as freedom of religion, limited pacifism and the development of a humane criminal code, in the long term his policies had to be "practiced faithfully and continually if they were to remain effective".² Like historian William Comfort, this paper argues that Penn's peace policies could not survive in a world which "follows a policy based on ill will".³ While the paper will track Penn's successes initially, it will then prove how Penn's goals failed in the long-term as they were too extensive and optimistic for a time of greed, aggression and exploitation, especially as Quaker influence decreased.

¹ Jean R. Soderlund, et al, eds. *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680-1684: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1983) p. 41.

² Thomas E Drake, 'William Penn's Experiment in Race Relations', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 68.4 (1994), pp. 372-387 (p. 381).

³ William Wistar Comfort, 'William Penn's Religious Background', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 68.4 (1944), pp. 341-358 (p. 357).

Historian Gary Nash believes that of all of the “utopian dreams” imposed on North America, “that of the Quakers proved the most remarkable”.⁴ Their visionary ideas and defiance of civil authority in England provoked brutal punishment, imprisonment and fines; Quakers dreamt of a place in which they could escape repression and William Penn was their saviour.⁵ Penn hoped to establish a colony in America where persecution due to a person’s religious beliefs was completely absent.⁶ Penn had been a “victim of England’s draconian legal rules and practices”, and Pennsylvania was born through both his religious principles and personal experience.⁷ Penn was frustrated in England, turning to America to institutionalize his many principles and establish his “holy experiment” of religious toleration.⁸ Therefore, the charter of 1681 provided an opportunity for Penn to establish a refuge for oppressed groups in Europe and become an advocate of religious toleration, writing in 1705 that he “went thither... to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind”.⁹ History professor and Quaker minister Rayner Kelsey praises Penn for bringing the “enthusiasm of youth and the idealism of religious faith to the tasks of his “Holy Experiment””, creating high principles of religious freedom, political democracy and peace, labelling him the “greatest of the founders”.¹⁰ Penn’s colony was a religious haven and under his Holy Experiment, laws were granted that those who acknowledged God would not be free to worship what they believed in, how they want to, without being mistreated.¹¹

⁴ Gary B Nash, et al, *The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society*, eighth edition (Boston: Pearson) p. 61.

⁵ Nash, *The American People*, pp. 61-62.

⁶ Thomas C. Cochran, *Pennsylvania: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc, 1978) p. 5.

⁷ Sagafi-nejad and Nancy Black, *Friends at the Bar, A Quaker View of Law, Conflict Resolution, and Legal Reforms* (New York: Suny Press, 2011) p. 3.

⁸ Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1976) pp. 7-11.

⁹ Comfort, ‘William Penn’s Religious Background’, pp. 345-347.

¹⁰ Rayner W. Kelsey. ‘An Estimate Of William Penn’, *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 21.2, (1932), pp. 90-93 (pp. 90-93).

¹¹ Arlin M. Adams, ‘William Penn and the American Heritage of Religious Liberty’, *Proceedings of the*

According to Arlin Adams, Penn's efforts were hardly in vain, for "no other colony inspired the Founders more in the area of religious liberty than Pennsylvania", and even Thomas Jefferson referred to it as "the cradle of toleration and freedom of religion".¹² Colonists, inspired by Penn and his Society of Friends, created communities of farmers, craftsmen and merchants based on toleration, and were now free from prosecution, welcoming people of all religious persuasions.¹³ Organizing society within a Quaker framework, Pennsylvania succeeded in providing basic civil liberties such as freedom of religion to its population.¹⁴ However, while the goal of religious tolerance did materialize, other goals would not.

Penn also framed a model of society based on a humane criminal code, peace, pacifism and equality of the sexes. He framed "the most enlightened and liberal plan of government anywhere prior to the eighteenth Century", becoming as some historians would appreciate, one of the most successful of the colonies established in America.¹⁵ Penn's goal was to create a society which was pacifist, peaceful and tolerant. Mary Dunn believes that Penn achieved some of these goals, establishing a colony without military defences, with religious freedom and a "criminal code humane beyond anything known to Englishmen".¹⁶ Beatrice Turner argues that while laws formulated for Pennsylvania are now commonplace, in 1683, these laws were quite radical.¹⁷ This

American Philosophical Society, 137.4, 250th Anniversary Issue (1993), pp. 516-523 (pp. 520-521)

¹² Adams, 'William Penn and the American Heritage of religious Liberty', p. 523.

¹³ Burt Froom, *William Penn's success and frustrations* (18/04/2014)

<<http://www.wman.net/2014/04/18/william-penns-success-and-frustrations/>> [accessed 12th November]

¹⁴ Deborah L. Haines, 'William Penn's Townships, the "Cheshire Friends" and the Shape of Community in America', *Quaker History*, 101.2 (2012), pp. 24-56 (pp. 24-25).

¹⁵ Burt Froom, *William Penn's success and frustrations*.

¹⁶ Mary Maples Dunn, 'The Personality of William Penn', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 127.5 (1983), pp. 316-321 (p. 320)

¹⁷ Beatrice Pastorius Turner, 'William Penn and Pastorius', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 57 1 (1933), pp. 66- 90 (p. 76).

shows how Pennsylvania was a colony too far ahead of its time, suggesting how Penn's goals eventually failed to completely materialize. Capital punishment was restricted to murderers and he passed laws enabling 'aliens' to own land and enjoy privileges of the natives or English, which allowed many people of different countries buy land.¹⁸ Penn incorporated a land in which everyone could participate in government. However, full participation in government was reserved for Christians; Jews, confessed atheists and others were not disturbed as members of the community, but were excluded from suffrage under laws agreed upon in England.¹⁹ This shows the limitations of Penn's colony; while equality within government and society was desired, it rarely transpired. This shows that the idea of Pennsylvania as a "prosperous society with political and religious freedom" was not completely accurate.²⁰

Nonetheless, Penn offered a chance for future settlers to benefit themselves by creating a society of, for the most part, liberty, justice, and morality.²¹ Nash believes that the constitution was "extraordinarily liberal for its time", allowing effectively all free white males to vote for their representatives, granted trial by jury and gave men extensive privileges.²² While not everyone enjoyed such extensive privileges, it was outstanding for the time. Penn believed that God did not discriminate against social classes. He worked towards a "spiritual equality of the sexes" and rights of women in the church, however, these rights were on a separate footing from men.²³ Linda Ford agrees that while he gave women a sense of worth and an experience of autonomy that women did not enjoy elsewhere, he cannot be called a "believer in complete sex

¹⁸ Turner, 'William Penn and Pastorius', p. 77.

¹⁹ Comfort, 'William Penn's Religious Background', p. 349.

²⁰ J. William Frost, 'William Penn's Experiment in the Wilderness: Promise and Legend', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 107.4 (1983), pp. 577-605 (p. 579).

²¹ Frost, 'William Penn's Experiment in the Wilderness', p. 589.

²² Nash, *The American People*, p. 62.

²³ Nash, *The American People*, p. 61.

equality".²⁴ Women were excluded from political life, they still depended on men economically and laws were comparable to England.²⁵ This shows that Pennsylvanian society did not achieve substantial equality, a main goal of the founder. This is not the only area of society in which inequality was shown, the use of bound labour also shows the failure of Penn's "colony of tolerance".

Quaker belief preached that there are "no races which are inherently inferior... all have a capacity as sons of God to be raised up".²⁶ Comfort believes Penn heeded the call to minister through education, medical care and humane treatment, whether his block were Aborigines, African-Americans, Asians or prisoners.²⁷ While Penn produced results and stuck to his peaceful stance, it is impossible to say that Penn's colony was equal and 'free'. Penn's 'city of brotherly love', Philadelphia, was the "best colonial port" for people who had indentured their services, and two-thirds of immigrants who flocked to America had come under indenture.²⁸ Joseph Illick believes that the presence of these servants "was no anomaly", and Penn never denounced the institution of servitude or felt the need to explain his acceptance of it.²⁹ This shows how Pennsylvania cannot be considered a land for the free, as elsewhere in America, servants never shared the same rights. However, Illick appreciates that due to the extraordinary growth and diversity of the population, indentured servitude "could not survive".³⁰ This shows that while Penn's ideal of freedom would not materialize in his day, the establishment of a diverse and successful colony did produce freedom eventually.

²⁴ Linda Ford, 'William Penn's views on women: subjects of friendship', *Quaker History*, 72.2 (1983), pp. 75-102 (p. 102).

²⁵ Ford, 'William Penn's views on women', p. 102.

²⁶ Comfort, 'William Penn's Religious Background', pp. 351-352.

²⁷ Comfort, 'William Penn's Religious Background', p. 352.

²⁸ Cochran, *Pennsylvania*, p. 11.

²⁹ Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, p. 114.

³⁰ Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, p. 136.

Indentured servitude was not the only bound labour system evident; slavery was also prominent. While teaching that no races were inherently inferior and devising the goal of freedom, Penn himself owned African slaves and it took a hundred years until American Quakers truly embraced their religious principles and came realize that Negro slavery was unjust.³¹ However, Thomas Drake believes that Penn endeavoured to improve slaves' moral condition, freeing them by his "first but inoperative will of 1701".³² The word inoperative is crucial here; Penn owned slaves even at his death [1718], so slavery would remain a brutal institution until the late eighteenth century.³³ This shows how Pennsylvania's goals of a free colony and a 'haven' for the oppressed failed to materialize, as Penn himself failed to live up to his own principles. The issue of slavery divided society, proving that the peaceful colony was not always so. Germantown, an area founded by German Quakers and absorbed into Philadelphia, protested slavery in 1688 and while in England King George denounced it, Penn accepted it.³⁴ Overall, the presence of indentured servants and slaves in Pennsylvania proves that the goals of a peaceable kingdom did fail to materialize, as bound servitude was by no means peaceful or freeing.

Although religious toleration "is the best known legacy" of Penn's "Holy Experiment", Edwin Broner argues that Penn's opposition to war and humane treatment of Indians were among his successes.³⁵ Penn's colony was largely pacifist and worked against the activity of war, while its Assembly included a Quaker majority.³⁶ While this Quaker majority would not always be held, its pacifism was impressive to begin with; the government neither asserted authority over their citizens' consciences

³¹ Drake, 'William Penn's Experiment in Race Relations', p. 386.

³² Drake, 'William Penn's Experiment in Race Relations', p. 377.

³³ Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, p. 115

³⁴ Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, p. 116.

³⁵ Edwin B Broner, *William Penn's "Holy Experiment": The Founding of Pennsylvania 1681-1701* (New York: Temple University Publications, 1962) p. 257.

³⁶ Comfort, 'William Penn's Religious Background' p. 351.

or demanded military service of them.³⁷ This bode well in the colony, for while there were boundary conflicts between settlers, they were peaceful and resolved through discussion and not physical conflict.³⁸ Inspired by “compassion and tolerance”, Penn saw his colony as a “holy experiment” in which the colonists and Indians could live together in harmony, in his “peaceable kingdom”.³⁹ This was Penn’s most outstanding goal. Even prior to Penn’s arrival, he contacted the Native Americans (Lenni Lenape) reassuring them of his “desire to enjoy it [Pennsylvania] with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends... not to devour and destroy one another.”⁴⁰ Nash argues that, even before arriving, Penn laid the foundation for peace, detaching his society from the stereotypical European colonization and the extensively undesirable view of Native Indians.⁴¹ Penn knew about the seventeenth century rule that there was “No good Indian but a dead Indian”, but his policies were a “shining exception” to the general rule of violence between Indians and Englishmen, making warfare “both unnecessary and unknown”.⁴² As long as pacifism and friendly relations were maintained with the Indians, interracial relations in Pennsylvania contrasted with those in other parts of America; South Carolina, with a population much lower, became a “cauldron of violence” as the native population was depleted by slavery and warfare.⁴³ Quakers found that when treated justly, the Indians would act decently, treating the Englishmen as brothers.⁴⁴ Penn outlined in his *Conditions and Concessions* (1681) that Indian lands should be fairly purchased instead

³⁷ Nash, *The American People*, p. 63.

³⁸ Cochran, *Pennsylvania*, p. 6.

³⁹ Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn’s Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) p. 2.

⁴⁰ Soderlund, ‘William Penn and the founding of Pennsylvania’, p. 88.

⁴¹ Nash, *The American People*, p. 63.

⁴² Drake, ‘William Penn’s Experiment in Race Relations’, p. 376.

⁴³ Nash, *The American People*, p. 63.

⁴⁴ Comfort, ‘William Penn’s Religious Background’, p. 351.

of taken, and as they were good to their word, Indians responded in kind.⁴⁵ William Penn stated that “If an European comes to see them... they give him a belt place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salut us with an *Itah... Good to be you*”.⁴⁶ This letter symbolises the friendly exchanges between the two. The Native Americans eventually surrendered their identity to the interests of harmony by taking the English name Delaware, a symbol of peace, and Penn encountered no native resistance to his colonization efforts.⁴⁷ William Penn’s goal of a “colony of tolerance” and friendly relations with the Natives Indians was a large success as the colonization of Pennsylvania was developing. However, as time went on and Quaker influence disintegrated, relations would become sour.

While Penn’s Quaker philosophy “continued and insured the safety of the province”, it only did so until mid-eighteenth century, which brought into power those who did not share his philosophy.⁴⁸ This is fairly agreed upon by historians, and Drake states that friendship was not broken by either sides until after the Founder’s death.⁴⁹ Kelsey also concludes that only after his death did the government depart from his peaceful relations with the Indians, and the Indians would remember Penn, the first Englishman to treat them justly.⁵⁰ While Penn’s colony was successful in pulling thousands of immigrants to the colony, Nash believes that they were “land-hungry” and their “disdain for Native Americans undermined Quaker trust and friendship”, leading to the encroachment on Indian lands and spilling blood with those who sought

⁴⁵ Drake, ‘William Penn’s Experiment in Race Relations’, pp. 378-379.

⁴⁶ William Penn (1683), *A Letter from William Penn, proprietary and governor of Pennsylvania, to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that province residing in London* (London: Printed and Sold by Andrew Sowle) <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_val_fmt=&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:41054> [accessed 17th November 2016]

⁴⁷ Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, p. 28.

⁴⁸ Comfort, ‘William Penn’s Religious Background’, p. 352.

⁴⁹ Drake, ‘William Penn’s Experiment in Race Relations’, p. 380.

⁵⁰ Kelsey, ‘An Estimate Of William Penn’, p. 92.

sanctuary in Pennsylvania.⁵¹ The successes in immigration did not reflect successes in peaceful relations, as they did not always share Quaker "idealism about racial harmony".⁵² Tensions were extremely hyped during "the walking purchase", in which a treaty was agreed upon between the Indians and colonists, in which the colonists could have as much land as they could walk in a day.⁵³ However, the colonists used trained runners, going twice as far as the Indians expected, tricking the Delaware out of land, alienating them and leading to a breakdown of relations when they demanded reparations in the 1750s.⁵⁴ Kenny agrees that the Aborigines were "swindled.. out of a tract of land".⁵⁵ In this way, Penn's "Holy Experiment" which was in decline by the time his death, collapsed during the subsequent wars in the 1750s and 1760s; groups such as the Paxton Boys attacked Indians, repudiating the "utopian vision" laid by Penn, and Indians launched attacks on the colony due to their forcible westward movement.⁵⁶ Overall, the increasing pressures of imperial politics, the "short sighted avariciousness" of Penn's sons and successors, and the growth of Non-Quaker settlements weakened Quaker influence in the government, and in 1756, the Friends retired from the Assembly.⁵⁷ So while relations were peaceful when Penn and Quakers were in command, they deteriorated rapidly after that.⁵⁸ Penn's most ambitious goal, ensuring that the colony was running smoothly and successfully, was corrupted with the ignorance of future colonists and the decline in Quaker influence in government. This proves how his optimistic ideologies could not survive in a world of aggression, greed and exploitation.

⁵¹ Nash, *The American People*, p. 63.

⁵² Nash, *The American People*, p. 63.

⁵³ Cochran, *Pennsylvania*, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Cochran, *Pennsylvania*, p. 17.

⁵⁵ Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, p. 173.

⁵⁶ Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, p. 3.

⁵⁷ Drake, 'William Penn's Experiment in Race Relations', pp. 382-383.

⁵⁸ Drake, 'William Penn's Experiment in Race Relations', p. 385.

Some of Penn's goals also failed to materialize due in part to his role as a proprietor. Penn was power hungry; he regarded his colonists as subjects to the king in England and himself, he was their "lord" and "father" who would rule them.⁵⁹ He expected his colonists to obey his governance and he was unwilling to mute his role. In England, "balking at authority was almost a daily party of Quaker life", and Penn's imposing figure caused disunity in the Quaker community as they disliked authority.⁶⁰ The colonists were therefore "motivated by a spirit of independence", which made cooperating with Penn hard.⁶¹ This shows that Penn never truly was an authority figure to his colonists, which made it difficult to spread his goals. This led to many disagreements between Penn and his colony, over things such as the use of his veto power and their right to initiate legislation.⁶² The colonists demanded a maximum of rights for themselves and gave a minimum of respect in return.⁶³ Besides his inability to remain in total control over his colonists, his absence from the colony did not help. Penn returned to England in 1684, and "the idealism which permeated the first years was replaced by a spirit which bodied ill for Penn's utopian dreams"; he could hardly exert control over the government or his citizens and he was forced to watch as his "holy experiment" faded.⁶⁴ When he returned to his colony, he found "political disorder, religious factionalism, and a General Assembly hostile to his executive power", and while his Charter of Privileges in 1701 provided religious freedom again and was adopted by the Assembly, he left again and the remaining years were strikingly filled with disappointment.⁶⁵ His absence was often due to having to defend

⁵⁹ Maxine N. Lurie, 'William Penn: How Does He Rate as a "Proprietor"?', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 105.4 (1981), pp. 393-417 (pp. 406-406).

⁶⁰ Nash, *The American People*, p.

⁶¹ Broner, *William Penn's "Holy Experiment"*, p. 251.

⁶² Lurie, 'William Penn', p. 410.

⁶³ Lurie, 'William Penn', p. 410.

⁶⁴ Broner, *William Penn's Holy Experiment*, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Adams, 'William Penn and the American Heritage of Religious Liberty', p. 522.

his government in England, and doing this as well as trying to run it in America proved costly in terms of finance and governance.⁶⁶ Adams supports that between 1692 and 1694 the Crown seized control of Pennsylvania for refusing to provide military support, and although he regained his proprietor role, it exemplifies the constant battle with Britain over his supreme power.⁶⁷ This shows that while unable to separate himself from Britain, he did keep to his goal of pacifism, at least until the 1750s when Quaker control of the Assembly failed and his successors made his colony “just like that of any other” in America.⁶⁸ During the early eighteenth century, the proprietor came under attack from the colonists, royal officials, the Church and his creditors, and he could not organise a colony based on tolerance and good will if people were unwilling to let him lead.⁶⁹ This leads to the conclusion that while his “provisions for justice, toleration... humanitarian concerns” and other of Penn’s policies survived, it was hard for a “peace policy based on good will” to survive in a world which follows a policy based on ill will. His goals could not materialize when the colonies were filled with those who exploited their opportunity and were divided, not supporting the leader who vowed tolerance and peace.

In conclusion, while Penn achieved some of his goals when establishing his colony of Pennsylvania, others ultimately failed to materialize in a world where acceptance and tolerance were disregarded for aggression, greed and exploitation. He achieved freedom of religion and some of his institutions would remain and foreshadow the future of America, however, his colony based on free will and peace did not emerge. Women did not gain full equality, indentured servants and slaves were common, and while successfully accomplishing his goal of peaceful relations with

⁶⁶ Lurie, ‘William Penn’, p. 399.

⁶⁷ Adams, ‘William Penn and the American Heritage of Religious Liberty’, p. 522.

⁶⁸ Comfort, ‘William Penn’s Religious Background’, p. 341.

⁶⁹ Frost, ‘William Penn’s Experiment in the Wilderness’, p. 595.

Indians in his life time, his death and the declining influence of Quakers led to his relations turning into an aggression provoked by avaricious colonists. He could not control his colonists, he was opposed by many, and fought with the Crown to control Pennsylvania. Colonists could not resolve their differences and fractionalisation and ill will emerged, a mood in which his goals could not survive. While coming close to matching the goals of its founder, Pennsylvania was corrupted as Quaker influence declined and the development of non-Quaker settlements did not share their ideology of peaceful relations.

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3 0 0 0 L E V E L

Servants of the Fatherland

The Success and Failures of Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff during the First World War

Chris Fortin

Known as *das Hünentrio* (*The Three Giants*) within the ranks of the Great General Staff during the First World War, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, General Erich Ludendorff and Colonel Max Hoffman all played an important role in the German victory over the Russians at the Battle of Tannenberg in 1914. While ultimately Hindenburg and Ludendorff would be hailed as national heroes throughout the Second Reich, the military success of the German army in the Eastern Front, to a large extent, can be attributed to the poorly trained and under equipped state of the Russian army. Nevertheless, their success in the Eastern Front greatly reinforced their image of effective military leadership thus prompting the Kaiser to promote Hindenburg as the Chief of Staff of the German High Command in 1916. In light of the disastrous results in the Western front under the leadership of, the former-Chief of Staff, General Falkenhayn, the ascension of Hindenburg and Ludendorff within the High Command was supported by many of the Officer Corps. However, the introduction of the Hindenburg Program by the two officers would have very few positive impacts upon the production and manpower issues which plagued the German military throughout the First World War. Driven by the underestimation of the military capabilities of the Allies and the desire for land in Belgian and Northern France, Hindenburg and Ludendorff would continue to push for a total German victory despite the opportunity for peace in 1917. While one can argue that their success in Tannenberg clearly highlights their military prowess on the field, Hindenburg and Ludendorff's military

leadership throughout the war was ineffective in dealing with issues within the fighting front and the home front, culminating in the defeat of Germany in 1918.

Despite being in retirement in 1914, Hindenburg nevertheless accepted General von Moltke's request for his immediate service, resulting in his promotion to General and given command of the Eighth Army in Eastern Prussia. Responsible for the protection of Germany from the Russian offensive on the Eastern Front, the Eighth Army, under the leadership of *das Hünentrio*, would strike a decisive blow to the Russian Army in the German victory of the Battle of Tannenberg on 30 August 1914.¹ The encirclement and defeat of the Russian Second Army in the south was viewed by many Germans throughout the Reich as a major military success and, therefore, viewed Hindenburg and Ludendorff as national heroes. However, it is also important to highlight the fact that the battle did not go according to Ludendorff's plans. For instance, as the German army was engaged with the Russian army in the south, General von Francois refused to adhere to Ludendorff's attack orders, insisting that his battered and tired I Corps would lack sufficient artillery support to launch a successful offensive.² Through Francois' cautious approach, the I Corps was able to eventually encircle and rout the Russian Second Army, which the "official German figures claim a total Russian loss of some 250,000 against 37,000 German casualties."³ However, by focusing upon the south, the Russian First Army, therefore, pushed through the North of Eastern Prussia. (Refer to Image 1)

¹ Robert B. Asprey. *The German High Command at War: Hindenburg and Ludendorff Conduct World War I*. New York: W. Morrow, 1991, 72.

² Ibid, 74.

³ Ibid, 80.

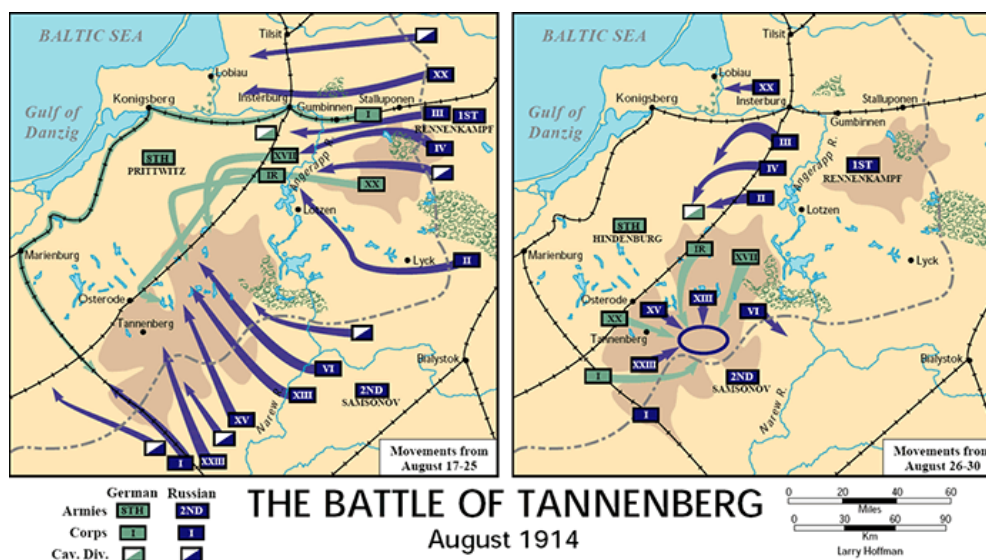


Image 1: Map of the Battle of Tannenberg

While the Battle of Tannenberg was a defining moment in the military careers of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, the success of the German army is largely due to the Russians. Overcome by poor planning and command ineptitude, “Eager peasants, rushed into ill-fitting uniforms and given a rifle and pack, found themselves in units short of officers and NCO’s.”⁴ In combination with inadequate communications and insufficient heavy artillery and supply wagons, it is evident that the Russian army was not sufficiently equipped to fight a well-organized and disciplined Germany army. The battle itself highlighted more of the Russian deficiencies than the effectiveness of Hindenburg and Ludendorff’s leadership. Nevertheless, their success in the Eastern Front would play an important role in their appointment as head of the German High Command.

By 1916, the military position of Germany in the Western Front was in a critical state, as the massive offensive against Verdun, planned by the *Oberste Heeresleitung* (Supreme Army Command), resulted in a bloody and costly stalemate for both France

⁴ Asprey. *The German High Command at War*, 75.

and Germany.⁵ Military set-backs to the Central Powers on both the Eastern and Western Fronts encouraged countries, such as Romania and Italy, to join the war against Germany, further placing the initiative within the hands of the Allies. With the Russian threat in the east and the British attack on the Somme in the West, General Falkenhayn's position as Army Chief of Staff became increasingly questioned. Thus, it becomes quite clear as to why Kaiser Wilhelm II replaced Falkenhayn with Hindenburg and Ludendorff as head of the Supreme Army Command on 29 August 1916.⁶ While Hindenburg was immensely popular within the Officer Corps, there were divisions within the German High Command as some opposed Ludendorff's appointment. For instance, Colonel Marschall of the military cabinet "saw the danger inherent in the appointment of Ludendorff – whose boundless ambition and pride would likely lead him to continue to fight the war until Germany was ruined and exhausted."⁷ While the Colonel's concerns would prove to be true, Hindenburg and Ludendorff would attempt to improve the industrial and military capabilities of Germany based upon the concept of total warfare.

Under the law of the state of siege, Hindenburg and Ludendorff were given wide powers in not just military matters but also within domestic politics. As highlighted within Section 9b of the law of the state of siege, "they could act with dictatorial powers against which the people had no effective right of appeal...in Prussia the military authorities were supreme, and the civil authorities were reduced to the rank of assistants and executors of army orders."⁸ Thus, the German High Command introduced the Hindenburg Program in order to deal with the Germany's issues of shortages in labour, raw material and manpower. For instance, the Program reduced

⁵ Martin Kitchen. *The Silent Dictatorship: The Politics of the German High Command under Hindenburg and Ludendorff, 1916-1918*. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1976, 25.

⁶ Ibid, 45.

⁷ Kitchen. *The Silent Dictatorship*, 27-28.

⁸ Ibid, 53.

the number of exemptions granted from active service, calling upon men between the ages of 16 to 50 for compulsory service.⁹ By utilizing men between the ages of 45 to 50 as garrison forces, Hindenburg and Ludendorff hoped to free up the younger men so that they may fight along the front.¹⁰ Furthermore, they believed that the introduction of national service would create a positive impression both nationally and internationally by highlighting the nation's unity and determination to total war. However, the general feeling abroad, in France and England, was that "Germany was becoming desperate as she became aware that collapse was imminent."¹¹ Much like the Russian soldiers at Tannenberg, these new recruits were hastily trained and ill-equipped for the fighting front.

Under the notion that "maximum performance can...be achieved only if the German people in its entirety puts itself at the service of the Fatherland"¹², the German High Command also emphasized the need for workers to be transferred from 'non-essential industries', such as textiles, to industry contributing to the war effort. Due to the increasing need for men in the military, with the exception of munition workers, women's roles in the economy and industry of Germany became increasingly important.¹³ In conjunction with food rationing, Ludendorff insisted that "shell production was to be doubled, artillery and machine gun production were to be trebled, all in a manner of months."¹⁴ However, ultimately the Hindenburg Program was unrealistic and ineffective in providing a solution to Germany's shortages in manpower and resources as the German economy could only rely upon its internal

⁹ "The Hindenburg Program (1916)." GHDI - Document. Accessed December 09, 2016.
http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3864.

¹⁰ Robert B. Armeson. *Total Warfare and Compulsory Labor. a Study of the Military-industrial Complex in Germany during World War I*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1964, 26.

¹¹ Robert B. Armeson. *Total Warfare and Compulsory Labor*, 95.

¹² "The Hindenburg Program (1916)." GHDI - Document.

¹³ Robert B. Armeson. *Total Warfare and Compulsory Labor*, 26.

¹⁴ William J. Astore, and Dennis E. Showalter. *Hindenburg: Icon of German Militarism*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2005, 41.

resources which could not meet Ludendorff's ridiculous expectations. Placing priority upon the army, Hindenburg and Ludendorff's emphasis upon the fighting front rather than the home front can also be seen within the Army's propaganda programs in 1917.

Known as the program of 'patriotic instruction', propaganda officers were appointed to each army Corps with the specific task of organizing lectures to spread the concepts of German victory and total war throughout the nation's army. Based upon strict instructions from the German High Command, the war was to be shown as "the result of England's manipulation of French lust for revenge and Russian greed for land. If the war were lost, Germany's economic base would be destroyed for at least the next hundred years."¹⁵ While the overall success of these propaganda programs is hard to conclude, the 'patriotic instructions' ultimately contributed to deepening political divisions within the Reichstag. Criticized by social democrats, such as Landsberg, in the Reichstag, there was evidence implicating army officials of utilizing these programs as a means of spreading right-wing extremist views and ideas.¹⁶ Despite the war minister's orders stating that propaganda officers should avoid party politics, these 'patriotic instructions' were nevertheless politically biased. Furthermore, the propaganda program's depiction of the war in the home front were unrealistic as they avoided highlighting German military set-backs and the staggering number of casualties within the army. For example, during a major counter-offensive in 1918, the Allies successfully pushed back the German lines on the Western Front, however, the *Freiburger Tagblatt* on 18 July 1918 stated that the German divisions "thwarted an enemy breakthrough" and that "Columns of enemy troops heading to the battlefield were the target of our victorious fighter planes".¹⁷ By merely depicting the success of

¹⁵ Kitchen. *The Silent Dictatorship*, 59.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 60.

¹⁷ "Bulletins from the Front II (1918)." GHDI - Document. Accessed December 09, 2016.
http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3864.

the German army, one can safely assume that it would have been difficult for the Germans to accept defeat.

With that being said, Germans within the home front were not invulnerable to the demoralizing effects of food rationing imposed by Hindenburg and Ludendorff, as is evident during the 'Turnip Winter' of 1916–1917.¹⁸ Due to the war, Germany's normal sources of food imports, such as Russia, Romania and Austria-Hungary, were either cut off or delayed. In addition to the British naval blockade of German ports, Germany's overseas imports were also cut off. In light of the food shortage, Hindenburg and Ludendorff had rationed bread and limited the consumption of ham and pork to one meal a week.¹⁹ Turnips would become one of Germany's staple foods during the winter, however, the unequal food situation between the urban areas and countryside would ultimately lead to greater social divisions in Germany. For example, while the food situation in the rural areas were better, "the Bavarian farmers refused to share with the *Sau-Preussen* (Prussian Hogs)."²⁰ With no solution to the shortages in manpower, resources and food, the military leadership of Hindenburg and Ludendorff in the home front can be characterized as ineffective as they merely contributed to greater political and social divisions within German society.

Due to the increasing war exhaustion in both the fighting and home fronts, in addition to the surrender of Russia in 1917, talks of a 'Peace Resolution' and the end of the war was beginning to take place within the Reichstag. However, this was a debated issue as the socialists and liberals supported a negotiated peace, whilst the conservatives and nationalists maintained hope for a Prussian victory on the battlefield. With that being said, the prevailing mood within the Reichstag was that, France and

¹⁸ Joseph Gies. *Crisis, 1918; the Leading Actors, Strategies, and Events in the German Gamble for Total Victory on the Western Front*. New York: Norton, 1974. 14

¹⁹ Joseph Gies. *Crisis, 1918*, 14.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 15.

Britain would accept a "peace of no annexation and no indemnities, a simple return to the *status quo ant bellum* of 1914."²¹ However, in order for peace negotiations to begin, the Reichstag was required to consult the Supreme Army Command before proceeding. In contrast to many in the Reichstag, Hindenburg and Ludendorff believed that an armistice with Russia in the East provided the best opportunity for total German victory in the West. Thus, driven by the desire to annex Belgium and parts of Northern France for their industrial capabilities, Hindenburg insisted upon the continuation of the war and a "*Friedensturm* (a Peace Offensive) that would impose terms on the beaten adversary."²² However, their gamble for victory and willingness for war would ultimately lead to defeat, to a large extent, due to their support of unrestricted submarine warfare and the arrival of the Americans.

Overestimating the war potential of Germany and eager to expand its borders, the heads of the German High Command supported the policy of unrestricted submarine warfare believing that the Allied powers were heavily relying upon food imports from the British Empire, thus if these imports were to be cut off, the Allies would sue for peace. However, this would prove to be a major military blunder for Hindenburg and Ludendorff as the Americans would break diplomatic ties with Germany and ultimately join the Allies in the war against Germany. As highlighted within a document by Admiral von Holtzendorff from 1916, he insisted that "Despite the danger of a break with America, unlimited submarine warfare...is the right means for ending the war successfully. It is also the only means to reach this goal."²³ While it appeared to be clear to the German High Command that adopting such a policy would sever diplomatic relations with America, Hindenburg and Ludendorff underestimated

²¹ Ibid, 17.

²² Joseph Gies. *Crisis, 1918*, 17.

²³ "Unrestricted Submarine Warfare (December 22, 1916)." GHDI - Document - Page. Accessed December 09, 2016. http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=1371.

the effects of America's untapped manpower and resources to the Allied war effort. The ground in which Germany had gained from Ludendorff "Michael" offensive²⁴ in the spring of 1918 would ultimately be lost as the British and French counter-offensive, supported by American troops and tanks, broke through the German lines.²⁵ Unable to effectively resupply their battered divisions on the Western Front with manpower and supplies, Hindenburg and Ludendorff thus ordered a full retreat and admitted defeat on 11 November 1918.²⁶

Throughout the start of the war in 1914, Hindenburg and Ludendorff were both effective and successful in dealing with the Russian threat in the Eastern Front, culminating in their major victory at the Battle of Tannenberg. While the famed victory itself was largely due to the competence of the other German officers and the inadequate state of the Russian army, Hindenburg and Ludendorff, nevertheless, became celebrated heroes throughout Germany. However, their military success on the field would not carry on to their command of the entire German army as heads of the German Supreme Army Command. The Hindenburg Program's compulsory military service and food rationing policies, in conjunction with a politically biased propaganda program, ultimately resulted in deepening social and political divisions within German society. Despite the opportunities for peace in 1917 and growing war weariness from shortages in food and resources, Hindenburg and Ludendorff's desire for land and *Friedensturm*, as can be seen within their support of unrestricted submarine warfare, largely contributed to Germany's defeat in 1918 and the eventual fall of the Second Reich.

²⁴ Joseph Gies. *Crisis, 1918*, 81.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 245.

²⁶ Joseph Gies. *Crisis, 1918*, 256.

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Menstruation in the Holocaust

The Victims, the Nazis, and the Outcomes

Emily Wood

Jewish women constitute a fundamental threat because they could bear children. To destroy Jews in general and to destroy them forever – the Nazis had to override any protection that cultural convention afforded Jewish women and girls and decimate in particular, those potential mothers who might bear the next Jewish Generation.¹

Mothers, wives, daughters, nieces, aunts and grandmothers all had the capability to increase the population of the Jewish “race” in Europe. Women were persecuted differently in the Holocaust because of the biological makeup of the female body and its ability to bear children. Through their ability to menstruate women often had their bodies waged against them as a weapon of terror in the war. This is shown through the stigma of having a period in the camps, the Nazis violation of the women’s menstrual cycle and the short and long term health affects of losing a monthly cycle. The physical and psychological impacts were calamitous. Men and women as victims of the Holocaust faced the same hell, but the use of the female body as a weapon by the Nazis, forced women to despise the biological makeup of their own bodies, particularly demonstrated through menstruation.

The implications of menstruating in the camps caused many women to despise their bodies natural biological production. Women often entered the concentration camps with a regular menstrual cycle. To these women, it was not something to celebrate. Due to the conditions in the camps women were forced to go without

¹ Baer, Elizabeth Roberts, and Myrna Goldenberg. 2003. *Experience and expression: women, the Nazis, and the Holocaust*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. xvii

proper hygiene, adequate bathrooms, and sanitary napkins.² The loss of these three essential items were not only embarrassing but also dehumanizing. The lack of hygiene was explained by a survivor of the Holocaust who watched as her fellow female prisoners suffered once a month. She stated that “[in the beginning] very many women still had their period...blood ran down the women’s legs, they could not help themselves and so on, one did not even have the chance to wash oneself with cold water everyday.”³ Without proper sanitation and hygiene the women were forced to endure the brutal conditions of the camp as well as working, sleeping, and socializing in their own filth. This was uncomfortable and mortifying for the women because their fellow prisoners, and camp guards watched as they lost control of their own body. Having a menstrual cycle without proper hygiene was also dehumanizing for many women.⁴ A period is supposed to represent femininity and a women’s god given ability to bear children. However, for these women it was another source of dirt and filth that they were forced to live in, which ultimately diminished their self worth.⁵

A lack of proper hygiene was also followed by the absence of adequate bathrooms and sanitary napkins. This meant that women did not have a location to relieve themselves during their time of month. They also had nothing to protect them the free flowing blood. An Auschwitz survivor discussed what it was like when she experienced her period in the camp for the first time without a proper bathroom or access to sanitary napkins. She stated that “when I got it for the first time outside and I went to the Blockälteste (senior block inmate), because I needed something and she

² Ibid 186.

³ Hedgepeth, Sonja M., and Rochelle G. Saidel. 2010. *Sexual violence against Jewish women during the Holocaust*. Waltham, Mass: Brandeis University Press 34

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Gurewitsch, Brana. 1998. *Mothers, sisters, resisters: oral histories of women who survived the Holocaust*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 73

said to me: 'hold your hand underneath it.' So you can imagine how we really stank."⁶ This victim was not alone in her encounters. Another Auschwitz survivor named Rena wrote about her time in the camp and the "psychological developments of a women while in the Holocaust."⁷ In connection to the previous victim she discusses an event where she was desperate for anything to stop herself from bleeding. She explained that "she scrounged the filthy, disease ridden lavatory for discarded squares of newspaper to control the flow of her blood."⁸ The menstrual cycle is a natural process in the female body that is a sign of fertility and gender, however to persecuted women like Rena and so many more, it was another reason to be subjected to dehumanizing experiences. The Nazis took away three critical elements that made a woman comfortable during her time of month. The lack of hygiene, adequate bathrooms, and sanitary napkins made women despise the biological makeup of their own body. It caused them nothing but disgust, embarrassment and lack of self worth.

In the eyes of the Nazis when a woman continued to menstruate it showed her femininity and gender, and the fact that she was still able to bear children. The biological makeup of women's bodies meant that they could still bring the next generation of "non-Aryans" into the world. The Nazis end goal was to rid Germany of all social 'outsiders', this included but was not limited to Roma and Sinti, homosexuals, "asocials" and social degenerates who could not contribute to the Third Reich. The Nazis used the ideology of Volksgemeinschaft⁹ to create a racial hierarchy of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' of the State.¹⁰ Women were persecuted differently because they were the ones that would raise the next generation of 'non-Aryans' in Europe and they needed to be stopped. They praised, and rewarded Aryan women for their ability to

⁶ Hedgepeth and Saidel. "Sexual Violence." 34

⁷ Ibid 181.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Volksgemeinschaft: A National Socialist Ideology of a racialized community of people

¹⁰ Todd, Lisa, Dr. "Building the People's Community: "Insiders" in the Third Reich." November 2, 2016.

stay at home.¹¹ It was a patriotic duty to be a child bearer and housewife. Women of different “races” however, had their bodies used against them, as weapons of terror. This was shown through the Nazis treatment of menstruation. In order to assure that the persecuted women could not have children their periods needed to cease. This began with the murdering of women because they lacked control over their menstrual cycles.¹² When Nazi guards in the camps saw blood on the women’s legs or on their garment they were more likely to be beaten during roll call, or to be sent to the gas chambers to be murdered.¹³ This caused many women to fear and despise their own bodies even further. Rena continued her story of getting her period for the first time in Auschwitz by ending it with “she prayed that it would leave quickly and never return again.”¹⁴ Women like Rena experience their own menstrual cycle once a month, and the entire duration was spent not only without adequate cleanliness, but also with the threat of being murdered because of the lack of it.

The Nazis had the ability to take the natural biological process of a women’s body and use it as an excuse to murder them. To target a larger number of women, the Nazis turned to the chemical bromine. This is a soluble, which means when mixed with a liquid it dissolves completely. The Nazis used it because it “suppressed the emotions and halted the females from biologically functioning.”¹⁵ It was mixed with “each cup of tea, and each plate of soup.”¹⁶ Most women were aware of the chemical in their food, but felt that they could do nothing about it. Judy Freeman discussed in her oral history

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Hedgepeth and Saidel, “*Sexual Violence*,” 181.

¹³ Baer and Goldenberg, “*Experience and expression*,” 186.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Greif, Gideon, “The Daily Life of Auschwitz Prisoners,” Yad Vashem. Accessed December 2, 2016, http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/courses/final_solution/pdfs/reading11.pdf

¹⁶ Ibid.

how the women referred to it as “brom”.¹⁷ With malnutrition as one of the large reasons for ‘natural’ death within the camps, the women had no choice but to eat the food that was given to them, even if it was laced with chemicals.¹⁸ Freeman discussed that “on mornings when the women were given poor cups of coffee or tea, they sipped knowing that their periods may never come back to them. Even if they were lucky enough to make it out of the war.”¹⁹ The Nazis distributed this chemical in a way that the women could not refuse. They made women choose between starvation or infertility. They used the women’s bodies against themselves and women were forced to give up their ability to bear children in order to eat. They saw their biological makeup as a psychological and physical threat that was waged between them at all times, and it was easy for them to begin to despise it.

The Nazis continued to target women’s menstrual cycle, however tailored it towards the new prisoners in the camps. Olga Lengyel was a Hungarian prisoner at Auschwitz, who survived the war. She discussed that “she observed sterilization experiments and the X-ray treatment.” She goes on to state that:

The subject was placed under Xray radiation, which was made more and more intense. From time to time the treatment was interrupted to see if the subject could still copulate. All this took place under the vigilant eyes of the S.S in barrack 21. When the physician verified that the Xfrays had definitely destroyed the genital facilities the subject was dispatched to the gas chamber.²⁰

The Nazis used the radiation to systematically destruct and murder the women because of their biological makeup. Their menstrual cycles were used against them in the Holocaust. The women in the camps had the natural biological potential to bring the next generation of ‘non-Aryans’ into the world. The Nazis took the necessary steps to

¹⁷ Freeman, Judy, and Joan Ringelheim, “*Oral History Interview with Judy Freeman*”, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed December 02, 2016.
<http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn47954>.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Hedgepeth and Saidel, “*Sexual Violence*,” 181 – 182.

ensure, women would either be murdered for bleeding on themselves, be sterilized by the chemical bromine, or be penetrated with radiation to destroy their reproductive system. Women were forced to see their own bodies as a weapon against them, as a tool of psychological and physical pain.

Menstruation regularity is one of the many signs that a woman's body is functioning soundly. Nutrition, sexual health, and coherence within all bodily systems are contributing factors to a working reproductive system. For women within the camps, regularity was something that did not last long. "Malnutrition, hard labour and extreme physical duress"²¹ were only some of the causes that forced the body to naturally stop the production of a menstrual cycle. The condition was referred to as Amenorrhea, which means the women have not menstruated for the last three consecutive months.²² This condition plagued almost all women within the camp systems, and continued to affect them after they were liberated. There was a sense of relief for women when their periods stopped. All the embarrassment, disgust, and torture that they faced because of their periods slowly decreased.²³ The women still wished for proper hygiene and adequate bathrooms, but with the loss of their menstrual cycle it was less of a concern. The women also had an easier time keeping their garment clean. Doris Rauch, a survivor of Theresienstadt stated that "people stopped having their menstrual...I don't know anymore how long I had my menstrual period, but I lost it, too, which was a blessing because there were times where we didn't have any material to protect us."²⁴ There was a sense of immediate relief among

²¹ Ibid 34.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Rauch, Doris, and Gail Schwartz, "Oral History Interview with Doris Rauch," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed December 02, 2016.
<http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn504438>.

the women in the camps. They knew that they could not survive this war with their period, and that's why there was a sense of alleviation when it ceased.

Beneath the relief, the women in the camps knew that the immediate effects could have saved their life during the Holocaust, but the long term affects were devastating. Women understood that when their period ended there was a chance that it was never going to come back. Judy Freeman examined her sexual health after the Holocaust. She said that "when I was liberated, it took over two years for my period to become regular. I was lucky that it even came back at all. Some women that drank the brom never saw their menstrual cycles again."²⁵ Hundreds of thousands of women who managed to survivor the Holocaust lost their periods inside the camps.²⁶ Their bodies were waged against them as a weapon, and the women had to face the consequences. Women who became sterile continued to see their bodies as still a part of the Nazi history. Due to this, many women also lost a sense of gender when the war ended. A survivor named Léa Levy lost her ideology of what made her a woman. When the war ended she began to wear "baggy old clothes to hide her breasts and hips, stockings with runs sagged at her knees, and a frizzy mop of hair which made her pale little face seem almost ghostly."²⁷ The most concerning part however was, that she still had not begun to menstruate by the time she was eighteen.²⁸ She wrote that because of her past "there was no space in her life for dreams like those of other young women her age. She was stripped of her identity, deprived of her heritage, and abandoned by the post-Auschwitz world."²⁹ Her body was a tool in the Holocaust that was used against her. Her own biological makeup had exploited her to horrific conditions in the camps.

²⁵ Freeman, and Ringelheim. "Oral History Interview."

²⁶ Hedgepeth and Sidel, "Sexual Violence," 34.

²⁷ Baer and Goldenberg, "Experience and expression" 187.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

Which in turn made not only Léa but millions of other women despise the biology of their bodies.

The menstrual cycle is a biological process that occurs in women in order for them to reproduce. When the persecuted women had their periods in the camps, it was a symbolic representation that they could bring the next generation of “Non-Aryans” into the world. The women had their bodies used against them as a weapon of terror, and women began to despise the biological makeup of their own bodies. Through the stigma of having a menstrual cycle in the camps, the Nazis violation of the women’s menstrual cycle, and the short and long term health affects of losing a monthly cycle. Women watched their bodies lose the only fundamental biological difference between their bodies and men’s. Due to this men and women as victims of the Holocaust faced the same hell, but experienced very different physical horrors.

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4 0 0 0 L E V E L

“Tell Me Whom You Love and I’ll Tell You Who You Are”

The Calculated Objectives of Marriage in Renaissance Italy

Shannon Benjamin

The most famous and iconic marriage of the Italian Renaissance was in actuality between two fictional spouses - Romeo Montague and Juliet Capulet. Ironically, their union, had it been history and not fiction, would also have been one of the most revolutionary. Unlike Romeo and Juliet’s ill-fated coupling, for most people marriage in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was “not the outcome of whims, infatuations, or personal preferences.”¹ Instead, marriage was a carefully regulated market, or even competition, the result of which could determine careers, fortunes, relations, and least of all happiness. Most young people married each other, although others were symbolically wed to their faith; in either instance, they rarely picked for themselves. Children could be betrothed as young as seven years old, and then girls married at twelve and boys at fourteen.² “Brides of Christ” had their fates similarly thrust upon them, and they were often given to the Church at a young age because of health, birth order, or family circumstances.³ Ordinary marriages were similarly determined by the interests and machinations of the patriarch or family as a whole rather than the feelings of the individual. The reason for this careful control over matrimonial prospects was that unlike the ancient Greek philosophers and early

¹ Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), 13.

² Lucia Ferrante, “Marriage and Women’s Subjectivity in a Patrilineal System: The Case of Early Modern Bologna,” in *Gender, Kinship, Power: A Comparative Interdisciplinary History*, eds. Mary Jo Maynes, Ann Waltner, Birgitte Soland, and Ulrike Strasser (London: Routledge, 1996), 120.

³ Molho, 174-176.

⁴ Kate Lowe, “Secular brides and convent brides: wedding ceremonies in Italy during the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation,” in *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650*, eds. Trevor Dean and K.J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 65.

Christians who exalted celibacy, Renaissance Italians idealized marriage. The family unit was seen as a stabilizing influence and the cornerstone of society. Fundamentally, marriage in Renaissance Italy was a religiously sanctioned way for families to control (predominantly female) sexuality, ensure continuation of their lineage and estate, and form political alliances with other families.

First and foremost, marriage in Italy during the Renaissance was a Church sanctioned, and therefore Church regulated, sacrament. The level of direct control that the Catholic Church had over wedding proceedings varied, but it was nonetheless always the final authority on what did and did not constitute a marriage. Therefore, from the viewpoint of the Church, marriage served to give the clergy considerable power over individuals' interpersonal relationships, sexual activity, and legal inheritance. The Church's authority over marriage was particularly significant because most Italians during the Renaissance were very dedicated to their faith and therefore accepted the Catholic teaching that marriage was a religious sacrament.⁵ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Church was not always directly involved in wedding ceremonies, as there was no clear directive requiring the participation of a clergyman. Even the rites and traditions observed when a girl became a nun, or a "bride of Christ," were not always presided over by a cleric. Despite this omission, the Church pushed for more influence over these "wedding ceremonies" and encouraged the participation of a bishop, even if this was considered unnecessary by most laymen.⁶ However, the requirement of a dowry in order to join a convent was one practice regularly observed which gave the Church considerable control over the process of taking holy orders, by restricting who could enter specific convents.⁷ Concerning marriages between men and women, the Church surprisingly acknowledged the

⁵ Gaia Servadio, *Renaissance Woman* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2005), 8.

⁶ Lowe, 42-43.

⁷ Lowe, 48.

legitimacy of even the most casual unions. This included clandestine marriages, which had no clergy or witnesses present during the proceedings. In fact, all the Church required for a legitimate marriage was for the bride and groom to freely state their intentions and then consummate the union. However, the acknowledgment of such marriages was in itself an assertion of power by the Church, since it allowed children to subvert their parents' will and established the Church as the final authority.⁸

Furthermore, once a couple was married, the Church assumed all power over any possible dissolution of the union. Although divorce was not technically allowed, annulment was possible, even years after the wedding took place.⁹ In fact, many people were granted annulments from the Church for a variety of reasons, including estrangement, incompatibility, irreconcilable differences, and violence.¹⁰ There are also many cases where women were freed from marriages by saying that they had never agreed to them in the first place, and were forced to marry by one relative or another.¹¹ Since the Church required that both parties in a marriage enter it freely in order for it to be legitimate, Church officials were willing to dismiss the desires of parents in favour of canon law. Into the sixteenth century the Church's control over marriage practice tightened. In part, the heightened interference into people's everyday lives was likely a reaction to the Protestant Revolution, which not only divided the flock but also brought forth a host of new problems concerning the regulation of holy matrimony. For example, in 1528, Pope Paul III became irate over the marriage of Ercole D'Este, the duke of the Italian city state of Ferrara, to Renée of Valois, who was suspected of being a Calvinist and of harbouring a court of heretics.¹² By the 1540s, the Catholic Church

⁸ Ferrante, 125-126.

⁹ Joanne Marie Ferraro, *Marriage Wars in Late Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 36.

¹⁰ Ferraro, 40.

¹¹ Ferrante, 122.

¹² Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press,

felt the need to call the Council of Trent in order to clarify the Church's official position on a number of matters and also to expand certain ecclesiastical laws. In particular, new regulations concerning marriage allowed the Church increasing influence over the daily lives of Christians.¹³ The Council made the rules surrounding the legitimacy of a marriage more strict, by requiring that prior to a ceremony banns had to be read, the couple had to be registered with the Church, and a certain number of witnesses needed to attend.¹⁴ The Council of Trent also clarified the Church's position on how couples should conduct their relationship within a marriage, by declaring that Eve came from Adam's side, not his feet (so as not to be a servant) but also not his head (and therefore should obey).¹⁵ The Catholic Church's attempts to expand certain canon laws concerning matrimony is just one piece of evidence which demonstrates that the Renaissance Church viewed marriage as an ideal way to influence the intimate and everyday lives of Italians.

Another important function of marriage in Renaissance Italy was the control, by families, the Church, and society in general, of sexual expression. For the most part, people were concerned by the exercise of female sexuality, but men were punished for deviating from expectations and norms as well. It was women's sexual behavior, however, which if left unchecked, could threaten the honour of an entire family. In the late fifteenth century, the impregnation of a servant girl by Niccolo di Alessandro Machiavelli set the entire family in an uproar, and had to be carefully managed so as to avoid scandal.¹⁶ Even though the girl was not technically a member of the family, her moral guidance was considered the responsibility of the Machiavellis, as her employers

1991), 28-29.

¹³ Rudolph M. Bell, *How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 238.

¹⁴ Ferraro, 37-38.

¹⁵ Bell, 226.

¹⁶ Molho, 142.

and landlords. At the societal level, it was believed that men needed to have firm command over any females in their household, for “unless women were carefully controlled they would inevitably subvert the moral order of society.”¹⁷ This weakness was owing to women’s inherent inferiority to men, an accepted reality during the Renaissance.¹⁸ In fact, women’s perceptibility to sin was such an ingrained concept that women themselves did not question it. In 1451 when Isotta Nogarola, a notable humanist, writer and intellectual, began a debate with a friend over the sin of Adam relative to the sin of Eve, her primary defense of womankind was that Eve was inferior, weak, ignorant and inconstant, and therefore could never have rivaled Adam’s goodness in the first place. Although Isotta lost this debate, her characterization of women was consistent with the prevailing viewpoint of the time.¹⁹ In Paolo da Certaldo’s *Book of Good Morals*, he wrote that “all great *disonori*, shame, sins, and expenses are incurred because of women.”²⁰ To counteract their sinful nature, and thus the risk of straying towards immoral sexual behavior, it was thought best that women married, and did so very young. The ideal time for a girl to wed was considered to be shortly after puberty, in her early to mid-teens, when she was still pure and pliable.²¹ For some girls, their marriage was not to a flesh and blood man; instead, they became a “bride of Christ,” and entered a convent as a nun. This type of marriage was considered by some church scholars to be the ideal, as “holy virginity is the most

¹⁷ Molho, 139.

¹⁸ Ferrante, 119.

¹⁹ Isotta Nogarola and Ludovico Foscarini, *Of the equal or unequal sin of Adam and Eve*, in *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works By and About The Women Humanists of Quattrocento Italy*, eds. Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil Jr. (Binghamton New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1983), 57-69.

²⁰ Molho, 140.

²¹ Molho, 138-139.

beautiful and finest fruit."²² On the other hand, nuns who broke their chastity vows and engaged in sexual activity were acknowledged to be particularly heinous, and decried as the source of all the world's ills. Oftentimes, convents were closed off in order to protect the virtues of the women inside.²³ For those girls who were intended for marriage to mortal men, however, their chastity had to be safeguarded in other ways. Young betrothed girls would often be given gifts by their prospective bridegrooms during their engagement, such as hose, belts, shoes, gloves and jewelry. The girls would then wear these gifts to Mass, public places and any social function they attended, so that everyone would know to which man and family they now belonged. These gifts, and the bridegrooms associated with them, were not always welcome though. Since it was considered essential that all women either enter a convent or get married, many women of all ages had husbands forced upon them.²⁴ There is also evidence that males, particularly while young, bowed to family pressure to marry.²⁵ One of the reasons why people considered it such a necessity for their children to wed was that humans were expected to be lustful, and matrimony was viewed as an acceptable alternative to sin. In fact, sexual activity and pleasure were even encouraged, so long as it took place between man and wife.²⁶ On the other hand, men and women who did not marry, or who strayed outside of their marriage, were viewed unfavourably. Borso D'Este, who ruled Ferrara for twenty two years in the fifteenth

²² Gregory Correr, *Letter to the virgin Cecilia on Fleeing this worldly Life*, in *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works By and About The Women Humanists of Quattrocento Italy*, eds. Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil Jr. (Binghamton, New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1983), 94-95.

²³ "Ordinances Regarding Monasteries For Women, Florence 1435," in *Lives and Voices: Sources in European Women's History*, eds. Lisa DiCaprio and Merry E Wiesner (Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2001), 151.

²⁴ Lowe, 41.

²⁵ Ferrante, 121-123.

²⁶ Anthony F. D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), 100-101.

century, was suspected of being homosexual because of his lifelong refusal to marry.²⁷ Meanwhile, all across Italy, punishments for adultery grew increasingly harsh during the Renaissance. Sexual activity outside marriage was notably more risky for women (who could face loss of dowry, head shaving, whipping and imprisonment) but nonetheless men could theoretically be punished as well by being fined.²⁸ The extent of this evidence leads to the conclusion that one of the primary functions of marriage during the Renaissance was undoubtedly the regulation of sexual behavior of all people, and women in particular.

During the Renaissance, family was of primary importance to many Italians. Therefore, one of the fundamental purposes of encouraging and engaging in marital unions was the preservation of the family. This was true on a biological level, but more significantly, on an economic one. To produce children, one could marry almost anyone, but preserving the family lineage and estate required a more selective appreciation of matrimony. For some people, such as Leon Battista Alberti, the continuation of families was crucial to societal harmony. In his *Books on the Family*, Alberti wrote that marriage was a beneficial practice because it ensured the continuation of lineages and estates which in turn led to a more stable and prosperous state.²⁹ This was of particular importance in kingdoms, as evidenced by the fact that Alfonso of Aragon was greatly praised by the Sienese orator Francesco Patrizi for planning his marriage. Alfonso's attempts to produce heirs and ensure continuity of his line were considered honourable and contributory to a stable kingdom.³⁰ However, for most Italian families during the Renaissance, their attempts at preservation through

²⁷ D'Elia, 84-85.

²⁸ Trevor Dean, "Fathers and daughters; marriage laws and marriage disputes in Bologna and Italy, 1200-1500," in *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650*, eds. Trevor Dean and K.J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 86.

²⁹ D'Elia, 31.

³⁰ D'Elia, 85.

marriage were purely self-interested. In fact, in the fifteenth century, the D'Este family were able to pay off many substantial debts simply through astute marriage negotiations.³¹ This type of dependence on dowries was not uncommon, even among prominent families, many of whom survived at times solely on the income generated from new wives. During this period, the emphasis on dowries grew particularly marked, and their prices skyrocketed to the point that the Senate of Venice sought to impose limits on them in 1420. However, these limitations were unpopular with many people, such as those who relied on dowries to support their families.³² In Florence, the most prominent and influential families intermarried amongst themselves considerably, thereby exchanging material goods, wealth and property fairly regularly.³³ In recognition of the importance of this exchange, Florence created the Dowry Fund in 1424. This fund was used by people of all social and economic classes, who invested a certain amount of money which was later returned with interest upon their daughter's marriage.³⁴ The Dowry Fund was utilized for nearly 150 years, providing countless girls with dowries and helping to support generations of families.³⁵ However, the dowry was not the only form of wealth exchange and demonstration that surrounded marriages. Many grooms were expected to outfit their betrothed before the wedding to show that he had the means to support her and their future family.³⁶ For example, in 1447, Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi wrote in a letter to her son that her daughter's future husband was acceptable because as a rich silk merchant's only son, he had already

³¹ D'Elia, 87.

³² Stanley Chojnacki, "Nobility, woman and the state: marriage regulation in Venice, 1420-1535" in *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650*, eds. Trevor Dean and K.J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 132-133.

³³ Molho, 15.

³⁴ Molho, 96 and 30.

³⁵ Molho, 80.

³⁶ Molho, 128-133.

given his betrothed multiple gowns and jewels.³⁷ In general, the wealth of a prospective partner was often a serious consideration for men and women looking to wed.³⁸ According to the historian Lucia Ferrante, marriage in Renaissance Italy was “the institution which ensured the legitimate transmission of possessions, and thus power, from one generation of males to the next.”³⁹ It is clear that material wealth, and the subsequent ability to preserve a family’s lineage and estate, was a crucial aspect and objective of marriage at this time.

Renaissance Italy was the epitome of a political zoo, with hundreds of different factions competing for dominance within each city state. For the common folk, the political maneuverings of the elite constituted an untouchable realm. However for those with enough wealth and influence to be considered citizens, their lives were dominated by political factions, as well as their method of formation: family connections.⁴⁰ According to historian Gérard Delille, in Renaissance Italy “political structures at all levels were built through women, and were entirely worked out on the basis of marriage alliance.”⁴¹ Although it was possible to form ties between individuals and families in many ways, marriage between two people of different ancestry was considered the most efficient and durable method.⁴² Marriages, and the dowries that accompanied them, “gave rise to obligations and expectations” that bound families together.⁴³ This was important to patricians in particular, for not only those families who were forming factions within city-states, but also signorial families ruling over kingdoms. Marriage allowed princely rulers to solidify control in their own territory and

³⁷ Molho, 128.

³⁸ D’Elia, 90.

³⁹ Ferrante, 115.

⁴⁰ Molho, 169.

⁴¹ Gérard Delille. “Marriage, faction and conflict in sixteenth-century Italy: an example and a few questions,” in *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650*, eds. Trevor Dean and K.J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 163.

⁴² Molho, 13.

⁴³ Molho, 15.

to extend their family's influence into other areas of Italy.⁴⁴ For example, in the fifteenth century, the D'Este family of Ferrara increased their political clout by marrying into the Sforzas of Milan, the Gonzagas of Mantua, and the Aragonese in Naples.⁴⁵ In turn, the same Gonzaga family used their various marriage alliances to rise to political power in Mantua. Not only were marriages used to create ties between families, but they also maintained them over long periods of time, sometimes for generations. Furthermore, marriage was one of the fundamental methods of preventing or ending feuds or wars.⁴⁶ Marriage orations were often known for praising their respective unions for creating friendship and peace between previously hostile families, cities and kingdoms.⁴⁷ As a result of the high stakes such as these that were attached to marriage at this time, and the potential political benefits and/or ramifications, negotiations over matrimony were considered very serious business. Not simply a subject of gossip, the matter of who was being wed to who was closely watched by astute politicians. In early fifteenth century Arezzo, Simone di Filippo Strozzi, a government official, exchanged numerous letters with his male relatives discussing not only the marriages of their own relations, but also those of other prominent citizens.⁴⁸ A few generations later, another Strozzi, this time the widowed Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi, wrote a letter detailing her political ambitions surrounding the impending marriage of her daughter. Although Alessandra complimented her future son-in-law and half-heartedly wished for her daughter's happiness, she ultimately said "I do not know if the girl is pleased, for it is true that, political considerations aside, this [marriage] has little to recommend it." Nonetheless, establishing political ties with another family was viewed as all that was necessary to

⁴⁴ D'Elia, 51.

⁴⁵ D'Elia, 86-87.

⁴⁶ Delille, 171-172.

⁴⁷ D'Elia, 85.

⁴⁸ Molho, 133-134.

push the marriage forward.⁴⁹ This was true for many Italian families at the time, who considered the creation of a political alliance to be one of the primary functions and benefits of marriage in the Renaissance.

For Italians living during the Renaissance, marriage fulfilled a number of crucial roles in society, by allowing families to create political ties with one another, provide for their financial future, and control the sexual activities of their young, particularly female, members. Furthermore, marriage was regulated, and thus sanctioned, by the Roman Catholic Church. Despite these numerous benefits of marriage to society as a whole, it could be laborious on a personal level. Symbolic marriage to Christ provided some, but not all of these benefits, and its merits were consequently up for debate. Alternatively, marriage between a man and a woman was considered a partnership, but an unequal one, and many Renaissance women felt the need to abandon their former interests and intellectual pursuits upon entering their married lives.^{50, 51} Nonetheless, marriage was welcomed by many people, just as by the fictional lovers Romeo and Juliet.⁵² It was an irrefutably fundamental aspect of society which served many purposes simultaneously. The dominance of marriage over one's political, economic, religious and sexual life is likely partly responsible for the creation of an old Italian proverb which decrees, 'Tell me whom you love, and I'll tell you who you are.'

⁴⁹ Molho, 129.

⁵⁰ Bell, 220.

⁵¹ Girolamo Campagnola, *Girolamo to Cassandra Fedele*, in *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works By and About The Women Humanists of Quattrocento Italy*, eds. Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil Jr. (Binghamton, New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1983), 128.

⁵² Molho, 139.

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5 0 0 0 L E V E L

“Too Few Children”

Continuity and Change in French Natalism throughout the 20th Century

Alan Jones

On 17 June 1940 Marshal Pétain addressed the French nation via radio explaining that he had contacted the Germans to discuss peace terms. For many, the worst fears of the French were realized.¹ France had been defeated by Germany again, seventy years after their last ignominious defeat, and only thirty-two since their narrow victory in 1918. For some it simply confirmed what they had been saying or thinking for that same seventy year period; that the French were defeated because they did not have the population to fight back against the Germans. As Pétain famously stated later, France had been defeated because she possessed “too few children, too few arms, too few allies.”² The leader of Vichy France had declared to the nation they had been beaten not because of poor leadership, as had truly been the case, but due to the declining birth rates of French mothers. The support for an increase in birth rates, known as natalism, (or conversely, the fight against declining birth rates, known as *dénalité*) had been a part of French political discourse since the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and only became more prominent as France became one of the first nations in the Western world to experience a declining birth rate. Natalism would become one of the most prominent national policies adopted by the Vichy government in its National Revolution, and it had long been associated with the political right all over Europe. However, natalism had by this time been adopted by parties on both sides of the political spectrum, including the Communist party. Moreover, natalism persisted after

¹ Thomas R. Christofferson and Michael S. Christofferson, *France during World War II from Defeat to Liberation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006) p.31.

² Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) p.9.

the National Revolution. It remained a policy of successive post war governments and survived as policy after the collapse of the Fourth Republic in 1958, albeit in a different form than before.

Natalism is not a distinctively French concept, although it has survived in one form or another in French society for over a century, and for almost all of that history it remained inspired by a nationalist sentiment that France would not be able to defend itself from the Germans, or that France was slowly killing itself by allowing its population to decline. With this nationalistic tone comes the implicit racial aspect often discussed during the interwar period but rarely mentioned post-war. Throughout the course of this paper the development and evolution of natalism and natalist policy will be examined, starting with its origins in the late 19th century, through its rise to prominence in the inter-war period, to its adoption as a part of the National Revolution and finally its persistence in post-war France. But while there is substantial continuity in French natalism policy, there are significant changes in tone as policy developed. From its early days as an issue of concern of the French Right pre-WWI, natalism shifted into a concern adopted by both sides of the political spectrum, and it became entwined with the concurrent eugenics movement of the interwar period. But it was under the National Revolution that natalism would shift from a minor policy of successive governments to the center of French politics as it became an essential plank in the Vichy regime's National Revolution, embodied in its new slogan of "*Travail, famille, patrie*."³ After the War the Fourth Republic would retain some of the natalism policies of Vichy but repackaged and rebranded them in a package focused on growing France's population, with no mention of Vichy's "*famille*."⁴ Natalism was not just a relic

³ Marie-Monique Huss, "Pronatalism in the Inter-War Period in France." *Journal of Contemporary History* 25, no. 1 (1990), p.63.

⁴ Andrew Shennan, *Rethinking France: Plans for Renewal 1940-1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.207.

of the interwar years, or a failed policy of the National Revolution, but an object of interest to French intellectuals and lawmakers from the late 19th to the late 20th century and it underwent many successive changes throughout this period, as France continued to grapple with the issue of having “too few children.”

The scholarship on natalism stresses its continuity but makes several important distinctions in its implementation under Vichy. Miranda Pollard maintains that natalism became policy in 1920, and other scholars such as Marie-Monique Huss would agree. Geoff Read and Kristen Stromberg Childers do an excellent job of explaining how the left embraced natalist policies in the 1930s, and Read and Pollard also explain how natalism transitioned from the Third Republic to Vichy. However, Francine Muel-Dreyfus stresses the dangers in assuming the unanimity of natalist thought. Muel-Dreyfus goes on to say that by assuming that natalist thought did not change post-1940 that it ignores the violence the Vichy regime propagated against women by making them one of the primary causes of the French defeat.⁵ Cheryl A. Koos outlines the role that pronatalist societies of the interwar years played in the changing of abortion laws under Vichy and the manifestation of the violence against women Muel-Dreyfus stressed. Most of the literature does suggest that natalist thought did evolve as the National Revolution began, but none do with such force as Muel-Dreyfus. Almost all of the sources agree on the racialized nature of French natalism, rooted as it was in nationalism in addition to its moral concerns. Andrew Shennan and Robert Paxton emphasize this shift in natalism to a moral issue under Vichy, while Phillip Nord and Claire Duchon do an excellent job of explaining continuity in postwar natalist policy.

Before the First World War, and the catastrophic effects it had on French demographics, natalists first came to prominence in the years following the Franco-Prussian war before the turn of the century, when population science and neo-

⁵ Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender*, trans. Kathleen A. Johnson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), p.75.

Malthusians came into the fore and began to clash with those who saw demographics as a political and moral issue in post-war France.⁶ One of the prevailing attitudes during this time period was one of the need for population control, to mitigate problems that overpopulation caused. This idea had been popularized by mathematician Thomas Malthus in 1803 who argued overpopulation impoverished nations.⁷ Neo-Malthusian thought in France would last into the interwar period and would almost exclusively remain the domain of the left, framing the early natalism debate as that of neo-Malthusians versus natalists and left versus right. In 1890 the neo-Malthusian Henri Fèvre published an article in *La Revue d'aujourd'hui* entitled "Et multipliez-vous" which proposed that overpopulation leads to an excess of potential workers and soldiers which in turn leads to high rates of unemployment, poverty, and war.⁸ This became the common argument neo-Malthusians used to argue against an increase in birth rates.

By contrast nationalist thinkers had been understandably anxious about France's birth rate after the Franco-Prussian War and their fears seemed to be realized as research showed that France's population only grew from 36.1 million to 39.3 million from 1871 to 1911, a growth rate of 8.6 percent, while Germany's population grew 60 percent to 65 million during the same time period.⁹ During this period natalist groups were founded by both the spiritual and scientific communities, with the Ligue française de moralité publique founded in 1882 by a pastor, and the Alliance nationale pour l'accroissement de la population française founded by French statistician Jacques

⁶ Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine*, p.65.

⁷ Maria Sophia Quine, *Population Politics in Twentieth Century Europe: Fascist Dictatorships and Liberal Democracies* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 1.

⁸ Muel-Dreyfus *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine*, p.65.

⁹ Geoff Read, *The Republic of Men: Gender and the Political Parties in Interwar France* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2014) p.117.

Bertillon and Dr. Charles Richet.¹⁰ Both groups, although very different in membership and influence (Émile Zola would later join the Alliance nationale), according to Francine Muel-Dreyfuss “saw the declining birthrate as a loss of the nation’s prestige, power, activity, and initiative and as the cause (already!) of foreign immigration that corrupted both the race and morals.”¹¹ These groups became the forerunners of the popular natalist movements of the interwar period, and embodied all of the principles that natalism would come to represent for the next century: nationalism, concern about moral decay, and a racism tied to nationalist and eugenic sentiment. While these groups debated at the fin de siècle the looming disaster of the First World War would reshape the debate with a new urgency, and allow natalism to rise to the forefront of French political discourse.

If French birth rates pre-war dismayed natalist movements than it is no wonder that they were appalled by the losses of the First World War, when 1.4 million men had been lost, and 3 million more were wounded.¹² To many this was seen as a disaster, and natalists used these statistics to produce predictions about the future of French demographics, such as a report that estimated that for every one hundred marriages that France would normally have had, during the war there had been only 37. This same author estimated that of the 20 million or so estimated births lost during the war due to the absence of men, France had the lion’s share. Wild claims flew far and fast that France would by 1938 be reduced to an army of 120 000 while Germany, still outstripping France in births, would be able to field an army of 1.2 million.¹³ All of these claims would lend natalists significant influence that would solidify its lasting political influence.

¹⁰ Muel-Dreyfus *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine*, p.65.

¹¹ Geoff Read, *The Republic of Men*, p. 117; Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine*, pp.65-66.

¹² Pollard, *Reign of Virtue*, p.10

¹³ Read, *The Republic of Men*, pp.117-118

According to Miranda Pollard, the creation of the *Conseil supérieur de la natalité* in 1920 by the French parliament and the founding of the *Fédération nationale des associations familiales de France* in 1921 “marked the natalist and family movement’s accession to official prominence.”¹⁴ The Alliance nationale had campaigned for pronatalist policies since its formation but it made little progress until after the war, when, along with these new organizations it successfully influenced French governments. Natalism made one of its first impacts on state policy in July 1920 when a new law was passed limiting information about contraceptives and advertisements encouraging abortions, which were seen by natalists as neo-Malthusian propaganda. This was only one of a number of laws which were passed in the 1920s restricting abortion and contraceptives, including one in 1923 which changed abortion from a violation which fell under the assize courts to a juryless court. Natalists found that juries on assize courts were too sympathetic to women who had abortions, and so campaigned successfully to have women tried by a judge alone.¹⁵ The natalist movement during this time was a main priority of the French right, however, by the end of the 1920s, this began to change as centre left groups began to shift their stances on natalism.

Natalism was almost exclusively the obsession of the French Right during the first decade of the inter-war period. With its origins in nationalist and moral circles, natalism continued to be propagated by those who saw the nation under threat. Left-wing newspapers mentioned French demographics, but none with the same urgency as the right. Geoff Read argues that natalism was the concern primarily of the right by examining two coalitions of likeminded parliamentarians in the Chamber of Deputies organized by conservative deputy Louis Duval-Arnould. The “Large Family Protection Group,” which lasted from 1919 to 1924, consisted of 348 of 532 deputies, a majority

¹⁴ Pollard, *Reign of Virtue* p.11

¹⁵ Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine* p.68

of deputies in the Chamber at the time. However, with a change in government in 1924 to a more left-leaning Chamber, Duval-Arnould's "Natality and Family Defense Group" received the support of only 150 members. However, by the end of the decade support of Natalism began to shift to a more centrist position, as both right and left leaning deputies began to support the Defense Group. When the government again changed in 1928 to a right wing government, support swelled to 359 of 612 deputies.¹⁶ This new coalition, now under the leadership of Radical Socialist Adolphe Landry, consisted of members of both the *action démocratique et sociale* and the *gauche unioniste et sociale*.¹⁷

The right were the torch bearers of natalist policies in the 1920s but by the end of the decade and into the 1930s attitudes had begun to change in an increasingly troubled world. By the mid-1930s the socialists and communists began to support natalism, the Communist party wholesale in 1936 while the Socialists over the course of the 1930s.¹⁸ By the time of the Popular Front there was strong support across the political spectrum for natalism, and it arose primarily out of the fear of fascism. While the right had always feared Germany, it took the rise of fascism to convince leaders on the left in the Socialist party that France needed more citizens if it was to defend itself.¹⁹ The Communists developed the same opinion but from a different viewpoint. Josef Stalin in an about-face in policy, outlawed abortion and encouraged families to have more children. He too, realized that fascism represented a serious threat. This change in policy prompted all seventy-two Communist deputies to join the "Natality and Family Defense Group."²⁰ With support from the left and the right in the 1930s

¹⁶ Read, *The Republic of Men* p. 118

¹⁷ Kristen Stromberg Childers, *Father, Families, and the State in France, 1914-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003) p.33

¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp.33

¹⁹ Read, *The Republic of Men* p.121

²⁰ Childers, *Father, Families, and the State in France* p.33

there would be an expectation of sweeping changes in natalist policy and the introduction of major new initiatives, however there was no such major policy, and with the support of the left came a shift in the nature of policy and the convergence of eugenics and natalism.

Since the initial introduction of legislation in the early 1920s there were few introductions of major pronatalist policy until the outbreak of the Second World War. Some scholars have argued that this demonstrates how natalism remained a fringe political issue, championed only by groups like the Alliance nationale. However, Marie-Monique Huss argues that this lull was only an illusion, and that it ignores the nature of family legislation in France.²¹ Huss argues that family allowances were issued by non-governmental organizations on a voluntary basis. These organizations were often pronatalist and organized by major industrial leaders such as Michelin and Harmel. Thus by the 1930s a robust, if limited, system of family allowances had already been organized outside of the government sphere. Beginning in 1932, over the course of the 1930s successive governments would legislate this family allowance system, applying it to other fields of the private sector.²² Huss also stresses that this 1932 law was prepared by the Laval government and passed by the Tardieu government, which were both deflationist and conservative.²³ It is important to remember that France was struggling economically during this period yet two different conservative governments regarded this pronatalist welfare policy as a priority to enact despite the dire economic times. Thus natalist policy did in fact develop and change throughout the thirties.

The election of the Popular Front changed natalism in France as the pronatalism of the right converged with the eugenics of the left, as race and population began to go hand in hand in discussions on both the left and the right. Inherent in natalism is a

²¹ Huss, "Pronatalism" p.55.

²² Ibid, p.55.

²³ Ibid p. 56.

racial dynamic; rather than rely on immigration to fix the demographic problem France must increase its population of French citizens. Louis Duval-Arnauld, a prominent natalist, at one point said "Immigration itself cannot protect us from depopulation, it appears instead as an invasion destructive to the race and admits the most undesirable elements."²⁴ The answer lay not outside France, in people who were not French, but within France itself. Other right wing authors like Drieu La Rochelle bemoaned the fact that France had to use so many colonial troops during the First World War to defend itself, calling into question the capabilities of the French army that had to rely on these "negroes."²⁵ Right-wing propagandists released brochures with titles such as "The White Race in Mortal Danger and "No More French People, No More France," demonstrating how natalism often had distinctly racist undertones.²⁶ At the same time, many on the left embraced the neo-Malthusian argument that increasing population reduced the standard of living. Always sensitive to the living standards of poor working families, which were also a primary target of natalist policies, it is easy to see how the left embraced eugenics and the population science of the 20th century.²⁷ During the 1930s these two forces would combine to produce a shift in natalist policy that saw both sides support a growth in French population over immigration.

In the same year that the pronatalist Alliance nationale was founded, the neo-Malthusian League of Human Regeneration by Paul Robin, who was once an associate of both Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin. Robin was not only a neo-Malthusian, he was also a eugenicist and encouraged birth control for poorer families, hoping that "a more selective process of reproduction might regenerate the race and improve France's

²⁴ Read, *The Republic of Men*, p.123

²⁵ Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine* p.70

²⁶ Pollard, *Reign of Virtue* p.18

²⁷ Geoff Read, "'Citizens Useful to their Country and to Humanity': The Convergence of Eugenics and Pro-Natalism in Interwar French Politics, 1918-1940." *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 29, no. 2 (2012): p.380.

human stock.”²⁸ Geoff Read argues that these goals laid the grounds for the future convergence of eugenics and natalism and that the natalists were simply concerned about quantity while the eugenicists were concerned about quality.²⁹ Over the course of the early 20th century the eugenicists gained influence in the French left as they concerned themselves with the spread of venereal diseases such as syphilis and the spread of other social malaises like alcoholism. The left attempted to tackle the issue of syphilis, Geoff Read argues, because “the disease came from “degenerate” promiscuity and led to mental debilitation.”³⁰ Alcoholism was seen as similarly racially degenerate and both were regarded as dangerous inheritable diseases that caused unwanted deformities in children.³¹ In the 1920s these attitudes meant that the Socialist and Communist parties were opposed to natalism not only because of its burden on the poor but also because it risked the spread of these diseases. This led to the rise of the concept of “positive eugenics,” which would allow both the left and the right to support both natalism and eugenics.³²

Rather than focus on the sterilization of individuals, or “negative eugenics,” young people would be encouraged to take medical exams before and during their pregnancies to ensure that only healthy children were born to increase France’s population and the purity of French stock.³³ This form of “positive eugenics” allowed natalism and eugenics to converge in the 1930s, as the left embraced the importance of increasing France’s population to combat fascism, and the right saw a solution to both their birth problem and the problem of undesirable births. During the mid-1930s right wing parties began to incorporate racial hygiene into their party platforms, with

²⁸ Read, “Citizens” p.380.

²⁹ Ibid, p.380.

³⁰ Ibid, p.381.

³¹ Ibid, p.382.

³² Maria Sophia Quine, *Population Politics* p. 54.

³³ Read, “Citizens” p.385.

provisions to fight against venereal diseases whilst simultaneously advocating for an increase in births and other pronatalist policies.³⁴ Thus during the interwar years natalism was embraced by both the right and the left, and became imbued with the concept of “positive eugenics” adopted from the left’s eugenicist leanings of the neo-Malthusians. By the outbreak of war, natalism had become sufficiently radicalized that a new major policy initiative was sought.

By the start of the war natalist policy had progressed to such a point that Vichy’s policies seemed a natural progression. One of the main policies advocated by natalists was the family allowance. Expanding the allowance system was first proposed in the 1920s by the French right but over the following decades more amendments were passed expanding benefits with support across the spectrum.³⁵ The left also hardened its stance against abortion and contraceptives over this same time period. These policies, among others, culminated in the Family Code of 1939, which solidified natalism in French state policy. In February 1939 the *Haut Comité de la population* was created to propose solutions to the demographic problems facing France. This committee would work within the prime minister’s office, and had prominent natalists on it, including Fernand Boverat, who had previously worked with two different natalist organizations and who would be very active in the natalist movement during the National Revolution. The Comité’s report was immediately adopted into law by the Daladier government in July 1939 and became known as the Family Code. The Code altered the family allowance payments by giving equal payments to families no matter what their means, but additional payments would be given for each child after the second. In effect, a flat rate was given to parents of one or two children, and encouraged families to have 3 or more children to earn increasingly generous

³⁴ Read, “Citizens” p.384.

³⁵ Read, *The Republic of Men* pp.129-130.

benefits.³⁶ A year later, on 5 June, mere days before the surrender of France, a new government ministry was created to focus exclusively on the family, with Georges Pernot, who had helped organize the *Haut Comité*, named Minister of the Family. This post would only survive until the surrender a few days later, but Vichy happily embraced these precedents that had been set by the Daladier government.³⁷ Natalist principles had now been codified into law in a very explicit manner, and the stage for the National Revolution had been set.

Vichy inherited the Family Code and other natalist policies in 1940, but almost immediately the regime included it as part of its wider National Revolution to reshape French society. The family became one of the defining focuses of the nation, its new slogan, “Work, Family, Fatherland” meant that Vichy considered it imperative to right the wrongs of the preceding decades and fix the moral decay of the French family.³⁸ When discussing natalist policy in the context of Vichy it is important to understand just how differently the Vichy regime approached natalist policy, and their motivations behind its implementation. It would be too easy to blame Vichy’s fascistic control over French society on Nazi Germany influence, but Robert Paxton stresses that “the National Revolution tells us about France, not Germany. It was the expression of indigenous French urges for change, reform, and revenge, nurtured in the 1930s and made urgent and possible in defeat.”³⁹ What then, would this change look like in French society? Natalism in the National Revolution was different from its prewar nature due to the heavy influence of Pétain. Under Pétain, natalism, according to Andrew Shennan, “lost its aggressive (often explicitly anti-German) slant and, instead, focused on the internal ‘health’ of French society.”⁴⁰ For Shennan this meant “a

³⁶ Pollard, *Reign of Virtue* pp.21-24.

³⁷ Shennan, *Rethinking France*, p.204.

³⁸ Pollard, *Reign of Virtue* p.33

³⁹ Robert Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York: Knopf, 1972) p.143.

⁴⁰ Shennan, *Rethinking France*, p.205

moralizing tone and a cult of the family,” or as Robert Paxton described it: “everything done at Vichy was in some sense a response to fears of decadence. More particularly, the defeat gave cause and opportunity for more radical measures designed to reverse that long moral decline.”⁴¹⁴² Thus Vichy’s natalism became a moral problem of the nation, and it sought to address problems that many right wing natalists had pointed out during the interwar years. This attempt to stamp out the causes of *denalité* included emphasizing the family and targeting abortion and the *femme moderne*, or modern women, as the main reason women were not having more children.

Vichy’s National Revolution sought to reassert the traditional gender norms of both men and women, and natalist policies went hand in hand with this. Men were the patriarchs of the family, and their place as fathers and heads of the family was emphasized more than ever. Women would be back in their traditional roles, and their main imperative was to reproduce and look after the children and the house. Marshal Pétain was the self-appointed father of the French family, and he made it his goal to lead his family through the National Revolution.⁴³ To accomplish these ends, Vichy created the office of the Commissariat General for the Family (CGF), which was to direct policies relating to the family in the National Revolution. Phillipe Renaudin became head of the Commissariat in September 1941, and from the start accepted the notion, proposed by Georges Pernot, who had been on the *Comité* that proposed the Family Code, that the family was *the* social cell that the nation was based on, the building blocks of the nation.⁴⁴ The CGF immediately began to introduce several new policies including school reforms that taught girls essential skills for working in the

⁴¹ Ibid, p.205.

⁴² Paxton, *Vichy* p.147.

⁴³ Childers, *Fathers*, p.83.

⁴⁴ Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy* p.75-77

home and educated children about the importance of family, and a campaign to limit divorce and encourage single adults to marry and reproduce.⁴⁵

The CGF and the National Revolution also focused on targeting those people and issues that it saw as the cause of *denalité*, or declining birth rates. This included abortion policy and the *femme moderne*. The CGF made abortion penalties stricter, making it punishable by death in February 1943 with the passing of its 300 Law, and engaged in a propaganda war against abortion, equating it with treason.⁴⁶ Marie-Louise Giraud was executed in 1943 for the crime of performing abortions, the first woman to be executed in France in years, and three women who helped refer clients to her received varying sentences of hard labour.⁴⁷ As Cheryl Koos explains, "abortion became one of the most important lines of attack against the modern woman."⁴⁸ Along with encouraging births, those things that prevented births would also have to be targeted. The 300 Law changed how abortion cases were prosecuted, moving them into essentially the same court reserved for traitors.⁴⁹ This sent a clear signal that abortion was seen as treason to the new French nation. Koos stresses the role that the Alliance nationale played in an important role in influencing Vichy's policies but it must be remembered that whatever their rhetoric during the interwar years no one had actually been executed for performing abortions. Thus Vichy took the natural next step in natalist policy, by not only encouraging births but seeking to prevent once and for all the termination of any unborn fetuses. Muel-Dreyfus stresses this change, emphasizing that Vichy radicalized natalism and made it worse for the women it affected,

⁴⁵ Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine* p.76-77

⁴⁶ Cheryl A. Koos, "'On les aura!': The Gendered Politics of Abortion and the Alliance Nationale contre la Déportation, 1938-1944." *Modern & Contemporary France*, 7 (1994): p.21.

⁴⁷ Koos, "'On les aura!'" p.21

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.22.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.29.

committing violence hitherto unseen in French natalism.⁵⁰ Natalism had reached its most reactionary state, and after the war the governments of the Fourth and Fifth Republics would scale back the severity of natalist policy, although they would not scrap it completely.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, France once again embraced natalist policies as it saw a need to rebuild itself both literally and demographically after the 1940 defeat. In fact, echoing similar rhetoric to Marshal Pétain, the idea that France could have resisted the occupation or could have avoided defeat entirely was still discussed as the primary reason France needed to increase its birth rates.⁵¹ Charles de Gaulle in March 1945 called for “douze millions de beaux bébés” and it is estimated that at Liberation the French population had dropped from 41.5 million in 1936 to 40.3 million.⁵² French birth rates had begun to rise before the end of the war however, and led to a baby boom in the late 1940s, followed by a second boom in 1960.⁵³ Postwar natalist theory was developed during the war by the Free French and focused mostly on demographics to counter Vichy’s cult of the family. Preserving the population of France was important not for any moral imperative, but to prevent the problems of an aging society.⁵⁴ Natalist policies postwar became intertwined with wider social security and welfare policies, family allowances being the key point of this policy. Thus family allowances, which we have seen had already been extended by both the interwar and Vichy governments, were once again expanded to include non-working mothers and families of any nationality. Restrictions on reproductive rights were maintained as

⁵⁰ Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy*, p.75.

⁵¹ Leslie King, “‘France Needs Children’: Pronatalism, Nationalism and Women’s Equity” *The Sociological Quarterly* Vol. 39 No. 1 (Winter 1998) p.39

⁵² Shennan, *Rethinking France*, p.208; Claire Duchon, *Women’s Rights and Women’s Lives in France, 1944-1968* (London: Routledge, 1994) p.97.

⁵³ Duchon, *Women’s Rights*, p.98.

⁵⁴ Shennan, *Rethinking France*, p.207.

natalism retained its right wing and nationalist origins.⁵⁵ Postwar governments praised some of the work of the CGF and retained much of the CGF's administrative structure, renaming it the *Secrétariat général à la famille et à la population*. This department would later undergo more changes as it was scrapped and successively revived as the *Ministère de la population* and put under the control of Robert Prigent, who had served on Vichy's *Comité consultatif de la famille* and had been a natalist since the 1930s.⁵⁶ New natalist policies had dropped the emphasis on family but retained many of its former policies, as organizations like the Alliance nationale continued their natalism campaigns, albeit in a more subdued fashion.

The role of a woman in the Fourth Republic seemed to change little from in Vichy, as women were encouraged to stop working and remain in their homes after marriage. Traditional roles for women were still encouraged to be the norm, and there is ample evidence that both the left and the right still supported natalism in the postwar years.⁵⁷ The Communist Minister of Labour called for a special diploma to be awarded to women who still managed to work despite being a mother.⁵⁸ This was in contradiction to the more traditional view that the right took, but the Communists nonetheless supported the fact that their workers were still producing children for the nation. More traditional gender roles were propagated in magazines and periodicals that encouraged women to take good care of their men, and to aspire to marriage. An increase in interest in maternal health accompanied this trend as experts tried to ensure mothers a healthy pregnancy; after all, the future of the country was at stake.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ King, "France Needs Children" p.39.

⁵⁶ Phillip Nord, *France's New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010) p.174.

⁵⁷ Duchon, *Women's Rights* p.100.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.103

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p.103

However, by the 1960s this concept of motherhood was being challenged by the reality that more women were entering the workforce, and governments so tried to adapt accordingly. Claire Duchen argues that as the image of the stay at home mom became more unrealistic, society began to accept that women would be working as well as taking care of their children.⁶⁰ By the late 1960s natalism began to fade from the forefront of French politics as the sexual revolution changed how women lived. Contraception was made legal in 1967, and abortion restrictions were lifted in 1975, as women's groups fought for the rights that had been kept from them since the 1920s.⁶¹ However, it must be remembered that by this time much of the pronatalist social security legislation like the family allowances that had been maintained by postwar governments remained, that although the power of pronatalist lobbyists had faded with the baby booms, their policies still remained in law. Family allowances would finally be amended in 1967, and much of the French public had by this point accepted that their birth rates would decline.⁶² Postwar natalism had done its job, with two baby booms, but it had largely run its course, its shift away from focus on the family had only changed the nature of the discussion, not many of its policies, and they were now not needed.

Natalism was not merely the obsession of the French right. Nor was it only the policy of Vichy in its National Revolution. Rather, natalism has been an important part of French political discourse since the end of the 19th century well into the 20th, and remains an important aspect of French political debate regarding the place of the woman and the role of women in French society. Natalism in France was steeped in nationalist and racist overtones, and although there is much continuity, special attention must be paid to the particularly targeted approach of Vichy France against

⁶⁰ Duchen, *Women's Rights*, p.116.

⁶¹ King, "'France Needs Children'" p.40

⁶² Duchen, *Women's Rights*, p.119.

women and women's rights to autonomy. Acquiring broad support from both the left and the right, natalism became official state policy and became ingrained in French politics in the 1930s and remained an important issue through the war and postwar. Natalism was not only a French concern but it achieved a special prominence in France following the National Revolution, and its influence lingers on French policy today. Natalist policy experienced dramatic change throughout its history, culminating in the National Revolution, and the postwar governments of France retained many of these policies, despite their dark past. From the fin de siècle, to the aftermath of WWI with its serious demographic ramifications, to the broad support it acquired in the 1930s, to the adoption of natalism as one of the most important principles of the state in the National Revolution, to shifting post-war concerns, natalism has become inseparable from French political discourse in the last century, and has had important ramifications for women in French society.

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The Hearts of New Brunswick Men in the Great War

Support from the Home Front and Maintenance of Morale

Jessica Hinton

Given our understanding of the First World War, it is hard to imagine how the troops at the front endured years of trench warfare. As Desmond Morton states, "front-line soldiers lived with horrors that seared their souls: a close chum torn to bleeding fragments by a shell or a mortar bomb; the rotten trunk of a corpse dissolving when a burial party lifted it by its arms and legs."¹ On top of these horrors, the mud, cold, rats, lice, and lack sleep also threatened a soldier's morale. Shell shock and excessive stress resulted in desertion from the front, as well as men refusing to return once given leave. In 1917, both the Entente and Central powers war efforts were almost undermined by mutinies among the French, the Russian Revolution, and naval mutiny of Austro-Hungarian and German sailors.² Many soldiers attempted to escape the trenches by purposely causing themselves harm, while others acted or exaggerated symptoms of illness that would remove them from the front lines. Despite all this, the majority of those who served at the front persevered and fought with courage and bravery. Regimental bonds, group identity, shared experience, discipline and strong leadership helped to encourage soldiers to fight. Military chaplains and the general opinion of fighting a just war motivated soldiers, as well as simple pleasures during rest and leisure time.³ Although each of these were important in building and sustaining

¹ Morton, Desmond. "Morale and Discipline." Chap. 10. In: *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian soldier in the First World War*. Toronto: Random House of Canada, 1993, 228.

² Watson, Alexander. "Mutinies and Military Morale." In: *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War*. Ed. Hew Strachan. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 201.

³ Cook, Tim. "Sing me to Sleep where Bullets Fall." Chap 12. In: *Shock troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1917-1918*. Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008, 179.

morale, soldiers relied most on the reassurance and comfort brought to them through correspondence, parcels and press which connected them to home.

Called to a cause, 620,000 men from communities across Canada joined to form a civilian army as part of the Canadian Corps during the Great War. The small communities of New Brunswick contributed its young men to the force, their world split between the civilian and the soldier.⁴ Whatever the reason for their decision to join, most young men who enlisted found themselves far away from home for the first time. Many of the volunteers, and later conscripts, immersed into the life of a soldier felt fear, anticipated death and had nostalgia for the life they left behind.⁵ Desmond Morton called these symptoms a "soldier's heart."⁶ While on active service, soldiers remained interested in the activities of their loved ones. The contact with their family: parents, wife, and children, kept the soldiers informed of the events taking place within their home communities. Thus, both the home front and the battle front became connected through letters, parcels and the press. This exchange of communication alleviated some of the misery of service, and became a vital link that supported the troops psychologically and emotionally. An increase in literacy and the customary cultural practice of regular family correspondence during the early 20th century accommodated the vigorous exchange of letters, parcels and the provision of local newspapers to soldiers at the front.⁷ The efficient circulation of mail was essential to troop morale.

The post office acted as the bridge, filling the gap between the soldiers and those they left behind. Specifically designed to manage military mail, the Canadian

⁴ Roper, Michael. *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2009, 5.

⁵ Morton, Desmond, 248.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Hanna, Martha. "War Letters: Communication between Front and Home Front, in: 1914-1918." *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. by Ute Daniel et al. issued by Freie Universität, Berlin, 2014, 4.

Postal Corps service was established in May 1911 to facilitate contact between Canadian families and servicemen. By 1915 it was maintaining the steady collection, sorting and shipment of letters, parcels and newspapers across the Atlantic. That year an estimated eight million letters and 271,000 parcels were sent by Canadian civilians to the fighting front, at the same time, nearly four million letters were posted by Canadian troops to the home front. Over the course of the war, forty-three million outbound letters and twenty-three million inbound letters are estimated to have been managed by the Canadian Post Corps.⁸

In recognition of the importance in an efficient mail service to maintaining troop morale, the army as of 1914 handled soldiers letters weighing less than 4 oz free of charge.⁹ Letters from the trenches were sent off by rail from divisions at the front, while Canadian mail was collected at London and transported in bags to the field on the ration train.¹⁰ Although the name and regiment of the soldier was the only information provided for an address, the system allowed mail to be received by those in the frontlines regularly; it was censorship which commonly caused some delay. Soldiers were typically allowed to write and send two letters a week, which military chaplains or regimental officers scrutinized before they were sent, to ensure that the men did not include any operational details or tactical information.¹¹ An issue of green envelopes was periodically circulated to soldiers, which enabled them to avoid censorship of their letter by their regimental officers. The troops commonly wrote more freely in the green envelope letters and included content that was more personal, despite the fact that they were likely subjected to inspection at different headquarters throughout France and England.¹²

⁸ Jenish, D'Arcy. "The Morale Department." *Legion Magazine*. July 2012.

⁹ Roper, Michael, 50.

¹⁰ Morton, Desmond, 238.

¹¹ Cook, Tim, 183.

¹² Winter, Denis. "Home Leave." Chap 10. In: *Death's Men: Soldiers of the Great War*. London: Allen

Letters were a key link to life beyond the war. Both the soldiers and those at home eagerly awaited letters and often gave them significant meaning or committed them to memory. For soldiers, even the writing on the envelope moved them. Correspondence with their families kept the men in the trenches "in touch" with those at home. By receiving the letters, they were not only brought up to date with events within their communities, but in reading them, they held onto something touched by their loved ones.¹³ Similarly, letters written to them from family and friends were evidence that they remained a prominent figure in the family and community.¹⁴ Letters from home symbolized that the men were remembered, loved and continued to be care for regardless of the time and space, which separated them. Correspondence in this form allowed the troops to continue their civilian identity as fathers, husbands and sons.¹⁵ In this way, news from home and the writing of letters drew the soldiers back into the civilian lives they abandoned overseas.

Although some soldiers' letters revealed details of haunting war scenarios, a majority of the content of their letters was devoted to everyday inquiries of domestic issues. Most soldiers avoided mention of horrors at the front because the act of writing them down unsettled them. The fear that their letters might be destroyed if it contained prohibited information motivated soldiers to write of subjects other than their war experience. In addition to this disincentive, the men at the front were attuned to how their war news would impact their family members and this likely contributed to constraining the topics they choose to divulge.¹⁶ Michael Roper describes in his work how many historians mention the correspondence between the men in the trenches and those left at home, yet disagree in the value of letters as historical sources, for the

Lane, 1987,164.

¹³ Roper, Michael, 49 -50.

¹⁴ Hanna, Martha, 12.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Roper, Michael, 63-66.

reason that the content of the letters sent home display discontinuities of what we know occurred at the front and what the men were willing to communicate.¹⁷ Paul Fussell also comments about this phenomenon, he points out the difference in the content of letters written during the war and that of memoirs written afterwards.¹⁸ Helen McCartney in her work, however, argues that neither institutional nor personal censorship prevented the soldiers from writing in detail of their war experience.¹⁹

The collection of letters within the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB) from the Oakley and Sophia Orser, Boone family, Crouse family and William M. Smith family fonds, provide evidence of correspondence between these New Brunswick families, their sons and husbands at the front, and contribute to the understanding of what men choose to write home and to whom. The young men addressed the majority of their letters to their mother. A typical letter written by any of these New Brunswick men began with this, "Dear Mother, I thought I would drop you a few lines to let you know I am well and hope you are the same."²⁰ Within his work, Michael Roper argued that mothers were the essential link between young men and their families. Roper states that,

amongst over 5,000 letters written by unmarried men to their families and now held at the Imperial War Museum, almost half (47.5 percent) were addressed to the mother. Letters from sons to their mothers outnumber those to any other family member or any combination of family members; there are more than twice as many letters addressed to mothers as there are letters addressed to both parents or the whole family combined.²¹

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 164.

¹⁹ McCartney, Helen B. "Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War". In *Cambridge University Press*, Cambridge; New York, 2005.

²⁰ Crouse Family Fonds. MC2476. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

²¹ Roper, Michael, 59.

The number of letters dispatched to the mothers of the Orser, Boone, Crouse and Smith family, compared to those sent to other family members, coincide with Roper's argument. However, the letters sent from the trenches by these men were not exclusively meant for the eyes of their moms. The content within their letters was news for everyone in the family. Letters written home were expected to be read aloud or even passed on to others in the community.²² In a letter that he wrote home to his mother on June 20th 1918, Jack Orser states, "you said in your letter that Mrs. Fred Parson wanted to know if her boys are here. Well I saw them when I first came here but have not seen them since."²³ This demonstrates the connection that letters had with other members of the community despite the fact that they were addressed to the mother.

The preserved letters of John (Jack) Orser, William C Boone, Lloyd Boone and Ford Smith indicate the value that they placed in receiving letters, and the subjects on which they most frequently wrote. The letters from these men enquire about the condition of the family farm, how the children were doing in school, if an elderly relative's health was improving, whether or not a loved one had received the money they sent and the discussion of close friends' activities. The letters from the men would typically end in, "Well as news is scarce I will close hoping to hear from you soon. Write soon."²⁴ These collections of letters from the PANB indicate the significance of correspondence and demonstrate the ways in which the average Canadian soldier conveyed his thoughts and interest of life at home.

The letters from these New Brunswick men confirm the general characteristics of First World War letters outlined by Cook, Hanna, McCartney and other historians. The agrarian society of the early 20th century wrote simple reports back home of their time

²² Ibid.

²³ Oakley and Sophia Orser Family Fonds. MC2893. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

²⁴ Boone Family Fonds. MC3196. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

in Valcartier Camp, in holding camps, or in the trenches at the front. During the first months of their service, many of their letters were short, but as time wore on the letters increased in detail. The number of times the men would mention that they had a delivery of letters and were in the process of writing letters indicates the value that they placed in receiving mail. William C Boone wrote to his mother from Bramshott, England in May 1918, saying "Received five more letters this morning and I have written about twenty letters since yesterday morning and night before that."²⁵ The fact that William counted his correspondence demonstrates how important correspondence was to him. Many of these men received fewer letters from home than he sent out. Ford Smith commonly wrote letters despite the fact that he had no news, and was willing to send out letters to a variety of extended relations to ensure he would acquire a continuous stream of letters from his host of correspondents. "I had three letters today and have been answering them, so thought I would write you while I was at it. I wrote you the other day so this is going to be short and is more to let you know I am well than anything,"²⁶ wrote Ford to his Grandmother in March 1917 while stationed in France. Jack Orser extended his correspondence to his cousins demonstrating his need for contact from home. He wrote, "Dear Cousin, I thought I would drop you a few lines this afternoon as I am anxious to hear from you all over there."²⁷ Ford conveyed the outward and unvarnished expression of gratitude in receiving letters from loved ones, when he wrote, "It makes me glad that you are so glad to get my letters Gram. Oh God, if it were not for you and Sis and everyone to think of and love I don't know what I would do."²⁸ Ford's comments indicate how the soldiers at the front were dependant on their connection with home.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ William M. Smith Family Fonds. MC3622. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

²⁷ Oakley and Sophia Orser Family Fonds. MC2893. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

²⁸ William M. Smith Family Fonds. MC3622. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

A common theme of impatience about correspondence developed in the writings of these New Brunswick men. They frequently expressed their frustration and concern upon not hearing from family members. Lloyd Boone wrote his mother on September 1916, "How is everybody down there, I suppose that they are about all done harvesting. Now what is the reason that you don't write. I have sent three letters and never got an answer and if you don't answer this one I won't write any more."²⁹ Conditions of the war presented challenges that influenced the time gap between sending and receiving mail. Canadian letters had to be shipped across the Atlantic, the presence of German U-boats in these waters were rarely conducive to the timely arrival of letters. In addition to this problem, life at home was busier than it had been during peacetime. Encouraged "to do their bit" through support of the war effort, endeavors to fill in the gap and assist those sent overseas took the form of: working in factories, running patriotic committees, producing comforts for refugees and soldiers, participating in organizations with wartime interests, raising funds to provide relief and munitions and implementing austerity measures.³⁰ Mothers, the main recipients of the men's correspondence, actively engaged in war and voluntary work. Mainsville's work indicates that the war increased the opportunities available for women to engage within the community. Women within New Brunswick contributed to the war effort on the home front by participating within organizations and committees such as the Women's Auxiliary, the Women's Institute, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Soldier's Comfort Association and the Red Cross Society.³¹ For those who resided in the small communities of New Brunswick, the lack of domestic help on family farms

²⁹ Crouse Family Bonds. MC2476. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

³⁰ Mainville, Curtis, 74.

³¹ Mainville, Curtis. "Organizing the Home Front," Chap. 3 In *Till the Boys Come Home: Life on the Home Front, Queens County, NB, 1914-1918*. Fredericton: Goose Lane editions and the New Brunswick Military Heritage Project, 2015, 75.

also added to the burdens placed upon the women during the war.³² Shortages in food, intensified exhortations to save and new production regulations, in the midst of poor harvest due to soil exhaustion and acute labour shortage took their toll on New Brunswicker's with the war's extension, altering the social fabric of their communities.³³

Despite these changes to the home front and factors which prevented the steady flow of correspondence, these New Brunswick men commonly conveyed distress in not receiving letters. From France in the month of June 1917, Jack Orser wrote to his mother, "I received your letter that was dated May the 9th and was glad to hear that you had got a letter from me. I don't know what is the reason you don't hear from me as I write to you every week."³⁴ In a letter to his Grandmother, Ford Smith expressed his difficulty in staying in touch with family friends and his relief in having finally received their letters, "It seems they kept using my old address after I had been transferred and that was why I didn't hear from them for a long while. I was pleased to hear from them and find out they had not forgotten me or just didn't care to write for I was feeling blue hearing from everyone but those at home, so guess it may have been my own fault, for perhaps I did not send my new address."³⁵ Many young men were in the same position as Ford, the post was disrupted when the men changed regiment, moved across the country, or participated in extended battles.³⁶

As was the case on the home front, not all circumstances permitted soldiers to write letters home. The front was hardly an ideal location for putting pen to paper. Soldiers had to write their letters during bombardments, and often had to balance

³² Roper, Michael, 63.

³³ Morton, Desmond and J.L. Grantstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919*. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989, 188.

³⁴ Oakley and Sophia Orser Family Fonds. MC2893. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

³⁵ William M. Smith Family Fonds. MC3622. New Brunswick Provincial Archives. Ford to Gram, April 5 1917 to May 10 1917

³⁶ Cook, Tim, 180.

whatever writing materials they could find on their knees.³⁷ At times, active combat prevented the soldiers from writing home. In these situations, the men could continue to send out correspondence to love ones with a less preferred method of communication, the postcard. The Field Service Postcard, a pre-printed card with already designated text enabled the troops to quickly and efficiently send a few lines regarding their well being.³⁸ Ford Smith comments of this process in a letter he wrote to his Grandmother in 1917, "I haven't had time to write any letters lately but have sent you quite a few Whiz Bangs that is what we call those cards, you see they're so quick and they at least let you know when I am well."³⁹ Despite this alternative option, not being able to send off a letter did not benefit soldiers who were already experiencing homesickness, as did Ford Smith. He wrote on January 9th 1919, "I do hope I am back soon, I'm so homesick and want to see loving ones again."⁴⁰

Parcels were another potent form of communication and connection between the men at the front and home. The transmission of parcels acted as a tangible reminder of familial affection that helped to temporarily alleviate a soldier's homesickness, such as Ford's.⁴¹ The despatch of parcels to the front was not restricted to family members. School, churches and charitable organizations within Canadian communities formed to collect food, clothing and other goods for the soldiers.⁴² In this way, both independent families and public associations, such as the Canadian Red Cross, supported the army in its efforts to care for the soldiers. Those at home helped their loved ones overseas adapt to trench warfare by sending them parcels that

³⁷ Roper, Michael, 51.

³⁸ Morton, Desmond, 239.

³⁹ William M. Smith Family Fonds. MC3622. New Brunswick Provincial Archives. Ford to Gram, June 5 1917 - August 31 1917

⁴⁰ William M. Smith Family Fonds. MC3622. New Brunswick Provincial Archives. Ford to Gram, Jan 3 1919 - Feb 13 1919

⁴¹ Hanna, Martha, 6.

⁴² Jenish, D'Arcy. "The Morale Department." *Legion Magazine*. July 2012.

contained comforts from home and a mixture of necessities, these included remedies for the treatment of blisters and sores, diarrhoea and constipation.⁴³ The boost of morale from parcels was especially true for soldiers who were enduring the war in prisoner of war camps. Community initiatives assembled many of the parcels distributed to prisoners of war, which were marked with sentiments that bolstered the soldiers' outlook on their position. Parcels sent to prisoners of war in Belgium were stamped with "a remembrance from your country," to restore confidence in the men that they were not forgotten.⁴⁴

When writing home, men in uniform requested items that catered to their particular tastes. The New Brunswick men asked for articles of clothing knitted socks, underwear, handkerchiefs, gloves, blankets, knives, but above all cigarettes and food. The Canadian Post Corps managed to get these parcels to the Western Front within two months of them being posted in Canada.⁴⁵ Due to this lengthy time frame, family members and Canadian organizations had to consider that the contents of the parcels they sent would be unrefrigerated and continuously bustled during transit. Therefore, mothers, sisters, wives and community members only shipped certain food items guaranteed to be consumable at the end of the voyage. William C Boone acknowledged his mother's parcel which gave him sweets in his letter of June 1918, "I got yesterday that box of cake you sent me, boys it is great.....kept out of the rain today and finished that box of cookies."⁴⁶ Due to the amount of packages that he obtained from the mail on one day William C Boone stated in a letter to his mother, "you need not be so anxious to send so much stuff."⁴⁷ Although men greeted parcels

⁴³ Roper, Michael, 95.

⁴⁴ Proctor, Tammy M. "Citizens in Uniform" Part I, In: *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918*. New York: New York University Press, 2010, 32.

⁴⁵ Jenish, D'Arcy. "The Morale Department." *Legion Magazine*. July 2012.

⁴⁶ Boone Family Fonds. MC3196. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

⁴⁷ Boone Family Fonds, MC3196. New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

with a degree of excitement, many were also perturbed by the cost and strain that it placed on their families. Low rations and small budgets caused complications and dictated the type of generosity those at home could expend.⁴⁸ Parcels containing food gave soldiers a grateful change to their bland diet of rations, and many of the troops handed out the edible items of their parcels amongst their regiment.⁴⁹ Other articles within parcels were not shared, such as pictures. Ford Smith was sent pictures by his relatives. "Mabel sent me some snapshots, she took of the lake and around the place", he wrote, "and I was very pleased with them, wouldn't have known the little island if it hadn't been written on the back."⁵⁰ Parcels that contained these types of contents allowed the men to possess a more intimate connection with home.⁵¹

Not only did soldiers appreciate letters and parcels, they also enjoyed reading newspapers. Both local and national papers were accessible to Canadian soldiers and, therefore, formed another critical intermediary between the home and fighting fronts. The men depended on newspapers to broaden their understanding of the current war situation, close the gap between themselves and civilian non-combatants, and to grant them with an encompassing perspective of how the global conflict affected their home community.⁵² Troops at the front used newspapers to keep up to date with events in their home communities and as a means to communicate with them. Soldiers often sent letters to publish within their local newspaper, and families had correspondence from the front published in the local paper. Some sent London newspaper clippings home to show love ones photographs that illustrated their present situation or relevant news related to their war efforts. Through newspapers, soldiers could engage with a

⁴⁸ Roper, Michael, 103.

⁴⁹ Hanna, Martha, 7.

⁵⁰ William M. Smith Family Fonds. MC3622. New Brunswick Provincial Archives. Ford to Gram ,
September to December 1917

⁵¹ Roper, Michael, 99.

⁵² McCartney, Helen B. *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War*. In Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; New York, 2005, 115.

wide audience, and remain within their home community's public recognition. Newspapers were a forum, which the men at the front used to broadcast, to some extent, the activities of their battalion, their views of battle and their living conditions. In this way, troops were empowered through their control over the messages disseminated to their home community.⁵³

Soldiers at the front were brothers and fathers, sons and uncles. As the excitement of going to war wore off and the realities of trench warfare sunk in, the thoughts of these men naturally turned to the home and families they left behind. One soldier of the First World War explained:

You say the news from home must seem trivial compared with my experience out here. Please don't get that impression. Out here news of home is like food and drink to us, however, trivial. Indeed, this life is like a dream and the old life is the only reality. We live on memories. Our constant thought is what are they doing at home.⁵⁴

As the men's experience of trench warfare dragged on without victory and the legions of the dead grew, the soldiers became increasingly desperate to return to their loved ones. Letters, parcels and newspapers from home lightened the burden of lonesomeness, homesickness, mental and physical agony that the troops experienced periodically. The connection to loved ones and their home community became essential lifelines that helped to keep the soldiers sane and motivated.⁵⁵ Close contact between home and the front throughout hostilities in these three forms of correspondence were encouraged by the military authorities through the provision of an efficient postal system promoted by the Canadian Post Corps.

Contact with families and their home communities also preserved the link between soldiers' reason for participating in the four year struggle; the troops relatives

⁵³ McCartney, Helen B, 116.

⁵⁴ Winters, Denis, 165.

⁵⁵ Cook, Tim, 181.

and home communities reminded the men of what they endeavored to protect.⁵⁶ Not only did Canadian soldiers maintain strong ties to their immediate family, they enjoyed multi-faceted relationships with extended family, friends and community members.⁵⁷ As demonstrated by the correspondence of Ford Smith and Jack Orser during their time overseas, even grandparents and cousins were the recipients of the men's correspondence. Regardless of the fact that all letters from the front were subject to censorship, whether by regimental officer, military chaplains or headquarter offices, with distance and the passage of time, the soldiers often let down their guard, and revealed glimpses into their lives, and emotions.⁵⁸ Demonstrating their care and reciprocation to the letters from the men overseas, family members and communities bequeathed parcels filled with contents of baked goods, cigarettes and clothing, which the soldiers cherished as luxuries. Newspapers and magazines, available in the front lines thanks to parcels sent from home, channeled media sources that linked the men to their families and home community in Canada. These outlets also gave the soldiers a means to communicate their experiences to a considerable crowd of avid readers and a presence in their community while they served overseas.⁵⁹

Letters, parcels and newspapers were potent reminders to combatants that they remained in the hearts of those they left behind.⁶⁰ They provided the men with a momentary escape from the senseless slaughter and unbearable living conditions. Throughout the atrocities of war, troops had something to look forward to with the knowledge that within the following week they would receive mail. These connections

⁵⁶ Watson, Alexander, 197.

⁵⁷ Hebb, Ross, N. *Letters Home: Maritimers and the Great War, 1914-1918*. Nimbus Pub. Halifax NS. 2014, 3.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Cook, Tim, 188.

⁶⁰ Watson, Alexander, 197.

to their loved ones and home community remained central to service men's wartime morale.

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Outsiders, Mavericks, and Revolutionaries

Women in the French Resistance

Brittany Long

What characterizes French women who helped in the Resistance? Some were idealists. Others were outsiders, mavericks, and perhaps, in a more profound sense, revolutionaries.¹

– Margaret Collins Weitz

The historical scholarship on the French resistance has been male dominated due to the tendency to focus on Charles De Gaulle, the leader of the Free French, and the paramilitary actions. However, there were many women who also took part in the resistance movement within France. They worked as secretaries, and liaison agents; they were authors, editors, and couriers for the clandestine papers. They hid weapons and supplies for their male counterparts. Women who were involved in “active” resistance tended to have more traditional jobs and secretarial roles which should not go unnoticed. The role of women in the French resistance is starting to be recognized by historians. The motivations, actions, and contributions of prominent women have received some attention. However, for many women who worked with the resistance, there was little recognition, partly because their roles seemed to be an extension of domestic work, but the work they did was significant and risky.

There is limited documentation on women’s roles within the resistance and one of the ways in which historians gain this information is through oral testimony. Although many women were involved in the Resistance against the German Occupation, only

¹ Margaret Collins Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance: How Women Fought to Free France, 1940-1945* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1995), 82.

rarely did their names make it into resistance records. A key reason for this is that underground movements rarely leave written records. This is done in order to protect the identities and lives of their members.² Concerns have been raised about the accuracy of oral testimony and there is a fear that many of these accounts may contain errors and uncertainties. However, as French historian Antoine Prost points out “written sources themselves are not totally reliable and may in fact be traps.”³ There is room for error and misinterpretation in anything an historian hears or reads, they must use caution throughout the entirety of their research. Rita Thalmann, a specialist on German women in the Third Reich, links these concerns with the study of women in history and sees efforts to denigrate oral history as “an effort to devalue women’s history.”⁴ These concerns call into question the accuracy and reliability of women’s history because more often than not their accounts come in the form of oral testimony. Oral testimony in the context of the French resistance is essential to our understanding of the activities of *résistantes* due to the lack of records kept during and after the war.

Another reason women were underrepresented in Resistance records is due to the nature of their resistance itself. Those women who have talked about their own involvement as *résistantes* have complained about the distortion of what daily life was like in the resistance, as well as the tendency to give priority to the resistance activities that involved men, and focus on the more “spectacular side of the resistance.”⁵

Diamond argues that women who were active in the resistance, the ones who survived the war and were never stopped by authorities, are not fully reflected in statistics about those who participated.⁶ They don’t appear in the figures because many women felt

² Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 11.

³ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 14.

⁴ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 15.

⁵ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints* (New York: Pearson Education Limited, 1999), 100.

⁶ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 101.

that what they did is not resistance, they saw it as a continuation of their daily lives. This highlights the reluctance of women to realize the significance of the role that they played. Ania Francos – one of the commentators trying to explain this phenomena – argues that women have “interiorized and socialized their role to such an extent that they have the impression of ‘having done nothing’.”⁷ Their reluctance to see their acts as a form of resistance has attributed to the lack of documentation on the role and activities of *résistantes*.

The scholarship that has appeared on women in the French resistance tends to lean towards those who participated in more ‘masculine’ resistance acts. Historians typically target their studies on the spectacular acts that only a small percentage of women participated in, distorting the image of the role that they played within the resistance. Historian Paula Schwartz, in her article “Partisanes and Gender Politics in Vichy France,” focuses on the ‘extraordinary’ activities that only handful of women participated in during their resistance efforts and the influence that conceptions of gender roles had on the resistance. Schwartz highlights the two areas of historical scholarship of women in the resistance following the end of the Second World War in 1945: the idea that women had participated in the movement on an equal footing with men, and the other focused on the specificity of women’s activism and the contribution of so-called “ordinary women.”⁸ The former is connected to the Gaullist myth focuses on the idea that all French people, minus a few collaborators, were resisting the German occupation. This was the prominent view on the French resistance until the 1970s. In her book *Sisters in the Resistance*, Margaret Weitz calls this period the ‘national period of mourning’. During this time France experienced a purge that

⁷ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 101.

⁸ Paula Schwartz, “Partisanes and Gender Politics in Vichy France,” *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 1 (1989), 127.

obliterated the defeat of 1940 and the Vichy regime from its collective memory.⁹ This Gaullist view focused on the military contributions and 'soldierly' efforts of the resistance, putting the majority of women *résistantes* in the background. Historian Valerie Deacon, argues that focusing our view on women who fought in the same manner as men not only limits our definition of resistance but also our understanding of women's participation in these movements of disobedience.¹⁰

After the 1970s, many academics began to shift their focus towards the latter view that Schwartz outlined and highlighted the specificity of women's roles in the resistance and the unique nature of their participation.¹¹ Weitz's *Sisters in the Resistance* and Hanna Diamond's *Women and the Second World War in France* focus their works on the day to day tasks of female *résistantes*, as well as the idea that women could turn gendered stereotypes to their advantage. The decision to stop highlighting exemplary women has been largely celebrated by historians of women's resistance. As pointed out in Deacon's article, Schwartz maintains that focusing on exemplary cases reinforces to narrow a view of what constituted 'resistance'.¹² Deacon points out several issues with the recent historiography on women in the resistance, one of which being that historians focus too much on the participation of communist or trade activist women. She argues that by focusing on leftist participation we are "robbed of a chance to explore the far more interesting question of why a woman of the right would so quickly join the resistance."¹³ This leaves out yet another side of the resistance movement and narrows our view of women's motivations and experiences

⁹ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 12.

¹⁰ Valerie Deacon, "Fitting in to the French Resistance: Marie-Madeleine Fourcade and Georges Loustaunau-Lacau at the Intersection of Politics and Gender," *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, no. 2 (2015), 269.

¹¹ Deacon, "Fitting in to the Resistance," 269.

¹² Deacon, "Fitting in to the Resistance," 269.

¹³ Deacon, "Fitting in to the Resistance," 272.

within the French resistance i.e., Deacon calls for an even wider conception of women's involvement.

The resistance movement in France against the German occupation and the Vichy regime was slow to gain popularity in the first months of the war. The first acts of resistance consisted of individuals partaking in smaller, often symbolic acts, such as wearing the French national colours and attaching "butterflies"¹⁴ – stickers with anti-German slogans – to mailboxes and other public places.¹⁵ The few French who participated in the resistance in the early days of the occupation focused largely on the organizational side of things: making contacts, meeting others to maintain morale and share ideas, printing tracts and papers, and laying the foundations for future actions once the Allies had landed.¹⁶ It was not easy to join a resistance group and at the beginning of the war there were very few French citizens who were willing to take the risks required to participate: "there were no uniforms, no military preparation, and no idea of what you would be asked to do."¹⁷ Women were not traditionally trained in military actions, therefore their contributions consisted of countless mundane, repetitive, everyday tasks – tasks that do not figure into the traditional accounts of the French resistance.¹⁸ Even though there were few *résistants* at the beginning of the occupation, by the end of the war there were 220 000 officially recognized.¹⁹

There are several prominent women within the French resistance whose work deserves recognition. Lucie Aubrac and Geneviève de Gaulle are two examples of women who participated in resistance activities that were typically designated to men.

¹⁴ These would be the first clandestine papers, along with hand-lettered or typed tracts and news bulletins.

¹⁵ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 59.

¹⁶ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 62.

¹⁷ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 27.

¹⁸ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, vii.

¹⁹ Margaret Collins Weitz, "Introduction" in *Outwitting the Gestapo*, by Lucie Aubrac (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), xiv.

Lucie Aubrac was a young French woman from the Mâcon area of Burgundy and is an excellent example of the few women who participated in the paramilitary actions and leadership of the French resistance. In her youth Aubrac considered herself to be a passionate pacifist due to her father's experiences in the First World War. She studied at the Sorbonne where she was exposed to the problems of fascism and racism and became fairly involved in human rights issues.²⁰ It was at the Sorbonne where Aubrac met her husband Raymond in 1938 and they married in December 1939. When France was defeated in 1940, Aubrac and her husband obtained visas to travel to the United States, however, they decided not to go because they didn't want to leave their friends and family behind. Aubrac states that with their decision to stay, their destiny became clear: "to participate in the creation and development of a resistance movement, an everyday life, professional and clandestine, with a child born in 1941."²¹ Aubrac, along with resistance members Emmanuel d'Astier, Jean Cavailles, and Georges Zérapha, founded the clandestine paper and resistance movement: *Libération*.²² Along with being a co-founder of a resistance movement Aubrac participated in several paramilitary campaigns to rescue her husband from prison. Aubrac's resistance activities were out of the realm of typical female resistance work. Balancing both resistance work and family, Aubrac is an exceptional case.

Another *résistante* who breaks the boundaries between men's and women's resistance work is Geneviève de Gaulle, however, in a less distinct way than Aubrac. Geneviève de Gaulle was the niece of General Charles de Gaulle and a student at the University of Rennes. The first thing that drew de Gaulle to resistance was when she heard Pétain speak on the 17 June 1940 and the second was when she saw German

²⁰ Lucie Aubrac, *Outwitting the Gestapo* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 4.

²¹ Aubrac, *Outwitting the Gestapo*, 4.

²² Gordon Bertram, *Historical Dictionary of World War II France: The Occupation, Vichy, and the Resistance, 1938-1936*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), 20.

motorcyclists advancing when she had joined an exodus to Brittany to set up a military resistance with her father.²³ De Gaulle was later recruited to the *Défense de la France* (a resistance group) by Jacqueline Pardon; she was the only woman to actually write in their propaganda newsheet.²⁴ Women rarely took up the pen in the underground resistance. Secretary general of the DF Génia Gemähling stated: “the men discussed things among themselves, and it did not occur to them to ask the opinion of a woman who happened to be there to make them a sandwich, even if they counted on her for the rest of the underground work.”²⁵ Due to this it is significant that de Gaulle was one of the only women to write in a clandestine paper, and is a great example of the tendency to focus on the cases that are out of the ordinary for the *résistantes*. De Gaulle was arrested in 1943 for resistance work and deported to Ravensbrück, the women’s concentration camp, the following February. After the war she stated that even though she had not done anything “heroic in a macho way” she still saw herself as a resister: “I never blew up a bridge or derailed a train or shot at a German. I made a small contribution, that of a young student. I did a certain number of operations [...] and so quite rightly I consider myself to be a resister.”²⁶ Even though de Gaulle considers herself a resister, she highlights the tendency to focus only on the militaristic actions of resistance members and she shows the shift in focus onto less obvious acts of resistance. Both Aubrac and de Gaulle highlight the importance of studying the activities and the everyday tasks that women did in order to bring emphasis to the “ordinary women” of the resistance movement within France.

²³ Robert Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015), 56.

²⁴ Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 143.

²⁵ Olivier Wieviorka, *The French Resistance*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge: The Belknap of Harvard University Press, 2016.), 408.

²⁶ Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 470.

Women in the resistance had several motivations for joining and came from many different backgrounds, including all social classes, religious backgrounds and age groups. For many Frenchwomen, the presence of foreign soldiers, particularly German ones, was sufficient motivation to join the resistance.²⁷ For Lucienne Guezennec – previously Marie-Antoinette Morat – her primary motive was Germanophobia. She indicated that her motivations were not ideological, they were “out-and-out anti-German. The invasion was like rape. To this day when I read about a rape trial, I am reminded of the Occupation. This was really violation – violation of my country. It was impossible to remain passive.”²⁸ Patriotism was a driving force behind many women’s motivations to join in the resistance against Vichy and the Occupation. Many daughters were influenced by the experience of their fathers during the First World War. These women tended to be less open to accepting a second German invasion, and many remembered how the German armies had destroyed their homes and those of their families. Since childhood, these women had been hearing stories of German cruelty and feared what would happen under a German occupation.²⁹

The choice to join the resistance was not always easy because many women needed to take into consideration not just their own lives, but those of their families as well. For this reason they tended to be young, single women in their late teens or early twenties, an age when it was easier for them to fully devote themselves to the resistance. Historian Hanna Diamond argues that “women often felt that they needed to be completely independent of any home ties before they could become fully involved in Resistance activities.”³⁰ One woman, feeling the difficulty of balancing both

²⁷ Margaret L. Rossiter, *Women in the Resistance* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), 17.

²⁸ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 2.

²⁹ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 116.

³⁰ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 103.

familial duties and working in the resistance, at her mother's death bed, expressed the fear and relief she felt once her mother passed away:

I think that's one of the things I shall never forgive this war period for it the night my mother died. I spent the night with her; I said to myself, my God, it's as well that she's dead. I was afraid of only one thing, that they would come to arrest me whilst she was still alive and she would see me leave; that I would disappear and then I would not be able to stay with her to the end. Immediately after the death of my mother I entered into the Resistance completely.³¹

It was extremely important for these women to not risk the lives of their family members – a concern that was more worrisome to women than it was to men. Another attribute that single women had in the Resistance was the fact that, if necessary, they could adopt a new identity and go underground, a task that was far more difficult for married women who had children.³² In spite of this 34.5 percent of women in the French resistance were married.³³ Married women often joined because their husbands were already involved in Resistance work and it was difficult to keep it a secret from their wives and families. Many of these women worked with their husbands from the very beginning of their Resistance activities. One woman realized, after her husband was deported in October 1943, that she had to continue the resistance work he had been doing.³⁴ When it came to helping their husbands in resistance movements, women were more than happy to assist them.

Along with being introduced to the Resistance through their husbands, women were recruited through student organizations, social and professional groups, as well as through jobs in the public sector and women with previous political experience.

Women who were employed in France's public sector – ministries, prefectures, town

³¹ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 103.

³² Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 102.

³³ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 107.

³⁴ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 115.

halls – often supplied information, false papers, and ration tickets to resisters.³⁵ Women who had previous political experience were most likely use their own discretion in making the decision to join, whereas other women were influenced by other outside factors such as family, schooling, or simply being in the right place at the right time. This is especially true for those who were part of the Communist party and who were involved in trade unions.³⁶ Historian Paula Schwartz has done work that highlights the motivations of these women, and how resistance was a natural continuation of their prewar activities.³⁷ There was also a high number of students within the resistance who tended to be less afraid and talked amongst themselves about what was happening more freely, therefore were more exposed to the ideas of resistance than women in other social milieus.³⁸

Due to France's traditional and largely Catholic history there was a lot of emphasis placed on the domestic role of women and a large part of their resistance work stayed in this realm. These women focused their resistance work on the home and it became an extension of what they were already doing to keep the household running, and to procure food and provide shelter.³⁹ The home proved to be a useful spot for holding resistance meetings or stocking arms, because it was 'private' and helped to keep this kind of activity relatively unknown. However, it could be argued that these tasks placed women in greater danger. Lucie Aubrac explains, that if the home was discovered to be a place of cover for resistance work, the punishment could be extremely violent and dangerous:

Everything was centered on the home. One day the *milice* arrived. Inside there were several Resistance workers who had come to collect some of their belongings. There were scuffles, shots were fired. The Resistance

³⁵ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 64.

³⁶ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 112.

³⁷ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 113.

³⁸ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 115.

³⁹ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 100.

workers escaped through the rear windows. But all three of us, my mother, my cousin, and myself, were arrested and deported.⁴⁰

Women were left vulnerable and exposed in these situations. Many women were sent off to camps when their resistance activities were discovered, while other women were arrested simply for being in their homes. Often times, if the Gestapo couldn't find the male resisters they were looking for they often deported their wives and mothers in their place.⁴¹

Due to their tendency to be better at organizational work compared to men, women were heavily involved in the French resistance press as typists, editors, and authors. A few assumed the jobs of linotypists and machine and press operators.⁴² *Résistantes* were the ones who typed the tracts and news bulletins. These tracts were then distributed by female resistance members with instructions for others to copy and pass on; however distribution was limited because it was difficult to secure mimeographs and rotaprint machines, and if they were acquired, it was difficult to find a quiet space to keep them.⁴³ Mme Cumin – a courageous, feisty, eighty-four-year-old from the Bastille district – allowed one of the Resistance groups to be install a rotaprint machine in her launderette.⁴⁴ Acts like this could prove to be extremely risky because should the machinery be discovered the person housing it could be arrested or deported. Not only did members of the group have to secure the machines, but the lead for the machines required transportation; this proved to be another perilous undertaking for women. One woman “hid ninety pounds of led in the carriage of her sleeping infant. Under the heavy load, the carriage springs scraped the wheels, almost

⁴⁰ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 100-101.

⁴¹ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 101.

⁴² Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 71.

⁴³ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 73.

⁴⁴ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 73.

causing an accident."⁴⁵ Underground groups often exploited the natural cover afforded to women whether it be using baby carriages and grocery baskets as cover, or the charming smile of a young girl on a bicycle to throw off German soldiers.⁴⁶

In addition to being secretaries and distributors of clandestine newspapers, women functioned as Resistance messengers. Due to telephone lines being insecure and mail being censored liaison was central to the French Resistance. Secret messages and information had to be picked up and delivered by couriers.⁴⁷ Working as a messenger was extremely dangerous because the authorities were aware that couriers were entrusted with extremely important information. If caught, they were subject to extreme torture.⁴⁸ Other jobs arose within the resistance that were seen as "women's work": organizing demonstrations for food, providing food, clothing, and shelter for fighters and other Resistance members.⁴⁹ One task of the female liaison agents was to carry all of the arms to the site of a "coup" and retrieve them afterwards. In doing this, all of the risk was concentrated on one person. The discovery of a weapon on a resister, male or female, implicated them as a "terrorist" beyond a shadow of a doubt. Because women were not typically seen as "terrorists" (a term used by the Germans to refer to *resistants*) it made the most sense to have them carry the weapons to and from "coup" sites.⁵⁰

The conventional and stereotyped view of French women prevalent at the time proved to be very useful as the Germans did not suspect them of being "terrorists."⁵¹ Women tended to attract the attention of men, more often than not, due to the fact that they were not suspect as women. This "natural cover", as Paula Schwartz explains,

⁴⁵ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 73.

⁴⁶ Wieviorka, *The French Resistance*, 407.

⁴⁷ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 77.

⁴⁸ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 77.

⁴⁹ Paula Schwartz, "Partisanes and Gender," 132.

⁵⁰ Schwarz, "Partisanes and Gender," 133.

⁵¹ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 85.

was “sometimes exploited, sometimes downplayed.” Women were less likely to be noticed while walking around because they typically went around doing the household errands, and could use their maternal roles to their advantage.⁵² There are stories, she explains, that are detailed with “women resisters flirting their way past security checks or encouraging the gallantry of Germans who unwittingly carried suitcases packed with arms safely past checkpoints.”⁵³ This afforded a degree of protection that men didn’t have; however, as Schwarz argues, it by no means spared women from arrest, deportation and death.⁵⁴

Even though their tasks were often regarded as mundane and traditional, women *résistantes* performed many influential acts during the Resistance. Marie-Antoinette Morat – now Lucienne Guezennec – gave her name to a Jewish girl around her age in order to hopefully prevent her from being deported. Lucienne was able to create a new identity because *Combat*, the Resistance group to which she belonged, printed counterfeit cards and coupons of all sorts.⁵⁵ In protest against the *Service du Travail Obligatoire* (STO), Lucienne Welschinger helped men who were trying to go in hiding or leave France. Her account hints at how harrowing these experiences could be:

I often joined groups of men who left Strasbourg by train – generally early Sunday mornings – ostensibly for an outing in the Vosges Mountains nearby. Their real destination was much farther on. There were always two young girls in these quiet groups so as not to attract attention...crossing the mountains during the sever winter of 1940-41, they encountered avalanches, which disoriented them. But that is nothing when one is young and has a compass.⁵⁶

⁵² Deacon, “Fitting in to the French Resistance,” 269.

⁵³ Schwartz, “Partisanes and Gender”, 132.

⁵⁴ Schwartz, “Partisanes and Gender”, 132.

⁵⁵ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 1-2.

⁵⁶ Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance*, 65.

Welschinger's story highlights the danger that women *résistantes* would put themselves through to help those in need of hiding or escaping. On very rare occasions women would act as a "stool pigeon, playing a double game," to try and lure German officers into places where they could be more easily shot.⁵⁷

Even though women participated in more 'domestic' and traditional activities, their tasks were arguably more dangerous than that of men when it came to being discovered, arrested, and deported by the Gestapo and German officers. Women *résistants* were not afforded the same protection as men and were left on the front lines when other members went underground. Overall, women had more face to face encounters with German officers and were more frequently put at risk. Their participation was integral to the effectiveness and success of the French Resistance.

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⁵⁷ Diamond, *Women and the Second World War*, 105.

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“A Supremely Human Event”

The Active Role of Civilians in the Liberation of Normandy

Kayla Mann

Just after midnight on 6 June 1944, in the small community of Neuville-au-Plain, just outside the town of Sainte-Mère-Église, twenty-eight year old school teacher Marcelle Hamel lay awake in bed listening to the hum of planes flying low overhead. Just as Hamel was about to drift asleep she caught sight of a shadow outside her window: “It is in this sort of half sleep that I begin to see fantastic shadows, somber shapes against the clear blackness of the sky. Like big black umbrellas, they rain down on the fields across the way...”¹ Hamel was witnessing the landings of paratroopers of the American 82nd division, the very beginnings of the Allied invasion of Normandy: D-Day had arrived. As news broke of the long awaited Allied landings, many people were overcome with incredible joy, even those who recognized the looming danger could not quell their excitement. However, greater than feelings of happiness, fear, and anxiety, was the desire to help. Throughout the summer of 1944 the people of Normandy would see their backyards turn into battlefields; in the first two days of battle, civilian casualties were equivalent to Allied losses. While there existed distrust amongst the soldiers toward the French, the Allies were greeted with such overwhelming gratitude and support that many soldiers were left both shocked and moved, recognizing the French as their allies. While there were certainly those who chose not to aid the Allied soldiers in bringing about their liberation, whether a result of fear, anger, their collaborationist views, or a combination of the three, the majority

¹ Marcelle, Hamel, “Memories of the June 1944 Landing: Memoirs of a Young Norman Schoolteacher.” *Universite Caen Normandie*, Trans. Jean-Louis Beaufriere. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://www.memoires-de-guerre.fr/?q=en/archive/memories-of-the-june-1944-landing-memoirs-of-a-young-norman-schoolteacher/5005>.

chose to be active. Ordinary civilians provided more than moral support and encouragement. From the moment Allied boots touched ground in Normandy, many of the civilians were prepared to provide food, shelter, medical attention, and crucial intelligence, often at the risk of their own lives; anything they could do to help, they did. In this way, through their determined show of support, and through acts of courage, big and small, the people of France were able to become agents of their liberation, playing an active role in winning back their freedom.

Scholarship relating to the civilian contribution and participation in the liberation of France is a relatively new area of study, in English language scholarship. Much of the research into the liberation has either completely ignored the civilian role, or kept it at the periphery, as is seen in the work of French historian Robert Aron, in his book, *France Reborn: The History of the Liberation*. Writing in 1959, Aron was writing relatively close to the events, and while he does comment on civilian participation in the liberation, he does so only briefly; however, Aron does suggest that French civilians both wanted to help, and often did, on a large scale, their actions both heroic, and important in the French liberation.² Writing much later, in 2007, French historian Olivier Wieviorka, in his book *Normandy: The Landings to the Liberation of Paris* maintains and adopts Aron's conclusions, arguing that the civilian role in the liberation was meaningful. However, Wieviorka complicates it by bringing to light the distrust allied soldiers and civilians felt toward one another, demonstrating that the relationship between soldier and civilian was complex and prejudiced on both sides.³

Research by historian Hilary Footit, in 2004, introduced a contemporary, full-length study into the civilians' role in the liberation. She approaches her study with a

² Robert Aron, *France Reborn: the History of the Liberation* trans. Humphry Hare (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959).

³ Olivier Wieviorka, *Normandy: The Landings to the Liberation of Paris* trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 223-256.

particular lens, focusing on the implications of a foreign country liberating another. With that as her starting point Footit argues that there was no single liberation of France, for experiences varied greatly by locale.⁴ That being said, Footit does conclude that there were instances in which civilians, after long being oppressed, were eager to regain a sense of control and participate in the fight for freedom.⁵ However, Footit finds that in most instances, the civilian role was that of an observer. Whether by choice, or as a result of the realities of war, Footit presents a narrative in which the civilian played a passive role: "This was a national Liberation which depended on the armed activity of foreigners. The Liberators therefore played a visibly active role in what took place, in comparison with an equally visibly passive population."⁶ In 2008 William Hitchcock, in his book *The Bitter Road to Freedom: A new history of the liberation of Europe*, adopts a similar argument as Footit. Hitchcock acknowledges that there were efforts made by civilians to contribute to the liberations; however, Hitchcock argues that the overwhelming suffering and destruction experienced by the civilian population of Normandy during the operations on D-day and the weeks following, was so great that it made it difficult for the population to even consider celebrating or working alongside the Allies when there was so much work to be done within their community: "Soldiers and civilians, in short, had little use for one another..."⁷

Recent research by historian Mary Louise Roberts, has taken the civilian experience from the periphery and made it the focal point of her recent works, *What Soldiers Do*, and *D-Day Through French Eyes: Normandy 1944*. In her work Roberts recognizes that research into the civilian experience of the liberation has been glaringly

⁴ Hilary Footit, *War and Liberation in France: Living with the Liberators* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 1-9.

⁵ Footit, *War and Liberation*, 15-16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁷ William Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom: A new history of the liberation of Europe* (New York: Free Press, 2008), 41.

absent from the inquiry.⁸ Her work, specifically *D-Day Through French Eyes*, compiles primary sources, serving to provide a starting point for future research.⁹ While Roberts provides little commentary, allowing the documents to speak for themselves, she does suggest that the evidence from civilian testimony presents a narrative in which French civilians actively participated in their own liberation, while recognizing the complexity of the situation: "Normans were far from passive observers. They participated far more in the battle than has been recognized by US historians. They also suffered more...yet despite hardship, civilians rose to the challenges presented by war...In countless ways, the Normans were agents in their own liberation."¹⁰ With the contemporary work of Footit and Roberts, with smaller contributions from historians like Wiewiorka, the stage has been set for continued research as this is a topic that has plenty of room for growth and exploration.

The morning of June 6 was incredibly foggy, making the drops of paratroopers incredibly difficult. Coupled with heavy anti-aircraft fire from German troops on the ground, the majority of paratroopers found themselves jumping from planes far removed from their planned target, and often terrifyingly low to the ground.¹¹ The paratroopers who were able to survive the jump often found themselves, at best, completely lost, and at worst, both lost and badly injured. Hamel, the young school teacher, was of tremendous value to the paratroopers that found themselves in Neuville-au-Plain as she was fluent in English. Her excitement at being able to help was palpable: "I'm going to be useful at last!"¹² Serving as an interpreter Hamel, familiar with the gaps in hedges that would allow soldiers to avoid the main road, guided a

⁸ Mary Louise Roberts, *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013).

⁹ Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day Through French Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

¹¹ Roberts, *Through French Eyes*, 33-34.

¹² Hamel, *Memories of June 1944*.

large group of soldiers to their intended drop zone, several kilometers from Neuville-au-Plain. The danger of such an outing cannot be underestimated. If caught, Hamel would likely have been killed on the spot. For many people in France, the defeat of 1940 had left them feeling humiliated and painfully powerless. The landings provided ordinary civilians, like Hamel, with the opportunity to actively aid the Allies, giving them a renewed sense of control, their fate no longer completely out of their hands.

Individual acts of assistance varied in grandeur and risk, but all were welcomed by Allied soldiers. The passing of information between civilians and the Allies was one of the most useful tasks performed by civilians, and people were often creative in how they provided intelligence. An observer with a British corps was so impressed with the quality and frequency of information provided by civilians that he insisted, “[Civilians] are our best informants.”¹³ Individuals drew up detailed maps for troops hoping to ease their travels, by presenting the safest, but easiest routes, while highlighting German strongholds.¹⁴ One man from the city of Caen, who had heard of a possible Allied landing in the Normandy area, in the weeks leading up to June 6, spent days riding his bicycle around the area and taking notes of German defences; when finished, the map he had created was approximately fifty feet in length.¹⁵ Others were less elaborate in their means, simply catching the eye of a passing soldier and subtly pointing toward a German strongpoint.¹⁶ These examples vary greatly in their intricacy, and the effort involved and yet, in each instance, the information provided was later used in battle to the advantage of the Allies. In this way, civilians were directly involved

¹³ James Hargest, *Notes on the Normandy Campaign 6 June-10 June 1944*, quoted in Olivier Wievorka, *Normandy: The Landings to the Liberation of Paris* trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 325.

¹⁴ Sabine Jacqueline, *Souvenir de débarquement et de la libération du 6 juin au 25 août 1944*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day Through French Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014). 23

¹⁵ Robert Aron, *France Reborn: the History of the Liberation* trans. Humphry Hare (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), 26. The creator of the map, Dounin, later joined the resistance and was caught passing information to the Allies. Dounin was subsequently killed on 7 June 1944.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 323.

in the military effort of their liberation, proving incredibly valuable to the liberation effort.

All acts of support and assistance carried out by the Normans were risky, to varying degrees, but the housing of Allied soldiers, for any length of time, was especially dangerous. The longer soldiers stayed, the more likely they were to capture the attention of German soldiers, as was the case in Carentan, where a teenage boy, Bernard, had rescued a paratrooper who broke his ankle upon landing. As days passed, other paratroopers in the area learned of Bernard's generosity and found refuge just on the edge of Bernard's family property. Tragically, one afternoon, as Bernard was bringing food to those soldiers, he was shot and killed by a German sniper.¹⁷ Bernard's story is by no means unique. Countless civilians were killed for their cooperation with Allied soldiers. In most instances, individuals who chose to assist the Allies in any way knew the risks they were taking, but acted despite the risk, willing to make the ultimate sacrifice in order to restore freedom to France. Bernard, like so many others, was inspired by the sacrifice foreign strangers were making to free them, causing many French civilians to willingly risk their lives, believing personal sacrifice was a necessary contribution to the liberation of France.¹⁸

The determination of ordinary French civilians to actively participate in winning their freedom is proven in the mobilizations of entire communities to assist in the invasion effort. In fact, in many towns, efforts to help were rarely solitary acts, rather they involved large portions of the population working in coordination to ensure the safety and care of troops. In Caumont-l'Éventé, twenty-three American paratroopers had been taken prisoner shortly after their drop, all having been injured and unable to evade German troops. However, one afternoon, Henri Manach, a local French

¹⁷ Marcel Jourdain, *Petites Surprise de Printemps*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day Through French Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 41-43.

¹⁸ Wieviorka, *Normandy*, 324.

policeman, was approached by a farmer who had just been asked by the German soldiers guarding the Americans to bring them something to drink. Quick thinking led Manach to instruct the farmer to provide the Germans with hard cider: "They let themselves drink too much and then some...When the soldiers collapsed, we boarded the prisoners and brought them to the best possible shelter: the slate quarry."¹⁹ In the days that followed the local doctor provided the necessary aid to the Americans, and within days, with the help of several locals, the soldiers were able rejoin the Allied forces.²⁰

Perhaps the most incredible example of civilian mobilization was witnessed in Mesnil-Vigot. As historian Mary Louise Roberts explains, nearly all women in the town worked tirelessly to provide medical aid to the Allied soldiers, and provided them with accommodation in their homes, at great risk. Furthermore, when unable to provide adequate care, the women would carry the men on their backs to hospitals. Impressive certainly, but heroic when one considers that the town was still under German occupation, and in several instances women were fired upon by German soldiers as they raced to get soldiers to hospital.²¹ These examples demonstrate great courage, but they also indicate a level of camaraderie between civilian and soldier. By organizing such efforts, civilians proved their unity, not only as united communities, but as a part of a unified Allied effort. The people of Normandy were not content to simply observe the Allied effort, they wanted to participate, and help those who were working to help them.

Certainly not all Normans were involved in such grand acts; however, that does not mean that there was an indifferent or passive sentiment amongst the general

¹⁹ Henri Manach, *Tricking the Germans*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day Through French Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 52-53.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

²¹ Roberts, *What Soldiers Do*, 35.

populace. One of the most compelling pieces of evidence that demonstrates the civilian desire to participate in their liberation, comes not from great acts of bravery, but from the language used throughout their testimony. It can be easy to forget that the landings of 6 June brought great suffering to the towns of Normandy. Resentment toward the Allies would have been understandable, and it certainly did exist; however, in spite of their suffering, there also existed an intense gratitude amongst the people. Ernie Pyle, an American journalist who travelled with the American forces throughout the war, wrote of a small gesture by a young farmer: "...the farmer walked toward us, rather hesitantly and timidly. Finally he came up and smilingly handed me a rose. I couldn't go around carrying a rose in my hand all afternoon, so I threw it away around the next bend. But little things like that do sort of make you feel good about the human race."²² The smallest of gestures left long lasting impressions upon soldiers, boosting morale.

The overwhelming majority of civilians were overcome with gratitude and relief knowing the Allies had landed. In the heavily bombed city of Saint-Lô, infamously referred to as the Capital of Ruins, one man perfectly explains the inexplicable joy the people felt upon seeing Allied troops: "It's hard to describe the immense joy we felt. After all this time, I still get chills thinking about it. At first we were in disbelief; we were liberated, do you realize that? Lib-er-at-ed!..It's difficult to express in words, even today."²³ The effect this had on Allied soldiers must have been profound, for in various accounts by soldiers, even those that rarely make mention of civilians, many were compelled to note the powerful resilience of the people: "...as French Civilians kneel and start patiently to separate the whole tiles from the broken, the good timbers from the useless splinters; when they turned from their labors to smile at us and run smiling

²² Ernie Pyle, *Brave Men*, (Tennessee: Henry Hold and Company, 1944), 376.

²³ Bernard Gourbin, *Paroles de Braves*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day Through French Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 106.

to pin flowers on our jackets—I woke up. I saw that life goes on, and that’s a good thing.”²⁴ Between the Normans and the Allied soldiers existed an understanding; the loss the two had suffered in fighting for liberation could not be easily understood, and in this way they could relate to each other. Merely persevering and sharing a smile when all seemed lost, played a role in motivating troops, in creating an atmosphere in which soldier and civilian alike could mourn, and move on toward the future.

Support for the troops was by no means limited by age. In this way, all civilians, children and elderly alike, were able to give something to the liberation effort. For many soldiers interacting with children provided them with a sense of ease, a reminder of a reality outside of war. The relationships between children and soldiers were mutually beneficial in many instances, for the children came to feel protected and safe in the presence of the soldiers. Charles Lemeland, a young boy at the time of the liberation, later described the American soldiers “...as nothing but demigods haloed with a kind of super-natural prestige.”²⁵ In another instance, Pyle wrote of an elderly gentleman who wanted to help by providing the soldiers with a drink:

A little old fellow in faded blue overalls ran up and asked us, to come to his café for a drink...so the little Frenchman filled our tiny glasses. We raised them, touched glasses all around and ‘vived la France’ all over the place...tears ran out down our cheeks...largely induced by our violent anguish...I think every American who connected with a glass of eau de vie should have got a Purple Heart.²⁶

Though in this particular case the soldiers may have been a bit shocked by what they were given, such gestures were greatly appreciated by soldiers, recognizing the widespread desire of the people to do something to help. Pyle was greatly impressed

²⁴ Raymond Gantter, *Roll me Over: An Infantry Man’s World War II*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 29.

²⁵ Charles Lemeland, *The Wonderful World of Laughter, Play, and permissiveness*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day Through French Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 173.

²⁶ Pyle, *Brave Men*, 377-378.

by the desire of so many to contribute, noting the continuous flow of civilians looking to help: "French People kept coming up and asking us for instructions."²⁷ The civilians of Normandy, no matter their age, provided kindness and a brief reprieve from the terror of war.

Many soldiers came to appreciate the most basic acts of kindness from the locals. Being invited to dinner and sitting with a family at the table, or singing along with songs next to a piano, were often incredibly comforting to those experiencing constant violence and brutality²⁸. As historian Olivier Wieviorka argues in his book *Normandy: The Landings to the Liberation of Paris*, the liberation is often portrayed in a framework of triumphalism, disregarding the human element of the event. However, Wieviorka suggests that it is in the quiet moments between soldier and civilian, when the epic and glorifying imagery is tucked away, that one can recognize the invasion of Normandy "...as a supremely human event."²⁹ Through the simplest of gestures French civilians, were able to improve, if only briefly, the experience of Allied soldiers, improving morale through their respect and support.

While a majority of French civilians chose to actively participate in their own liberation, it should be noted that there were certainly exceptions. In Cherbourg, Suzanne Bigeon, a nurse at the local hospital, recalls how reaction to the news of the landings was varied, but how there were some who thought the Allies were too late: "After having called out to the Americans for years some [civilians] were now almost hostile: 'They are killing civilians; there is no more work, and no more money. They should either hurry it up or go away altogether!'"³⁰ The bombing of towns was a

²⁷ Pyle, *Brave Men*, 377.

²⁸ Daniele Philippe, *J'avais quinze ans*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day Through French Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 178-182.

²⁹ Wieviorka, *Normandy*, 361.

³⁰ Suzanne Bigeon, *Les Allemandes, Les Americaines*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day Through French Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 15-16

frequent cause of French resentment, for it often left civilians, like teenaged Jacques Perret, wondering, "Who was the target?"³¹ Frustration with the lack of precision, and the sometimes seemingly unnecessary bombing of towns, understandably left some bitter and devastated. These accounts, however, represent only a fraction of the testimonies, many of which see a shift in tone as the summer of 1944 passes, as is seen in the diary of 14 year old Claude Bourdon, who had been furious about the Allied bombing of her town, herself surprised when she reacted with such excitement when the Allies arrived in her town: "My heart began to beat violently; I was ready to burst into sobs of joy."³² There were, without question, individuals who regard the Allies' execution of the liberation with disdain, and refused to participate, enraged to see their home destroyed in such a way. Such responses, however, were the minority.

Just as civilians were sometimes hesitant or entirely resistant to participating in the liberation in any form, there were soldiers who similarly hesitated to accept the help of civilians, not trusting them. This distrust was often the result of several media campaigns in both the United States and Britain, which portrayed the entire French population as collaborationist, instilling allied soldiers with an uncertainty of the French.³³ This distrust was also, in some instances, the result of personal prejudices, but whatever the origin of the suspicion, some allied soldiers refused all help from the French, whether it was food, wine, or intelligence. Furthermore, some soldiers regarded the French presence as a nuisance for they sometimes ended up in the way of operations, forcing them to slow movements, and remain in open space for longer than many were comfortable.³⁴ Again, however, as soldiers spent more time in the

³¹ Jacques Perret, *Memorial de Caen*. Interview by Catherine Bougy, *Memoires de guerre*, February 8, 1982.

³² Claude Bourdon, *Refugiee de Saint-Lo ete 1944*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *D-Day Through French Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 24.

³³ Wieviorka, *Normandy*, 326.

³⁴ Footit, *War and Liberation*, 60.

French towns, many became more comfortable accepting the help of the French, recognizing that their battlefield was home to the French and began to recognize that the local population simply wanted to help reclaim their home.

The liberation of France was a “surrealist mixed spectacle of deliverance and death.”³⁵ The civilians of Normandy, in a heart wrenching reality, had to witness the destruction of their homes, and the deaths of friends and family in order to reclaim their freedom. Their hometowns became an entirely unknown world; what was once familiar became unrecognizable. Yet, despite the suffering and loss imposed upon them, the civilians of Normandy were not content to stand idly by in their liberation, choosing instead to stand alongside their Allies, doing whatever they could to return freedom to France. The acts undertaken by civilians may not have altered the outcome of the war, but it does not make them any less significant. Movies will not be made of the family that invited the soldier for dinner, or the young school teacher who helped set lost soldiers back on track, but their acts were heroic to those they helped, and it is without doubt that their actions saved lives, brought comfort, and encouraged those who were fighting for their freedom. The French had everything to lose and yet they maintained an inexplicable optimism and perseverance, trusting in themselves and in their allies. Tensions between the Allies and French civilians would spoil as the months went on, the French believing the soldiers too comfortable, and the soldiers acting as though they were no required to adhere to rules, but in the early months, civilian and soldier were united, fighting for a common cause: hope. When 16 year old Perret returned to his hometown of Saint-Lô after its liberation, he echoed the gratitude and hope that had pervaded the entirety of Normandy’s liberation: “Before me was hope,

³⁵ *Story of Yvonne*, in Mary Louise Roberts, *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 20.

enthusiasm, the future...life. I cherish it even more so, because it could have been taken away."³⁶

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³⁶ Perret, *Memoriales de guerres*.

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Reservations

Catalysts of Suicide

Josh Sheppard

Aboriginals in Canada face suicide rates some four to seven times higher than the rest of the population.¹ Suicide in First Nations populations has recently been one of the many focuses of First Nations issues in Canada, and it is part of a seemingly never ending string of problems that plague them; murder rates, racial profiling in the judicial system, lack of healthcare resources, an apathetic society, to name a few. Oppressing First Nations has been, and arguably still is at some capacity today, a practice that has resulted in such problems. Canadian oppression of First Nations can be traced back to its infancy, in 1871, when the so called treaty era began. Another notable piece of Canadian legislation in relation to First Nations oppression is the Indian Act 1876. Analysis of the treaty era and its different materials demonstrates that Canadian oppression of First Nations does in fact begin at this time. An epidemiological analysis will be used to examine the treaty era as a causal agent of increased First Nations suicides. Moreover, an analysis of governmental responses to First Nations suicide, understood here to be a disease, will be had to demonstrate that Aboriginal healthcare has historically been subordinate to healthcare for white Canadians.

The treaty era in Canada is characterized by massive accumulations of land by the Crown, and ostracizing First Nations people. From 1871 to 1921, three different monarchs produced eleven treaties that effectively took Central, Western, and

¹ Leenaars, Antoon A. *Suicide in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998. 166.

Northern Canada from First Nations (Figure 1).² The motive behind the treaties for the Crown was to acquire land for settlement and resource extraction, and end violence between the two groups, and ultimately to isolate the First Nations. Similarly, the First Nations motive behind signing the treaties was to secure commodities essential to living in the changing geographical, social, political, and economic landscape.

Obviously, they did not wish to be isolated. Additionally, First Nations hoped to curb the violence between themselves and the English, which was a result of the increase in hostility surrounding the aforementioned reasons, as well as the fur trade.³ James Daschuk, in his book *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* says the treaties to First Nations “were a means to secure their well-being in the face of an unsure future.”⁴ Moreover, he claims that consequences of the treaties produced a new political and economic reality, one that did not acknowledge the legitimacy of existing First Nations practices. Essentially, the treaties included land transactions for the Crown, and varying compensations were given to the First Nations. The treaties are polythetic in that they treat each successive document as a blank slate, and they reflect the Crown’s short-term agenda of populating, developing, and exploiting the whole western part of the dominion; in a word, they are all independently drafted from one another due to differing leaders and tribes of each region.⁵ Generally, First Nations received money, hunting and fishing equipment including ammunition and twine, plots of land which was intended strictly for First Nations use – becoming the basis for modern reserves, provisions for housing and education (basis for residential schools), hunting and fishing rights, and farming

² Canada in the Making, “Numbered Treaty Overview.” Accessed March 29th, 2016.
https://web.archive.org/web/20150408123143/http://www.canadiana.ca/citm/specifique/numtreatyoverview_e.html

³ Daschuk, James W. *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life*. Regina: Regina University Press. 2013. 80.

⁴ Ibid, 79.

⁵ Ibid, 79.

equipment.⁶ Only treaty number six has provisions for medical equipment.⁷ The treaties thus not only ostracized the First Nations population in these areas, but effectively changed the whole of First Nation life, the effects of which can still be observed today in reservations and First Nations populations across the country.

The social, political, economic, and health effects on the First Nations population do not appear to be dire in theory. In fact, it appears as though they were set up quite nicely, and were to be taken care of indirectly in relation to the lives of the white man. In practice however, the treaties tell a much darker story. With the arrival of increasing amounts of European settlers in the newly acquired regions, traditional First Nations values and social structures began to deteriorate over time – nearing complete extinction. Additionally, a fundamental component of First Nations livelihood, the bison, was being over hunted and like the social structure of First Nations, faced near extinction.⁸ These points seem minor considering the healthcare and general concern for the wellbeing of the First Nations on the part of the Crown is in essence non-existent during this time frame. The First Nations were not considered ‘normal’ or ‘civilized’, and were not understood at any expert capacity by Europeans, let alone by the influential white men who pulled the strings and so humbly consumed the fruit from newly taken land at an unprecedented rate. The immediate effects of the treaties were similar to the long term effects in that they both put the First Nations people at a disadvantage. In particular, it put First Nations at an economic disadvantage due to the regulations surrounding land, and leaving said land without permission. Moreover, whites now had the capability to purchase their goods from whites instead of First Nations on a larger scale given the new regulations, and the scarcity of First Nations

⁶ Canada in the Making, “Numbered Treaty Overview.” Accessed March 29th, 2016.

https://web.archive.org/web/20150408123143/http://www.canadiana.ca/citm/specifique/numtreatyoverview_e.html

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains*, 80.

outside of reserves. The long-term effects of the treaties can still be observed in trends on reserves today, such as alcoholism, family violence, unemployment, and incarceration rates.⁹ In essence then, it can be said that the Numbered Treaties began the legislation processes that became, and still are, characteristic of government relations and dealings with First Nations. Moreover, the history of First Nations – government relations were of such a character that it procured economic, social, and political stresses that were necessarily continued by the government for the functionality of legislation and possible future diplomacy.¹⁰ These stresses can be seen to be causal factors of suicide in First Nations, creating a link between 19th and 20th century legislation and First Nations suicide epidemics.

Treaties have long been a part of First Nation tradition. Today they play a more ceremonial role due to the political landscape, but their significance is still important to note, as they represent an everlasting bond between two or more parties. Violations of treaties are not to be taken lightly, and in the case of the Crown, are not to be committed modestly. One of the major treaty violations by the Crown was the manipulation and reconstruction of education terms to mandate western style education for aboriginal youth. Additionally, James Miller in his book *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, states that there are many discrepancies and contentions over the treaties. A notable example is Treaty 1, when treaty commissioner Archibald made verbal agreements and promises to commence the treaty making process that were not honoured for another four years.¹¹ The government of Canada acknowledged the legitimacy of oral agreements after this point.¹²

⁹ Leenaars, *Suicide in Canada*, 40, 165, 166.

¹⁰ Miller, J R. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. 392-393.

¹¹ Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 218.

¹² *Ibid*, 218.

A byproduct of the treaty era was the widespread manipulation of First Nations land reservations. As a result, the entire way of life of the remaining First Nations populations went from hunting and gathering to settling and farming, creating a sedentary lifestyle, and a loss of tradition. There are wider implications than merely material ones here. The First Nations people are, traditionally, highly spiritual, wise, and in tune with nature. Linked to all of this is freedom of mobility; it may be said that First Nations faced what can be called, initially, social and/or cultural claustrophobia. Consequently, the First Nations way of life began a new stage of cultural and social deterioration at the hands of the numbered treaties. A result of this, First Nations suicide rates increased.¹³ Although this may seem like a rash statement at first, evidence suggests otherwise. A 1992 study, conducted by Cooper et al. found that First Nations living off of reserves show similar rates of suicide as the surrounding population.¹⁴ This is explicit evidence that at least one aspect of the treaty era, reservations, contributes to increased suicide rates. Isaac Skinofsky claims that the abandonment and disassociation with traditional First Nations values is often held responsible for this suicidal increase, however, the often overlooked problem is the social disorganization of modern First Nations communities. Social disorganization is an umbrella term that may include lack of housing, poor access to healthcare, general poverty, isolation, corruption within the band systems, and lack of communal cohesion.

Governmental relations with the First Nations communities have significantly improved over the decades. The Trudeau government of 2016 has arguably worked closest with the First Nations people of any Prime Minister. Commissions on First Nations people have been drafted before. One such report, *The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996*, stresses, "the suicidogenetic effects of demoralization caused by the colonization of the Aboriginal peoples, and recommends widespread

¹³ This is a very difficult statement to make.

¹⁴ Leenaars, *Suicide in Canada*, 49.

community redevelopment programs, together with improved crisis response and progress towards self-sufficiency and self-government."¹⁵ 92 communities were studied, and themes developed: social disorganization, poor health, and poverty.¹⁶ Essentially, the document was meant to stimulate public discourse surrounding the plight of First Nations communities, while attempting to restore the health, prosperity, and heritage of the communities, further mending relations between First Nations and the national government.¹⁷ More importantly, it details the ailments of the First Nations population. Cultural stress, which can be defined as ailments of the First Nations population, including, but not limited to a loss of identity and lack of ethnic tradition and education, is another problem named, and is considered to be the most significant issue.¹⁸ A life without identity is one that some find not worth living. An early example of cultural stress might be the Potlatch ban, where First Nations were banned from ceremonial practices and gatherings under the Indian Act. Canada passed this legislation in 1884, and eliminated it in 1951.¹⁹ Forced stagnation of cultural practices placed immense stress on communities, a trend which is still alive and well today.

Commissions however, are only one half of the framework of making real change in First Nations communities. To know and speak about the ailments that plague First Nations stops short of the real goal. The Royal Commission reported on the findings in First Nations communities, and found that the first step to reconciliation,

¹⁵ Leenaars, *Suicide in Canada*, 49.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, "Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples." Accessed March 30th, 2016. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014597/1100100014637>

¹⁸ Erickson, Lesley. "Constructed and contested truths: Aboriginal suicide, law, and colonialism in the Canadian west (s), 1823-1927." *Canadian historical review* 86, no. 4 (2005): 595; Erickson cites the Commission on this point: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Choosing Life: Special Report on Suicide among Aboriginal People*

(Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1995).

¹⁹ Indigenous Foundations UBC, "Indian Act." Accessed April 17th, 2016.

<http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/government-policy/the-indian-act.html>

and creating a better society in which each culture co-exists, requires a renewal of relations, actions, funding, awareness, and cohesion among the groups involved. Although suicide rates are still enormous in First Nations communities, as they have historically been, there is work being done to combat this along with the host of problems that comes with life on reservations. This new trend is observable in the Trudeau government. Help is being administered to First Nations in a few ways. The government of Canada states that increased funds to First Nations will go towards community based health and disease prevention programs, community, primary, and home care services, control of communicable disease, addressing the environmental health problems, and non-insured health benefits. Unfortunately, there is no mention of mental health services, or of suicide prevention.²⁰

The situation only becomes bleaker when the quantitative statistics surrounding First Nations suicide are examined. A book called *Suicide in Canada*, put together by healthcare professionals and professors, analyses the disturbing suicide trends among First Nations communities. Moreover, it discusses the causes for First Nations suicides, as well as solutions to the problem. First Nations suicide rates peaked in the mid 1970's for no apparent reason, and plateaued at that same level until the mid 80's when it fell back to 60's levels (Figure 2).²¹ The book states further that long-term unemployment can procure the ideation of suicide; idleness is a killer. Cultural changes and economic considerations are perhaps the most important variable in First Nations suicide apart from mental health.²² The methods of suicide, or the 'death factor' also plays a significant role in First Nations suicide. Access to firearms and alcohol cultivate dangerous situations for people living in dire situations on reserves. Males are three

²⁰ Health Canada, "First Nations and Inuit Health." Accessed April 17th, 2016. <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fniah-spnia/index-eng.php>

²¹ Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains*, 38.

²² *Ibid*, 42.

times as likely to successfully commit suicide than women, and are far more likely to use a firearm. Women tend to prefer poisoning themselves.²³ Types of poison are not detailed here, or in other sources. Moreover, First Nations use of firearms is higher in general. It should be noted here that these rates only account for successful suicides; for every one successful suicide, the World Health Organization estimates there are twenty attempted.²⁴ Data for children under the age of 13 does not exist in any significant capacity, however, it has been found that First Nations children are more likely to commit suicide than children of the dominant population.²⁵

A theme of small epidemics, or clusters develops in reservation communities; when one person commits or attempts suicide, it “inspires” others to attempt it as well. Some have called this “contagious suicide.”²⁶ This is a prevalent problem in Canada’s Northern reservations today. Suicide rates in 2016 show no sign of these sorts of trends ending in the near future. First Nations males face rates of 126 suicides per 100,000 people, and First Nations females face 35 per 100,000.²⁷ What does this mean on an international scale? The top three nations with the highest suicide rates, Guyana, South Korea, and Sri Lanka have a combined suicide rate of 101.9 per 100,000 people (44.2, 28.9, and 28.8 respectively).²⁸ This is a staggering realization; the nations with populations most likely to commit suicide pale in comparison to First Nations rates. It

²³ Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains* 42-46.

²⁴ Statistics Canada, “Health at a Glance.” Accessed March 31st, 2016. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/82-624-x/2012001/article/11696-eng.htm#n9>; it should be noted that Stats Canada cited the WHO Suicide Prevention document, http://www.who.int/mental_health/prevention/suicide/suicideprevent/en/ however I could not find the specific data entry about this claim.

²⁵ Leenaars, *Suicide in Canada*, 50.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 50.

²⁷ “Health Canada,” *First Nations and Inuit Health*, accessed March 31st, 2016. <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fniah-spnia/promotion/mental/index-eng.php>

²⁸ “World Atlas,” *Countries With the Most Suicides in the World*, accessed April 1st, 2016. <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/countries-with-the-most-suicides-in-the-world.html>

may be said then that First Nations Canadians face the highest suicide rate internationally of any country or race.

Prevention methods have been adopted in some communities, although it is surprising to find that most First Nations reserves do not adopt such preventative measures. A part of the Royal Commission of 1996 studied of an outbreak of teen suicides in Big Cove, New Brunswick that occurred in 1992. It found that rates fell below their regular number when alcohol control measures were implemented, as well as support and dissemination of traditional values and education.²⁹ This example highlights exactly what needs to be done; if alcohol (indeed, illicit substances as well) was controlled, and a traditional framework of life and society was implemented and supported, things change for the better. Although this is only one instance of it working, given the statistics and analyses of reservations, it is safe to say that these measures would work in the majority of reserves to varying degrees. First Nations people are convinced that “self-inflicted...violence can be resolved only through a healing process undertaken by the communities themselves.”³⁰ The point may be argued that life on reservations is not the problem, but the social and cultural structures, or lack thereof, within the reservations is the true culprit of First Nations suicide.

What are some of the government responses to First Nations suicide? The Royal Commission has already been mentioned, but what outside of that has been seen to either mention, or take actions against the problem? The short answer, at least historically, is that the Canadian government has not responded or done anything noteworthy about the problem of First Nations suicide in Canada. This is part of the larger problem of mental healthcare accessibility, and First Nations health in general.

²⁹ Leenaars, *Suicide in Canada*, 50.

³⁰ James B. Waldram et. Al. *Aboriginal Health in Canada: Historical, Cultural, and Epidemiological Perspectives*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. 92.

This problem is being addressed head on by the Trudeau government, which has launched the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, as well as budgeted upwards of eighth billion dollars for Aboriginal use. Money, unfortunately, does not necessarily dictate that all problems will be solved; as is typical of today's society, everything has a price tag, but there is no price that can account for the loss of traditional lifestyle, values, education, language, health, and overall wellbeing of an entire people. Thus, recently, the Canadian government has been committed to making changes for the First Nations community.

The looming question remains: has First Nations health been subordinate to that of the general, or white, population in Canada? The disturbing trends in First Nations suicides, community infrastructure, water quality on reserves, cultural stress, and the like, demonstrate that this is in fact the case. Treating First Nations healthcare strictly in the context of suicide, the Canadian government has largely been apathetic or ignorant to the health of First Nations people. High suicide rates paired with extensive studies on causal factors often go ignored or are not executed. The 20 year promise from the Royal Commission is testament to this; little in it has been achieved. Additionally, this trend can be observed in other epidemic diseases that affected Canada such as smallpox, influenza, and tuberculosis, to name a few. Most efforts to contain 'Aboriginal disease' were not out of concern for the health of Aboriginals, but for the health of the greater white population, as Paul Hackett demonstrates.³¹ It is clear that historically, the Canadian government has ignored the health of Aboriginals, or has only taken action when the white population was at risk. Quite significantly, this trend is being broken, albeit slowly, by the Trudeau government. With the recent

³¹ Hackett, Paul. "'That Will Not Be Done Again': the Fort Alexander Preventorium and the Fight against Tuberculosis in Indian Residential Schools, 1937-39." *Native Studies Review*. Vol. 21 no. 1 (2012): 1-41.

increase in First Nations suicides, this paradigm shift in the view of First Nations and their health could not be more welcome.

To add to this idea of healthcare subordination, Paul Hackett, in his book *A Very Remarkable Sickness: Epidemics in the Petit Nord, 1670-1846* analyzes disease transmission from Europeans to First Nations, and claims that the Colombian Exchange never ended considering First Nations never stopped getting sick. He claims that patterns in human settlement affected disease transmission heavily; the Numbered Treaties thus have an effect on disease.³² Through his analysis, Hackett found that geographical placement affected diseases, as well as rates of disease. Influences also include population density or First Nations and Europeans alike. In his conclusion he uses this notion to discuss tuberculosis in Western Canada in the early 20th century. This epidemic changed the view of disease transmission from Europeans being the carriers to First Nations, representing a paradigm shift whereby First Nations were now also stigmatized in relation to their health.³³ Out of this, it is extrapolated that a healthcare culture of isolating First Nations for the purpose of protecting the masses, that is, white people, emerged and continued into the 20th century. In essence, Hackett's book demonstrates the relationship between First Nations health and white health in Canada to show that historically, white health has come before that of the First Nations people. Thus, in relation to this argument, Hackett demonstrates notions around disease, their transmission, and the results of them. Moreover, an important note arises: effects of disease range from region to region. Given this, it is important to remember that regional placement affects suicide rates, and what can be done about it.

In conclusion, the First Nations population of Canada faces extremely high rates of suicide on reservations. This trend, quite significant to this argument, does not apply

³² Paul Hackett, *A Very Remarkable Sickness: Epidemics in the Petit Nord, 1670-1846*, 237.

³³ *Ibid*, 244.

to First Nations who live off of reserves among the general population, which points to the fact that reservations, in essence, are suicide catalysts. Reservations are a direct result of the treaty era in Canada, whereby the Crown, at the expense of traditional First Nations culture and society, allocated massive amounts of land. Using this logic, it follows that high suicide rates in Canadian First Nations are a direct result, at least in part, of the treaty era. Other causes found to be associated with high First Nations suicide is family and sexual violence, contagious suicide, widespread poverty, lack of sustainability on reserves, and most importantly cultural stress. Historically, governments in Canada have been ignorant of the healthcare needs of First Nations, and have done little to change the dangerous axiomatic view. It can be said that First Nations healthcare has long been subordinate to the healthcare of white Canadians. Despite this, a paradigm shift is taking place in the Canadian government and social landscape where action is being taken not only by the government, but by the Canadian population as well. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its public supporters demonstrate this fact. What needs to be done to help First Nations is made clear here; alcohol control measures, restoration of traditional values, education and the like, renewed relationship with the government, and more healthcare accessibility. Only when these recommendations are taken seriously and implemented consistently can there be positive change in the plight facing the Canadian Aboriginal population.

Figures



Figure 1: Map of areas taken into Crown control throughout the treaty era.³⁴ Areas of the same colour but different shades are continuations or revisions of treaties.

³⁴ Map of areas taken control of by the British Crown.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Numbered_Treaties#/media/File:Numbered-Treaties-Map.svg; This information was corroborated by Library and Archives Canada, as well as Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada: <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/treaties-surrenders-agreements/Pages/introduction.aspx> and <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1370373165583/1370373202340> respectively. Accessed March 30th, 2016.

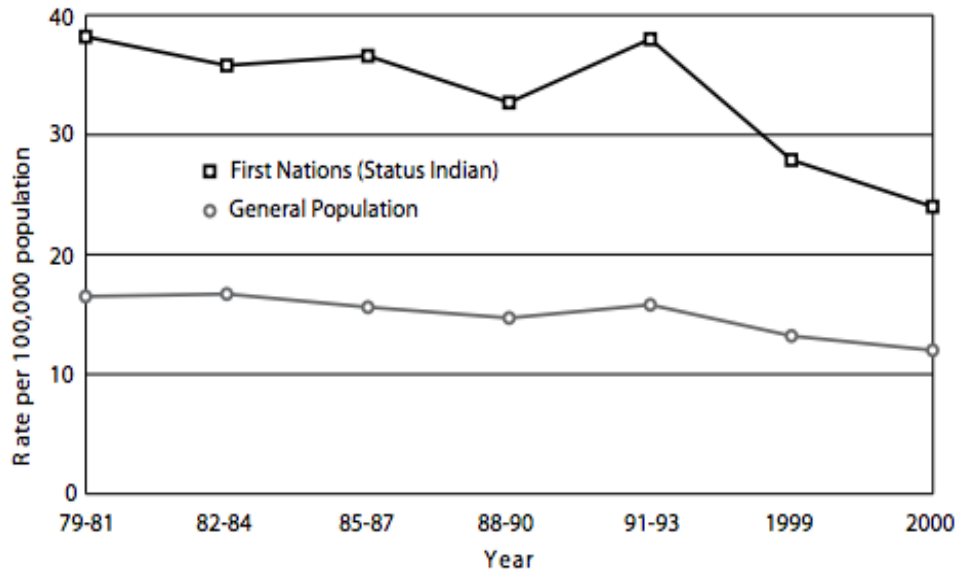


Figure 2: Comparison of First Nations suicide rates and general population suicide rates.³⁵ It should be noted that this is not the same graph as in *Suicide in Canada*, but it still demonstrates the trends. The early 90's show a rate of nearly 40 per 100,000, more than quadruple the 2012 WHO statistics for Canada.³⁶

³⁵ Kirmayer et. al, *Suicide Among Aboriginal People in Canada*, 14.

³⁶ World Health Organization, "Age-Standardized Suicide Rates (per 100,000 population), both sexes, 2012." Accessed March 31st, 2016.
http://gamapserver.who.int/mapLibrary/Files/Maps/Global_AS_suicide_rates_bothsexes_2012.png?ua=1

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