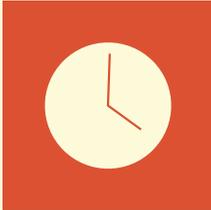


2019
2020
2021

HISTORICAL REVIEW

PRESENTED BY
**BISHOP'S
UNIVERSITY
HISTORY
ASSOCIATION**



**DOUBLE
FEATURE**





BISHOP'S UNIVERSITY
+
HISTORY ASSOCIATION

EST. A LONG
TIME AGO

INDIGENOUS LAND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Bishop's University History Association would like to acknowledge that Bishop's University is located on the traditional and unceded lands of the Abenaki people. Additionally, the Association would like to acknowledge that readers across the country are located on the ancestral lands of diverse groups of Indigenous nations, whether that be through the numbered treaties or unceded land.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

The end of the last semester marks the culmination of a year of learning, critical thinking, and academic excellence. The Bishop's University History Association would like to present the 2020 - 2021 edition of the History Review. The Review is a collection of student pieces over the past year that reflects academic excellence by students who have taken history courses. These pieces can be research papers, primary source analysis, reflections, among many other types of papers. Under the circumstances of the past year with Covid-19, the Review was unable to be published last year, nonetheless, this year will be a double feature that will include the 2019-2020 submissions as well as 2020-2021 submissions, and new to this year's edition, there is a section dedicated to the pandemic. We all have experienced the pandemic in similar ways, but everyone has their own experience with it. Our goal was to compile submissions and create a reference collection for the University community to look back on. History is narratives and attempting to make sense of these narratives is understanding the past. We are excited to share with you the historical narratives that have been written about over the past two years and the personal anecdotes of students and community members.

We would like to thank all those who have participated in the process of making the Review become a reality, from the editors, the students, to the design team and everywhere in between, we cannot thank you enough.

Enjoy the work of your classmates, alumni and friends!

Thank you,
Samuell Utrosa, Émilie Labbé & Holly Benison



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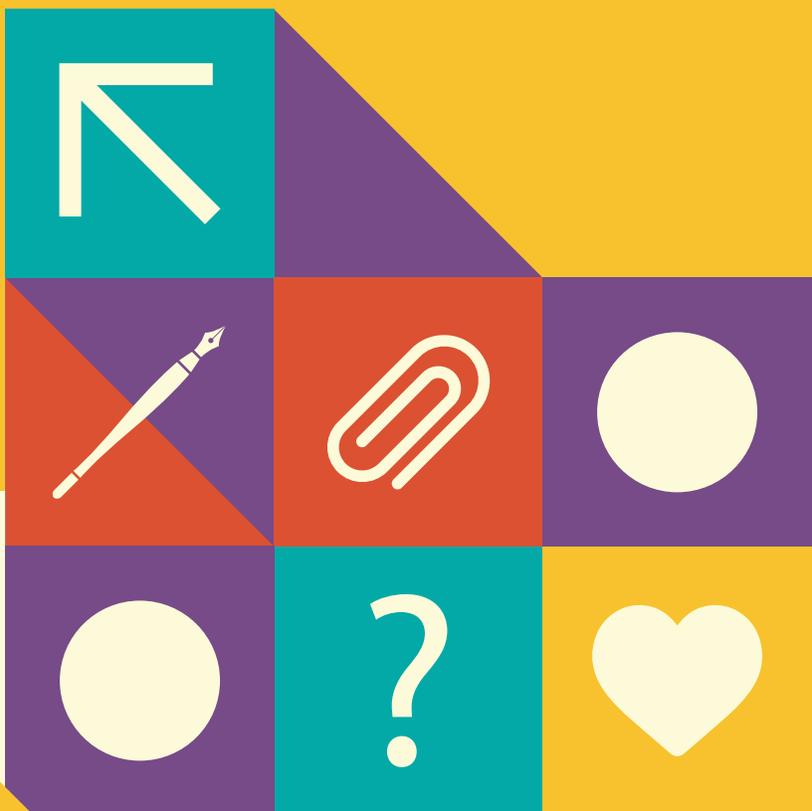
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Yes, “they made the world safe for Democracy.”

Jacklyn Kaller

Starting with the outbreak of World War I through to the end of the war in Vietnam, the presidents of the United States claimed to have framed international and domestic policy to promote democracy. On April 2nd 1917, President Woodrow Wilson addressed Congress with his message to launch the United States into war against Germany with his famous line: “the world must be made safe for democracy.” Four days later, Congress voted overwhelmingly in favor of a war declaration. Since that time, the behaviour of the United States government was rife with the belief that it must play a strategic role on the world stage to “make the world safe for democracy” by suppressing autocracies and other forms of government not consistent with the United States model. A litany of twentieth-century US Presidents subsequently embraced the foreign policy objective of making the world safe for democracy. Focusing on the presidencies of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, this paper reveals the glaring contradictions between American foreign policy and its stated objectives.

Woodrow Wilson Presidency: March 4th 1913–March 4th 1921:

The United States entered the First World War in 1917 in response to the Zimmerman telegram. The telegram suggested a hostile Mexican-German alliance which threatened the United

States and resulted in a declaration of war on behalf of the United States on Germany on April 6th 1917. Before the congressional vote, Wilson made the telegram public, in an attempt to sway American public opinion in support of the war. On April 6th 1917, Congress passed the declaration of war, despite polls which district representatives conducted that indicated voter opposition to American entry in the war, in many places by a margin of 2 to 1. From that point onward, the government started a move toward the policy of centralization to support the war effort. For example, the War Industries Board enabled the centralization of the economy; the Selective Service Act required all men in the United States between the ages of 21–30 to register for military service; the Espionage Act allowed postal officials the authority to ban newspapers and magazines from the mails and threatened individuals convicted of obstructing the draft with up to 10 thousand-dollar fines and jail time. Furthermore, the Sedition Act made it a federal offense to use “disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language” in regard to the Constitution, the government, the American uniform, or the flag. The centralization of the government’s resources and the laws enacted by the United States government show that in order to “make the world safe for democracy,” freedoms at home, including the right to free speech, were compromised and forced military service was enforced.

It was indeed somewhat ironic that while the United States was preoccupied with “making the world safe for democracy” abroad, the country also denied democracy to African Americans and women at home. In addition to the other injustices they faced, African-Americans were subject to discriminatory voting laws, particularly in the

South. Poll taxes, literacy tests and intimidation kept the African-Americans away from polling stations, denying them the democratic right to vote, some fifty years after the 15th amendment was ratified. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) published a report called 'Thirty years of lynching in the United States, 1889-1919' denouncing the United States government as "the only advanced nation whose government has tolerated lynching." Wilson failed to support anti-lynching legislation while in office and this raises the question: How can a country view itself as the cornerstone of democracy while not addressing blatantly awful actions against African-American citizens such as lynching and segregation? Race riots in East St. Louis led to the Silent Protest Parade on July 28th 1917 led by the NAACP displaying placards saying "make America safe for democracy." How did Wilson "make the world safe for democracy" while denying safety and security to African-Americans at home?

Wilson was also a reluctant reformer of female suffrage movement, and the only reason the 19th amendment passed in Congress was due to the pressure by female suffragettes such as Alice Paul, leader of the National Woman's Party (NWP). In May 1917, Paul led a protest using banners with Wilson's own words: "we shall fight for the things we have always held nearest to our hearts-for democracy." Meanwhile, The Committee on Public Information (CPI) began censoring matters pertaining to the NWP. Wilson wrote to his secretary Joseph P. Tumulty seeking to influence newspaper reporting saying, "My own suggestion would be that nothing they do should be featured with headlines or put on the front page but that bare colorless chronicle of what they do should

be all that was printed." He clearly sought to limit free speech and violate the freedom of the press, core values in any democratic society.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency: March 4th 1933-April 12th 1945:

When World War Two broke out in Europe in 1939, the United States claimed neutrality. Although Stalin, the newly formed Soviet Union's communist leader was perhaps not considered a dictator in international circles at the time, he definitely engaged in dictatorial actions and practices at the domestic level. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union was signed on August 23rd, 1939, and assured peace along with neutrality between the two nations. Shortly thereafter, both nations invaded Poland, and divided the territory in two. The United States 32nd president was certainly aware of this territorial aggrandizement of the Soviet Union and chose not to intervene. When Nazi Germany broke their Pact with the Soviet Union with Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union in June of 1941, the Soviet Union joined forces with the Allies.

On August 14th 1941, the United States and Britain approved the Atlantic Charter which laid out a vision of common principles in respective national policies for a better world to be implemented following the defeat of Nazi Germany. The Atlantic Charter contained eight goals. The most important goal was the third committing to the "respect [of] the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." In a rather confusing statement

by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in the following weeks, it appeared that the Atlantic Charter only applied to Europe, rather than countries still under British Imperialism, such as India. From this perspective, some have argued that the Atlantic charter is Eurocentric. Was "making the world safe for democracy" reserved only for Europeans and their descendants abroad?

On December 7th 1941, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour brought the United States forcibly into the war. Numerous scholars, such as Robert Stinnett in his book, *Day of Deceit: The Truth About FDR and Pearl Harbor*, claim Roosevelt had knowledge of a potential attack on Pearl Harbour, but did not take action against the Japanese in order to fuel public support for American entry into the Second World War. What good is a democracy if there is no transparency between the government and its citizens? Nazi Germany was becoming increasingly powerful, and instead of denouncing the Soviet Union and its dictatorial actions, the United States decided to join with the Soviet Union as an ally along with Britain and China in order to defeat Nazi Germany and "make the world safe for democracy." The Declaration for a Liberated Europe was released during the Yalta Conference in February of 1945. Through this declaration, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union hoped to implement democratic governments throughout Europe so that a European dictator such as Hitler could never again threaten world peace. However, this is contradictory to Stalin's own dictatorial actions that truthfully rivaled those of Hitler. The hypocrisy here is glaring. How could the United States "make the world safe for democracy" by aligning U.S. government actions with such a ruthless dictator?

Harry S. Truman's Presidency: April 12th 1945-January 20th 1953:

Truman's presidency brought about the era of "atomic diplomacy." Truman was drastically different from Roosevelt in terms of dealing with foreign affairs. He was ready to assert United States' dominance in whatever way possible, including through the use of nuclear weapons. Germany surrendered to the Allies on May 7th 1945, but thereafter the United States had to deal with Germany's Axis ally, Japan. On August 6th and 9th, 1945, the American military dropped atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively. The Second World War ended shortly thereafter. How can anyone, including Truman, justify "making the world safe for democracy" by the use of atomic weapons that resulted in such tremendous civilian casualties? More importantly, how can one possibly hope to transition world governments to democracy by obliterating innocent civilians in rogue nations? The lasting effects of both atomic bombs used in Japan were truly devastating.

After the Allies successfully suppressed Nazi Germany and Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as world superpowers. If it was ambiguous at the start of Stalin's communist reign, by 1946 it was clear that the Soviet Union was a brutal dictatorship. This reality caused tensions between the two world super-powers. Meanwhile communist governments uniformly drifted to increasingly autocratic governance. Therefore, the United States tried to "make the world safe for democracy" by actively attempting to eliminate all autocratic and communist countries. Practically this was so that it would be more

difficult for the Soviet Union to tip the balance of global power in their favor.

Following the end of the Second World War, the two nations remained in an ideological deadlock for decades in the Cold War. In the immediate post-war Second Red Scare, the United States domestic policy portrayed a threat of communism within its own borders, as a scare tactic to skew public opinion toward a firmer foreign policy stance against the Soviet Union, politically motivated by the desire to "make the world safe for democracy." George F. Kennan's theory of Containment drastically altered foreign policy against Soviet communist expansion in the years following 1947. Since the United States could not eradicate communism they now sought to contain it and stop it from spreading to other nations.

In early 1946, a power struggle arose in China between a rebel group, the Kuomintang (KMT), supplied by the United States, and the Communist Part of China (CCP). On October 1st, 1949, China officially became a communist country. The loss of China to communism appeared to have legitimated the international policy of the Soviet Union and tipped the balance of power slightly in its favour due to the large geographic footprint and the large Chinese population. During this time period, the Domino Theory promulgated by the United States, suggested that if one nation fell to communism, other surrounding nations would inevitably fall as well. The subsequent proxy War in Korea from 1950-1953 between the Communist North (supported by Soviet Union and China) and the Democratic South (supported by the United States), failed to drive communism out of the Korean peninsula.

Dwight D. Eisenhower's Presidency: January 20th 1953-January 20th 1961:

The Domino theory, whereby the Soviet Union's neighbouring nations were at risk to be lost to communism, seemed to be an actual reality by 1953. In 1954 the United States government, in a desperate attempt to stem the flow of communism into Southeast Asia and to alleviate American fears of a 'closing world,' President Eisenhower decided to step in to support France in the Vietnam conflict. The United States began a program of direct aid to the South Vietnamese government by sending over military advisors to help train the Army of the Republic of South Vietnam (ARVN). The United States also brought over Ngo Dinh Diem in 1955 to serve as the expected leader of a new democratic government in South Vietnam. Diem was expected to hold democratic elections for a new leader, as previously agreed in the Geneva Accords of July 1954. However, Diem refused to follow the expected path, as he was not present and did not sign the Geneva Accords. Notwithstanding, the United States continued to support Diem, and backed his decision not to hold free and fair elections. This position by the United States runs contrary to their purported mission of "making the world safe for democracy." Withholding free elections is a violation of any democratic government. South Vietnam was clearly not a democracy and not taking the pathway of general elections to select the leader of the democracy. The actions of the United States raise interesting foreign policy questions such as: did the United States government agree with Diem's undemocratic decision in order to affirm a strong, non-communist South Vietnam in South-

east Asia? Would the US government support anything, even undemocratic principles, in an effort to expel communism and prevail against the Domino Theory?

The United States even went as far as training and inserting secret agents who would arrest, harass and murder communist revolutionaries in South Vietnam. Just as a dictator would routinely and undemocratically eliminate those who opposed him, the United States government eliminated those who opposed Diem and favoured a communist style government.

With regard to foreign policy in Cuba, President Eisenhower supported Fulgencio Batista in the period before the socialist revolution of Fidel Castro. Batista was known to have close ties with leaders of organized crime in the United States. In November of 1958, Batista manipulated and interfered with the presidential election process, making himself the only candidate for the presidency. The United States, once again, was observed to support a dictator which seems to contradict their efforts of "making the world safe for democracy." Thereafter, in 1959, Battista was ousted by Fidel Castro and his revolutionaries, and Cuba became a socialist state.

John F. Kennedy's Presidency: January 20th 1961-November 22nd 1963:

Shortly after the presidential election of 1960, Eisenhower delivered his famous speech warning the American public of the growing 'military industrial complex' against Kennedy's platform of addressing the communist threat by aggressively increasing the country's defense budget. In turn, Kennedy's Inauguration speech laid out his foreign policy for his time in the Oval

Office. He would "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty."

A significant event that tainted Kennedy's presidency was the failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April of 1961. Orchestrated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), former Cuban exiles were trained to fight against Castro. The director of operations assured the president that the invasion would encourage the Cuban people to partake in an uprising against Castro. This was not the case, as the Cubans viewed Castro to be a hero who ousted foreign private investment and racketeers who were taking advantage of the Cuban economy.

Meanwhile, South Vietnam was in chaos. Diem, a devout Catholic began to unjustly suppress Buddhist activity in South Vietnam. In 1963, he banned the Buddhist majority from displaying Buddhist flags during a religious celebration as the government was not in favor of displaying flags not relating to the government. This confused Buddhists as a few days earlier, Diem displayed Catholic flags to commemorate the 25th anniversary of his brother's advancement to Bishop. When the Buddhists protested the apparent injustice, they were met with violence. The tensions led to the self-immolation of a number of Buddhist monks, including the famous immolation of Thích Quảng Đức, a protest that resonated around the world. Why did the United States not ask Dictator Diem to step down in order to save democracy and religious freedom before the situation got out of hand?

To add to the growing global tensions, the Cuban Missile Crisis transpired in October 1962, when the United States and the Soviet Union came

close to engaging in nuclear warfare. Compared to Eisenhower, Kennedy differed by showing no reluctance in exhibiting power by means of military confrontation. After Cuba's socialist revolution, Cuba began to develop close ties with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union began to place intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM) in Cuba that threatened physical security of the United States. The missiles were discovered by American U-2 surveillance flights across Cuba. There was 13-day standoff where the entirety of the American population was certain a nuclear war would ensue. Again the paradox of U.S. policy is evident. How can the United States "make the world safe for democracy" by threatening the use nuclear weapons that would have devastating and lasting deleterious effects on the environment and on public health? Nuclear weapons have the capacity to maim and kill an extraordinarily large number of people. How can "making the world safe for democracy" be achieved by the death of many with the use of nuclear weapons?

Lyndon B. Johnson's Presidency: November 22nd 1963-January 20th 1969:

Two days after Johnson assumed the presidency, he told the ambassador to South Vietnam, "I am not going to lose Vietnam, I am not going to be the president who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went." The Gulf of Tonkin incident, off the coast of Northern Vietnam, began with a North Vietnamese attack on *Maddox*, an American destroyer ship engaged in espionage on August 2nd 1964. An alleged subsequent attack was reported on the destroyer ship *C. Turner Joy* on August 4th when, on a stormy night, with anxious and inexperienced crew expecting an attack, the

C. Turner Joy perceived and reported an attack, but no physical evidence of an assault on the destroyer ship was later to be found. Johnson doubted the second attack on August 4th, but used the perceived attack on the *C. Turner Joy* as an excuse to escalate the war in Vietnam in an attempt to suppress the advancement of communism. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, passed by Congress allowed the president "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression." The Resolution allowed Johnson to take military action as he saw fit. The United States became increasingly entangled in the conflict between North and South Vietnam, all without ever actually declaring war. As the war against communism and "making the world safe for democracy" dragged on in Vietnam, the American public lost faith in the government. The United States launched expensive bombing campaigns such as Operation Rolling Thunder, that seemed to be doing little to suppress the Viet Cong. From 1965 to 1968, the level of American troops deployed in Vietnam increased drastically from fifty thousand to five hundred thirty-five thousand.

Meanwhile, Pentagon Papers showed a Draft Memorandum from Assistant Secretary of Defense John McNaughton to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, titled "Proposed Course of Action re: Vietnam," dated in March 1965 laying out the plans for the war in Vietnam. First, its central goal was to avoid a humiliating loss in Vietnam, second, to keep South Vietnam from Chinese intervention, and third, to give the South Vietnamese a "better, freer way of life." The fact that the lives of the Vietnamese people was considered as least important in the list of the three items demon-

strates that the United States had no real intention of ever "making Vietnam safe for democracy" and freedom, rather they just wanted to protect United States' nationalistic pride while satisfying the egos of government officials.

The use of Napalm, or 'Agent Orange' for deforestation and exposing North Vietnamese troop movements along supply routes was conducted under the codename "Operation Ranch Hand." The United States army sprayed copious amounts of deadly herbicides throughout the Vietnam countryside. 'Agent Orange' caused serious long-term health issues for Vietnamese people, civilian and soldiers alike, the environment and also harmed the American soldiers exposed to the chemicals. Was the United States' goal in eradicating communism and "making the world safe for democracy" justified in light of this cost to peoples' health?

The American commander in Vietnam, General William C. Westmoreland adopted the strategy of 'search and destroy,' killing as many North Vietnamese as possible, turning a blind eye to the murder of innocent civilians. With this type of military behavior, domestic concerns in the United States moved to a concern over international human rights abuses, resistance to forced conscription, and a movement to stop the senseless dying of American soldiers. By 1968, the American public support of the United States' involvement in Vietnam quickly deteriorated. In order to "make the world safe for democracy," the presidents of the United States from 1917-1969 uniformly and routinely implemented various foreign policies that were corrupt in light of this objective. In order to suppress autocracy in Europe during the First World War, Wilson centralized the

government, in turn compromising freedoms at home. In order to work towards the elimination of Nazi Germany in the Second World War, Roosevelt decided to align the country with a dictator with a powerful military. To eliminate Japan and effectively end the Second World War, Truman implemented the use of nuclear warfare. When communism began to be linked with dictatorships at the start of the Cold War, American foreign policy would also turn to eradicating communism worldwide. Truman adopted the policy of containment to suppress communist expansion. In an attempt to stop the actualization of the Domino Theory, Eisenhower supported undemocratic governments in both Cuba and Vietnam. In an effort to reclaim and defend democracy, Kennedy engaged in a series of militant, confrontational actions against communist countries. In a final attempt to "make the world safe for democracy," Johnson concealed important information exemplified in the Gulf of Tonkin incident to obtain total control and exhibit the country's industrial military complex.

Throughout the twentieth-century, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson would model their foreign policies after Wilson's famous words: "the world must be made safe for democracy." However, the evidence supports somewhat less than philanthropic goals behind American foreign policy throughout the years of 1917-1969 and points to a driving force of fear and greed as the actual rationale behind US foreign policy.

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World War II Night Bombings in European Cities: An Analysis of the Night in Relation to the Military

Duncan Crabtree

The large-scale bombing of European cities at night in World War II truly had no precedence. In fact, it resulted from both trial and error and pure accident. Bombing raids were first undertaken during the day and had been aimed at industrial targets as opposed to residential ones. After an errant German air raid dropped bombs over London on August 24, 1940, large scale bombing began to be conducted almost exclusively over the most populated areas of allied and axis-controlled Europe. It was also quickly determined by both sides that bombing at night kept cumbersome, heavy bombers safer from enemy fighters and ground anti-aircraft fire.² Residential bombing caused widespread destruction overnight to the homes and lives of those who lived in populous areas and it fully implicated civilians in a war they had not consented to join. As explained by Daniel Haulman, it has been argued persuasively that bombing of cities rather than industrial targets was a less productive military strategy as it destroyed less significant areas for the war effort.³ This essay will examine government policies that mitigated the intended demoralizing effects of massive night bombing raids on survivors. It will seek to explain why night bombing, though profoundly traumatic, was not able to break the morale of European populations during

World War II. It will argue that coping strategies developed by governments during World War II led to the failure of night bombing's aim of undermining civilian morale in both Germany and England. In Britain, particularly during the Blitz and in Germany throughout the war, it seems as though popular opinion could have easily turned against the war effort. The bombings of some of the largest and most historic cities on both sides created profound consequences for survivors, both physically and mentally. However, Nil Santiáñez demonstrates how the psychological effects of bombing could be effectively manipulated by governments.⁴ In particular, night bombings caused such intense trauma that the experiences were difficult for survivors to process or even recall with any amount of clarity.⁵ As a result, publicity campaigns from the government could effectively rewrite the mental narratives of the experiences of their citizens who had been under attack. In 1945, a survey was conducted on the citizens of Halberstadt, Germany, who had experienced several nighttime allied raids. Santiáñez contends that statements on the experience of air raid nights made by those in Halberstadt were first, filled with "clichés and empty statements"⁶ and second, quite reminiscent of descriptions given by civilians from other German cities hit by the bombings.⁷

This article illustrates how deep psychological trauma caused by air raids at night created a mental void among citizens that was effectively filled with a widespread, common memory of the experience. It is significant that citizens described night raids in an unspecific manner with little variation despite the reality that their experiences were all unique. This demonstrates that there was an intentional effort on the part of the German

government to re-write these memories with its own version that was conducive to higher citizen morale. The government version used clichés which could have linguistically familiarized this traumatic situation to survivors. Moreover, the universality of this new narrative could have increased a sense of collectivity among the populations: it may have allowed them to view their own trauma as less unique and part of the greater experience endured by a large proportion of their compatriots during the war. In sum, the narrative provided to the citizens of Halberstadt by the German government helped the former mentally cope with the trauma of night bombings.

During the Blitz night bombings in Britain, the mental void that was created among survivors seems to have been filled with a strong emphasis on gender roles. "Till We Hear the Last All Clear" illustrates how collective mindsets were ordered using traditional gender norms during and after night bombings.⁸ When a class of pre-teen girls in Hull was asked about their experience and role during the nighttime raids that hit their city, gendered categories were almost universally expressed among them.⁹ First, the girls explained the roles of men and women during night raids almost exclusively in ways that conformed to gender norms. For example, men were described to be outside of the home, physically tackling the challenges of the raids such as fires. Women, on the other hand, had the task of protecting domestic life from harm by keeping the children together and by removing valuable items from the home.¹⁰ Second, the girls' account of their own roles during air raid nights conformed to gender roles and reflect how they were told to carry themselves as young females. For example, their tone empha-

sized the need to uphold high morale in the home during a collective "national endeavour"¹¹ and the girls portrayed their physical role as one of helping their mothers with feminine tasks during night raids.¹² Overall, this account shows the way in which these young girls clung to the gender roles they had been assigned during these nights of crisis. In addition, it demonstrates that they chose to represent those around them as conforming to these ideas as well. During the crisis, it is clear that governments felt a greater need to order the private lives of individuals to maintain a highly functioning society in the face of great physical destruction and mental stress. The high degree of gender normalcy, however, did more than order the contributions of citizens during night raids. It also allowed populations to frame their experiences in a way that conformed to societal norms and perhaps seemed somewhat less horrifying and abnormal. In sum, emphasizing gender norms to build a new mental experience, similar to the collective memory replacement practiced in Germany, was an effective coping mechanism for night bombing survivors.

Finally, the British government sought to amplify emotional connections between citizens and their domesticated animals to help survivors cope with Blitz night bombings. At the beginning of the Second World War in Britain, a significant social movement began which advocated for the pre-emptive killing of pets which the public believed would consume scarce wartime resources and would suffer during air raids unduly.¹³ Moreover, keeping pets solely for the purpose of emotional support was broadly seen as a feminine concern during the war.¹⁴ A Mass-Observation survey conducted for the British

government, however, determined that pets were a key maintainer of psychological health during the nights when raids were occurring.¹⁵ As Howell and Kean argue, those surviving the nights of the Blitz with their pet were comforted by experiencing trauma in a way that permeated the barriers of both bodies and species.¹⁶ Therefore, contrary to notions of pure resource conservation logic and ideals of male stoicism, the British wartime state began to promote the retention of pets. Moreover, the British government realized that keeping pets, even at times when it was impractical to do so, maintained a sense of continuity with life before the war.¹⁷

Howell and Kean demonstrate the extent to which European states were willing to go to shift the emotional experience of their civilians as they went through likely the most traumatic nights of their lives. Though the strategy of maintaining pets for emotional reasons was seen as an effeminate one at the time, the British state was willing to rely on qualitative research that demonstrated its positive effect on the wellbeing of citizens.¹⁸ This source also exhibits the plurality of tools that states utilized during and after these night raids to maintain the morale of their citizens. Overall, the British state realized that even at risk of material disadvantage or effeminacy, the shared emotional experience between humans and animals was a valuable morale boosting tool in nights of strife.

In sum, this essay demonstrates that the European state went to great lengths to maintain morale and conviction among citizens towards the war effort in World War II. During and after night bombing raids, the state worked to shape this mentally traumatic experience. For instance, authorities made use of the mental void that night

bombing trauma left in the imaginations of survivors and filled it with universal narratives about night raids that employed familiar language. In addition, dominant social categories such as gender were emphasized by the British state to shape the mental experience of night raids. Gender norms ordered British society's responses in these times of trouble and kept people's mentalities in check with familiar notions. Finally, social priorities were shifted to allow pets to survive and promote the public's emotional integrity during night raids in Britain. Though night bombing destroyed many cities and lives in Europe, neither side lost the war due to its public turning against its government's policy of fighting a war in which civilians were unwillingly implicated. That citizens were willing to endure these traumatic nights is at face value surprising. The discourses and practices that shaped the memory of these nights in the days that followed were crucial in making them more bearable.

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Heresy and Knights Armour: Joan of Arc's Prosecution and her Choice to Wear Men's Clothing

Holly Benison

Nearing the end of the Hundred Years War, an unlikely figure emerged onto the battlefield. She called herself Jeanne la Pucelle, and was a young peasant girl from a small town in the North of France named Domrémy. She is better known as Joan of Arc, however, documentation indicates that she never referred to herself by this name and that it was given to her posthumously at the Nullification Trials.^{1 2} At the age of thirteen, she claimed to have heard voices from God and the Saints, telling her to engage in battle to take back Orléans from the hands of the English forces and their French allies. The battle, known as the Siege of Orléans, represented a decisive French victory, but not long after, Jeanne was captured and handed over to the English and their Inquisition and tried for heresy.³ The result after a lengthy trial process - she was burned at the stake. When her trial began, it was a highly politicized event.⁴ Within the trial records themselves, her inquisitors tried to paint a negative picture of the young Frenchwoman, and frequently mentioned her choice of clothing, specifically her choice to wear men's clothing, as a means to discredit her. Connotations of gender and gender transgression appear interspersed throughout these records as well. Whether this was because it was unusual for women at the time to present themselves as male, or if it was because

of the religious pertinence to her case, this essay will determine the exact role her clothing played in her persecution. To better illustrate how her clothing impacted her case, it is important to understand the world that she was living in, and how her actions challenged the assumptions that the Inquisitors presiding over her case had of her. First, the Hundred Years War will be briefly described as well as how Jeanne was involved. Then, a short analysis of the historiography surrounding Joan of Arc, her clothing and motivations will be included. In addition to works written about Joan, there will also be works regarding gender roles in Europe through this time period, costume history and a short look at women donning men's clothing in medieval hagiography. Finally, Joan's trial records and correspondences will be examined to discern if her clothing had a major effect on the outcome of the trial. In light of the evidence presented in the primary sources and through analyses of historians, this paper will aim to prove that her clothing played the largest role in her persecution.

To better understand Joan's case and trial, we must first look at her military involvement in the Hundred Years War. This war was a conflict that lasted from 1337 to 1453 on who would have the ability to rule over France. The war was fought between the French forces of the House of Valois and the English forces of the House of Plantagenet.⁵ By 1428 it seemed that the Dauphin, the soon to be crowned Charles VII of France, and his cause of keeping France in French hands was lost. To the French, "the English appeared invincible, their continuing victories proof that God was with them."⁶ In the same year, it would appear that Jeanne of Domrémy had received holy messages from God and the Saints Michael, Catherine and

Margaret, telling her that it was her holy mission to “raise the siege of Orléans and have Charles, whom she calls her king, crowned, and should drive out all the adversaries of the kingdom of France.”⁷ In May, when Jeanne first went to visit the Dauphinist stronghold to appeal to him about her cause, authorities there were less than impressed, however, by January, she returned and was sent by the presiding captain to meet Charles VII.⁸ When she finally stated her case, the Dauphin's council saw nothing wrong with her ambitions.⁹ Theologians had questioned her about her intentions and Charles “found nothing but good in her’ when raised with the issue of Joan wearing men's clothes without finding it an offense”, which would have been considerably uncommon at this time period.¹⁰ Her time with the military ended when Anglo-Burgundian forces captured her in a skirmish that was part of the Siege of Compiègne.¹¹ When it came time for the trial, Charles VII, whom Jeanne had supported and fought for his coronation, only a few months before her capture no less, was nowhere to be found. He offered no words to help her case whatsoever.¹² It was said that he wanted to avoid getting dragged into a heresy trial because he had a slight reputation for keeping shady characters around his court.¹³ To illustrate the sinister people Charles VII surrounded himself by, one only needs to look at his closest associates within his inner council. There was a poisoner and wife murderer, who was dragged from his home and drowned, but only after requesting that his right hand be cut off “which he had pledged to the devil.”¹⁴ There was Le Camus, another who had his hand removed because of associations with the devil, there was the Satanist and a child-murderer Marshal Gilles de Rais, and the murderous

La Trémoille “whose sole concern was to acquire as much money as possible.”¹⁵ Even Charles VII himself was interested in “forbidden astrology and prophesy, a taste which seriously worried his confessors and attracted charges of heresy.”¹⁶ All this to say, that when Jeanne's trial broke in 1430, any association between her and the king would “impugn the king of France: Since he owed Joan his crown, the legitimacy of his authority would be thoroughly tainted if she were found guilty.”¹⁷

Many scholars and historians have been fascinated with Joan's case, even authors like George Bernard Shaw and Mark Twain have been captivated by her heroism. A great deal of the historiography and studies on the life of Joan of Arc tend to focus on Joan as a witch, Joan as a gender-non-conforming person, Joan as an idolator and more. Her clothing has also taken hold as an avenue of study in her life story. However, a great deal of the literature on this topic tend to analyze this aspect of her trial through a highly gendered lens, even suggesting that she had a different gender identity and was comfortable exploring that with her chosen appearance. While this could potentially be the case, it is difficult to prove because of the lack of primary source evidence discussing her gender identity as being anything other than female. By the same token, it is impossible to look at her case without examining how gender could have biased it, as her actions and background made this a very unique situation to begin with. The purpose of this essay is to argue the contrary to the gender-based explanations previously provided to explain her motives. Instead, it will be looking at the effect and outcome of the action of wearing men's clothing, and analyzing her own explanations through her stated beliefs rather than modern ones ascribed

to her case. Very rarely are Joan's explanations substantial in literature on the topic. She states her case simply enough, she was motivated to do the things she did because it was God's word that commanded her to do so.¹⁸ While her motivations were clear, a fact which she repeated many times, the act of wearing this clothing deeply disturbed her English inquisitors, but posed no problem to the French Dauphin and his theologians.

There are many books and articles studying her life and exploits, the first entitled *Joan of Arc: Her Story* by Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin. The book paints a broad and thorough picture of her history and is separated into three parts, I: The Drama, II: The Cast of Principal Characters and III: Issues and Images, all of which contributed to a factual and accurate portrayal of the young soldier which includes a scholarly analysis, breakdown of key figures in the drama, and a breakdown of imagery associated with Joan such as her various names, her suit of armour, the rusted sword "hidden behind the altar of Sainte-Catherine-de-Fierbois"¹⁹ and many more such anecdotes. This work is essential in the study of Joan of Arc because it is well researched, thoughtful, the arguments are backed up with primary source quotations, and the authors provide a compelling narration of the life and times of Joan of Arc.

A second book that performs a broad sweep of Joan's story is *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle*, a source-book compiled and translated by Craig Taylor. In this book, he includes various scholarly interpretations of her case, all of which are supported by primary source evidence. Taylor touches on the gender question but more along the lines of how her gender presentation was a threat because she usurped male power by adopting tradition-

ally male roles.²⁰ He points to the larger scholarly debate about Joan's gender identity without calling it into question, similarly to the arguments presented in this essay. He makes the argument that her transgression was dangerous because "she acquired a level of power usually denied to women of all the highest social status and directly challenged the assumption that all masculine duties are forbidden to women."²¹

Furthermore, the book *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* by Valerie R. Hotchkiss describes the act of cross-dressing in Medieval hagiography (the study of the lives of the Saints), and highlights how the lives of the female saints who participated in this act were revered and could be considered quite famous. The author studies Joan's case through a gendered lens but in the end concludes that Joan did not represent someone who might be gender non-conforming but rather a woman who was not constrained whatsoever by Medieval gender roles and constructs, all of which the author concludes without calling into question the ever-popular interpretation of Joan's gender identity.²² Again, the links to the larger debate are present here, and present a similar case to Craig Taylor's arguments stated above. Hochkiss' argument is particularly pertinent considering she studies the conflict of cross-dressing among religious women. Within Joan's chapter, the author cites written works from Joan's 15th century contemporaries on the topic of her clothes. The testimonies included the soldiers she led into battle to the poet Christine de Pizan, all of which contribute to Hotchkiss's analysis of gender in Joan's case.

In addition to these books, many scholarly articles address the topic of clothing as well,

namely "Clothing and Gender Definition: Joan of Arc" by Susan Crane. In this text she considers the intrinsic links between gender and clothing. Crane looks at Joan's case not only through a gendered lens but one of sexuality as well to try and determine the kinds of assumptions and associations with femininity the tribunal connected to this case, and how they undoubtedly influenced the outcome.²³

Other articles like "Gender Transgression as Heresy: The Trial of Joan of Arc" by Daniel Grigat and Gregory Carrier deal with her heresy charges spurned from her clothing. They argue that her charge of heresy should be taken seriously and that by wearing men's clothing she proved herself to be heretical. For them, the charge of gender transgression was a direct threat to the institution of the church and thus was the background for the severity of her condemnation.²⁴ What is interesting about this article is that it provides an analysis from an interpretation that may have been held by the Inquisitors rather than from Joan's perspective.

In addition to these poignant books and articles, many others that use Joan of Arc's examples to illustrate larger narratives, various chapters in books that focus on the Hundred Years War and related topics. These historiographical works serve a larger purpose in breaking down Joan's story, trial, and most importantly, her legacy. The contribution this essay makes to the existing literature is by adding to the ongoing gender and clothing debate that consistently defines how historians interpret Joan's trial. However, this interpretation focuses on the act of wearing men's clothing, independent of her gender identity.

Of course, there are two very different images of the Maid of Orléans. The image that

the inquisition depicted her as, and the one which she tried to convey. It is clear to see that history remembers her as a woman ahead of her time, possessing a fiery personality and fierce loyalty for her God and King. Of her legal enemies, the lead prosecutor Bishop Pierre Cachon would become her biggest adversary, he had "led the negotiations for her ransom and now claimed the right to act as her judge because she had been captured within his diocese of Beauvais."²⁵ The trial would be marked by Joan's "obstinate refusal to submit herself to the Church militant and insistence on her ability to interpret her own revelations",²⁶ as part of her overall charge of heresy. By the time the trial was fully underway, Cachon and the inquisition soon started to realize that the heresy charge itself was a weak one, and they had to look to other avenues of her case to find something to be able to use as evidence of this crime. The easiest marker of this heresy were visual cues. Joan's choice to wear men's clothing was the strongest argument because it could be seen that in no way was she trying to present herself in ways that women would in the 15th-century. This is summed up in a point by Cachon at the readings of the Articles of Accusation. In the 13th Article of Accusation the prosecutor says:

"To attribute this to the bidding of God, His holy angels and virgin saints, is blasphemy of Our Lord and His saints, setting at nought the divine decrees, infringement of canon law, the scandal of her sex and womanly decency, the perversion of all modesty of outward bearing, approbation and encouragement of most reprobate examples of conduct"²⁷

This passage illustrates the recurring themes in the trial when it comes to clothing, and it clearly shows that she was disadvantaged from the beginning because of assumptions about how she poorly represented womanhood. This instance also brings up the idea of gender transgression for the first time, which is in essence, the idea that if you present anything other than the expected appearance and attitudes of your birth gender, you would therefore be transgressing against it, and that was against God. For the inquisitors to be linking gender transgression equalling the breaking of God's laws, which indicates heresy meaning that Joan was dangerous, seems clear with the arguments that they present.²⁸ However, at the beginning of her journey, when she was examined by theologians in Poitiers, and they ruled in favour of her being able to wear men's clothing,

"Pope Pius II (1405-1464) says in his Memoirs that her male clothing was a potential point of difficulty, they ruled in their official conclusions that "nothing improper has been found in her, only good, humility, chastity, piety, propriety, simplicity"²⁹

The vast difference in opinions here can be explained by allegiance, the theologians were working on the French side of the conflict, meanwhile the inquisition was on the English side of things. It is more likely that her clothing became an excuse to prosecute rather than a simple political trial, as the language recorded in the court transcripts by her inquisitors would indicate. Early on in her military campaign, before the trials began, many scholars wrote about the controversial topic, and it seems that most were indeed

unopposed to her actions, and they use theological evidence to support their own arguments. For instance, the work *De quadam puella* published in 1429 by Heinrich van Gorkum, discusses the pros and cons of the clothing issue.³⁰ In support of Joan's cause, the author cites examples of "biblical precedents that sanction her dress as well as her role as a politically active woman,"³¹ by using the story of the Virgin Mary, Deborah, Esther and Judith who "delivered their people from military threats"³² as illustrations of his point. However, as a point of contention, he brings up the biblical laws of Deuteronomy 22:5³³ and First Corinthians 11:6³⁴, laws which Joan directly breaks.³⁵ Similarly, another treatise from 1429 by Jean Gerson entitled *De mirabilia victoria cujusdam puellae* argues that she doesn't break Deuteronomy 22:5,

"claiming that 1) the law of Deuteronomy proceeds from a legal code that has been superseded by the new law; 2) the law against transvestism is a moral law directed only against indecent clothing; and 3) the law does not forbid masculine clothing in extraordinary cases"³⁶

While scholars could debate the legality of her cross-dressing for years, the English already had an image of Joan in their heads. She was "a disciple and lyme [limb] of the Feende, called the Pucelle, that use fals enchauntments and sorcerie"³⁷ to gain the power she used to defeat the English many a time. It made sense for them to fear her, especially when she sent a letter to the English stating

"Duke of Bedford, who call yourself regent of

France for the King of England, the Maid asks you not to make her destroy you. If you do not render her satisfaction, she and the French will perform the greatest feat ever done in the name of Christianity."³⁸

It seems very likely that the inquisition wanted to persecute her for her actions and "in a way that would entail both dishonour and discredit for Charles VII. Cauchon would fail in his task if he did not find a way to comply with these instructions."³⁹

At the actual trial we see the inquisitors ask her about practicing witchcraft, ask her about carrying a mandrake on her person and if she ever visited the Fairy Tree in her hometown of Domrémy, all of which she denied, and they moved onto other questions.⁴⁰ Out of her seventy articles of accusation, fifteen of them relate directly to her garments, which proves that it was a charge they circled back to frequently. Many of her responses are dismissive, she plays off clothing as being a small thing, and in one instance when being questioned she responded that they should check the trial records from Poitiers, obviously referring to the first time she was interrogated by theologians in Charles VII's circle in 1429. When the trial began, the prosecution realized early on that they lacked "any other solid charge, her judges eventually would rely on her cross-dressing as the visible basis for the accusation of heresy."⁴¹ Which would in turn lead to questions like "Is it God who commanded you to wear men's clothes?"⁴² which prompted the answer

"The clothes are a small matter, the least of all things; and I did not take up men's clothes on the advice of this world. I neither put on

these clothes nor did I do anything except by the commandment of God and his angels."⁴³

An answer which indicates her strong spiritual preferences and emphasizes her motivation being to please God as her reason to wear men's clothing. Susan Crane sums up this concept nicely in her article "Clothing and Gender Definition: Joan of Arc" by saying that "as the institution is most concerned with regulating sexuality, the church in varied manifestations - its authoritative texts, its sacraments, its courts of inquisition - encourages gender performativity [...] through the performance of their ongoing repetitions of its norms"⁴⁴

Alternatively, Joan saw herself very differently than the inquisitors did. In the letter she penned to the King of England in 1429, her opening lines state her intention well,

"King of England, render account to the King of Heaven of your royal blood. Return the keys of all the good cities which you have seized, to the Maid. She is sent by God to reclaim the royal blood, and is fully prepared to make peace, if you will give her satisfaction; that is, you must render justice, and pay back all that you have taken [...] She comes sent by the King of Heaven, body for body, to take you out of France, and the Maid promises and certifies to you that if you do not leave France she and her troops will raise a mighty outcry as has not been heard in France in a thousand years. And believe that the King of Heaven has sent her so much power that you will not be able to harm her or her brave army."⁴⁵

She viewed herself as a saviour of the Kingdom

of France, and to do that she had no choice but to wear men's clothing, because it was what God told her to do. She wore men's clothing in all aspects of her daily life, when going to battle, and when she went to church to receive communion, for which she was accused of blasphemy.⁴⁶ To give a better illustration of what she was wearing that was so scandalous, Article 12 in the articles of accusation describes which garments she received:

"Jeanne put off and entirely abandoned woman's clothes; with her hair cropped short and round like a young fop's, she wore a shirt, breeches, doublet, with hose joined together and fastened to the said doublet by 20 points, long leggings laced on the outside, a short mantle reaching to the knees, or thereabouts, a close-cut cap, tightfitting boots and buskins, long spurs, sword, dagger, breastplate, lance and other arms in the style of a man-at-arms, with which she performed actions of war and affirmed that she was fulfilling the commands of God as they had been revealed to her."⁴⁷

In contrast to this, a typical dress for a woman in the 15th century would consist of a base layer of a chemise, stockings and garters and a long-sleeved dress fitted over layers of petticoats and a kirtle.⁴⁸ Engaging in battle wearing the standard clothing for women at the time would have been foolish, as it was in no way suited for that type of activity. Naturally, Joan would have donned men's clothing anyway, even though she believed God had urged her to. The King even deposited 100 livres for a suit of armour to be made specifically for her, which for the time, was a very large sum of money that would have been equivalent to two years wages

for a man-at-arms in the French army.⁴⁹

Her clothing also played another role, as a protection of the corporeal self. When she was imprisoned during the trial she faced plenty of new challenges. Her use of men's clothing rendered her sexless, and she wanted to protect herself from lustful advances from the men she was leading.⁵⁰ Her namesake, La Pucelle, emphasizes her virginity, something that was important to her, but would also validate her holy mission. She then used the clothing as a way to protect her body, virginity, and thus protect her mission. When she was in prison during her trials, she was not only threatened with rape from one of her guards, but a man, Aimond de Macy reports that he "tried several times, playing with her, to touch her breasts, trying to place my hands on her chest, which Joan would not suffer, but pushed me away with all her strength. Joan was indeed an honest woman, as much in her words as in her deeds."⁵¹ What emphasized her fear was no doubt the fact that during both of these threats she was "in quite a dark room, chained and with iron legs" and that

"at night she slept with two pairs of irons on her legs, attached by a chain very tightly to another chain that was connected to the foot of her bed, itself anchored by a large piece of wood five or six feet long. The whole contraption was fastened by a key."⁵²

It was also noted that she had no way of walking without assistance. These examples highlight the practical element that her clothes served, for her own protection.

At the end of her trial, Joan was offered a cedula which stipulated that she would never

carry arms, wear men's clothing or cut her hair short. Yet, Joan was illiterate, and when she asked for someone to read her the contents of the document, she was told by the prosecution to sign it anyway.⁵³ Begrudgingly she did, but not without leaving a signature from her time in the army, a simple cross.⁵⁴ Her punishment was imprisonment, and if she served the sentence she would most likely have been able to return home. Except, when she was thrown into her cell, guards revoked the women's clothes that she had in her possession and gave her a sack with her men's clothes inside. Having no other way to clothe herself, she became a relapsed heretic.⁵⁵

Did her clothing represent a performative aspect of gender? Her testimony would point to the answer of that question being no. She repeated herself time and time again about how it was God's will, and that she wouldn't do anything that he wouldn't command of her. Her attempts at preserving her virginity through the desexualization of her gender as well also point to how they served a pragmatic purpose for her, and it wasn't for some farce. She truly believed that it was what she was meant to do.

This idea mimics a similar argument made by Caroline Walker Bynum in her book *Holy Feast*, *Holy Feast* on the larger debate of women's spiritual expression in this time period. Bynum argues that historians have tried to ascribe modern explanations to the religious actions of medieval women, stating that "this modern focus may tell us more about the twentieth century than about the Middle Ages."⁵⁶ She presents the argument that the reasons medieval women were giving, with regards to poverty, fasting and chastity, weren't substantial to the modern historian, and that

alternate explanations had to be created instead of using the women's own explanations about their motivations.⁵⁷ This points to similar arguments made by Joan's historians about gender and sexuality as the source of her motivation, rather than her own spiritual inclinations to which she makes frequent mention. With her words and comments relating to her own spirituality provided amply within the trial transcripts, this essay draws on a larger discussion about women's spiritual beliefs and spiritual expression being taken and explained in a historic context, instead of modern ones.

What happened next was her execution by being burned at the stake. Testimony from witnesses of the event are recorded as being sympathetic to the young soldier, one observer even stating that "I wish that my soul were where I believe this woman's soul is."⁵⁸ Joan's story and testimony left an indelible mark on history and she has certainly not been eradicated, as the English had hoped. It is clear to see from the overwhelming evidence that her clothing was what indeed sealed her fate. The inquisitors overseeing her case already had preconceptions about her, and they knew that she represented a threat to the established order of the church and the legitimacy of the English forces. Meanwhile, Joan herself believed in God and her mission and would stop at nothing to see it completed. Where others saw her clothes as a threat, she saw her divine power as something that should be feared, the angels were on her side. Joan challenged assumptions about gender and ability, with her actions being attributed to the work of demons and the devil, instead of her own sheer determination. Some years after her death, a series of Nullification Trials took place, and the result was that a considerable number of judicial

practices were broken and corners were cut, so the original trial was recanted and she was once again considered innocent. She became sainted in 1920. If her words had any impact through the sands of time, she leaves us with a parting message:

"If I am not [in his favour], may God put me there. And if I am, may God keep me there, for I would be the most sorrowful woman in the world if I knew that I was not in the grace of God."⁵⁹

She was a woman ahead of her time, and died far too young, but she left the world believing in her cause. Not only was it a holy cause inspired by God, but it was one she took pride in accomplishing herself.

Endnotes

1. Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York, 1998), p. 220.
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4. Douglas O. Linder, "The Trial of Joan of Arc", <<http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/JoanArcAccount.htm>> (2017).
5. Desmond Seward, *The Hundred Years War* (New York, 1978), p. 16.
6. Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 214.
7. Fordham University Internet Sourcebooks, Translated into English from the Original Latin and French Documents by W.P Barrett "Medieval Sourcebook: The Trial of Joan of Arc", <<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/joanofarc-trial.asp>> [From the Tenor of the Articles of Accusation, Article 10]
8. Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 216.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
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11. Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, p. 59.
12. Desmond Seward, *The Hundred Years War* (New York, 1978), p. 220.
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14. Desmond Seward, *The Hundred Years War* (New York, 1978), p. 214.
15. Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 215.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
17. Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York, 1998), p. 106.
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20. Craig Taylor, *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle* (Manchester, 2006), p. 46.
21. Taylor, *Joan of Arc*, p. 46.
22. Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York, 1996), p. 68.
23. Susan Crane, "Clothing and Gender Definition: Joan of Arc", *Journal of Medieval Studies* 26:2 (Spring 1996), p. 297.
24. Daniel Grigat and Gregory Carrier, "Gender Transgression as Heresy: The Trial of Joan of Arc", *Past Imperfect* 13 (2007), p. 188.
25. Craig Taylor, *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle* (Manchester, 2006) p. 22.
26. Daniel Grigat and Gregory Carrier, "Gender Transgression as Heresy: The Trial of Joan of Arc", *Past Imperfect* 13 (2007), p. 188.

27. Fordham University Internet Sourcebooks, Translated into English from the Original Latin and French Documents by W.P Barrett "Medieval Sourcebook: The Trial of Joan of Arc", <<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/joanofarc-trial.asp>> [From the Tenor of the Articles of Accusation, Article 13]
28. Craig Taylor, *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle* (Manchester, 2006), p. 46.
29. Robert Wirth, Virginia Frohlick, Margaret Walsh and Allen Williamson, *Primary Sources and Context Concerning Joan of Arc's Male Clothing* (2006) p. 12.
30. Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York 1996) p. 53.
31. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, p. 54.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
33. "A woman shall not be clothed in a man's cloak, neither a man shall use a woman's cloak; for he that doeth these things is abominable before God." From the Wycliffe Bible.
34. "And if a woman be not covered [For if a woman be not veiled, or covered], be she polled; and if it is foul thing to a woman to be polled, or to be made bald, cover she her head" From the Wycliffe Bible.
35. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, p. 55.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
37. Letter sent to the King of England, Henry VI by the Duke of Bedford. Excerpt from Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York 1996) p. 56.
38. Fordham University Internet Sourcebooks, Translated to English by Belle Tuten "Medieval Sourcebook: Joan of Arc: Letter to the King of England, 1429" <<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/joanofarc.asp>>
39. Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York, 1998) p. 126.
40. Fordham University Internet Sourcebooks, Translated into English from the Original Latin and French Documents by W.P Barrett "Medieval Sourcebook: The Trial of Joan of Arc", <<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/joanofarc-trial.asp>>
41. Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York, 1998) p. 117.
42. Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, p. 114.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
44. Susan Crane, "Clothing and Gender Definition: Joan of Arc", *Journal of Medieval Studies* 26:2 (Spring 1996), p. 298.
45. Fordham University Internet Sourcebooks, Translated to English by Belle Tuten "Medieval Sourcebook: Joan of Arc: Letter to the King of England, 1429" <<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/joanofarc.asp>>
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48. Carl Köhler, *A History of Costume* (New York, 1963), p. 165.
49. Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, p. 224.
50. Robert Wirth, Virginia Frohlick, Margaret Walsh and Allen Williamson, *Primary Sources and Context Concerning Joan of Arc's Male Clothing* (2006) p. 5.
51. Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, p. 128.
52. Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York, 1998) p. 104.
53. Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, p. 131.
54. The cross was used by Joan when she sent military dispatches that were meant to be ignored. It was in the case that the document fell into the wrong hands, and it would thus provide false intelligence on the actions of her army.
55. Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York, 1998) p. 132.
56. Caroline Walker Bynam, *Holy Fast, Holy Feast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987) p. 1.
57. Bynam, *Holy Fast, Holy Feast*, p. 1.
58. Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, p. 137.
59. Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, p. 112.

The Ripper Stalks at Night: Transition into Fictional Character

Kara Kanning

Introduction

Jack the Ripper was a notorious killer who stalked the streets of Whitechapel at night, preying on women he could overpower and mutilate during the year 1888. The killings of five prostitutes were declared as the Ripper murders and transpired between August 31st and November 9th. The emergence of Jack the Ripper in London was during the nineteenth century when the city and citizens were divided. London's East End and its inhabitants had a negative reputation of being the home of criminal activity and overcrowding. The West End was where the rich, upper-class lived and criticized the East End's lower-class for being poor and living in the slums. This class structure marginalized and criminalized the inhabitants of the East End.¹ It was no surprise that targeted the dangerous and seedy streets of Whitechapel, an area whose residents had lost their humanity.² The London newspapers were able to capitalize on the social divide of this time to paint a picture of a killer who was both mysterious and monstrous, and in doing so, reporters helped to instill fear among the women of Whitechapel. Due to the extensive newspaper coverage, Jack the Ripper came to symbolize the monsters that individuals of this era read about and feared, as he was the real monster that hunted at night. The newspapers' portrayal of Jack the Ripper as half-beast allowed for citizens to compare him to Jekyll and Hyde, thus transi-

tioning him into the fictional realm, which in turn inspired authors like Bram Stoker to create their own stories with an unsolved mystery.

Women and children fear of Jack the Ripper

The public's obsession with the murders led to an enhanced form of journalism that increased citizens fear and interest in the murders. The murders mostly affect the women in the Whitechapel area and, as a result, their fascination and trepidation with the Ripper murders grew. The murders drove women to stay indoors at night and only run errands during the day.³ Some women who worked on the streets did not have the opportunity to stay in at night and many would leave Whitechapel, while others left the East End altogether. However, the women who could not leave the East End or Whitechapel went back to working in the street in groups of two or three until they felt comfortable going alone.⁴ The fear that was evoked within the women of Whitechapel was accentuated by newspapers that painted Jack the Ripper as the monster that individuals read about, and the unsolved case, began to take on a new life within the tabloids. The children of the East End area began to refer to Jack the Ripper as a new boogeyman that inspired the games that young boys played to scare little girls back into their houses.

Indeed, boys in the working-class were encouraged in the Tunbridge area to intimidate and torment girls by playing on the idea of Jack the Ripper. They would do so by saying, "There is a man in leather apron coming soon to kill all the little girls in Tunbridge Wells" or "Look out. Here comes Jack the Ripper."⁵ The taunting of the boys was enough to send the girls running back to the safety of their homes. The messages conveyed by the boys and newspapers was that girls were

meant to stay in the comfort of their homes, as the night was fought with many dangerous creatures and activities not meant for women and children. The taunting of the little boys inspired by Jack the Ripper demonstrates his transition from a real-life murder into a fictional character that portrayed the message that society or women needed to follow in order to be safe. The press characterized the transition of Jack the Ripper into the realm of fiction, by characterizing him as a half human beast that walked among us during the day and prowled at night.

Newspaper description of Jack the Ripper

The description of the killer by the newspapers had a significant impact on individuals' understanding of Jack the Ripper. The Ripper murders were a matter of class division and social unrest, but his portrayal as "man-monster" or "half-beast and half-man" sensationalized the murders.⁶ Describing Jack the Ripper as a man-monster reflected the idea that a human-being could not perpetrate such a horrendous crime. The compelling allure of the killings grew as the tabloids emphasized that the half-beast, half-man was still at large.⁷ The citizens of London feared each other because they did not know who the notorious killer could be. During the day, the killer walked and interacted like a normal human-being, but during the night, his barbaric instincts took over which drove him to kill and mutilate the bodies of his victims. The tabloids embellished every aspect of the killings to hook their readers into wanting to know more, often making Jack the Ripper seem like a nightmare rather than a real person. Jack the Ripper was never caught, which added to the mystery of the case that the newspapers exploited to turn the

murders into a horror story. The tabloids pushed for comparison of Jack the Ripper to a performing play which not only influenced London's view but was significant in his transition into a fictional character of the night.

Comparison of Jack the Ripper to fictional works

Two years before Jack the Ripper made newspaper headlines a play was being criticized for its depiction of upper-class violence and integrity. The play *The Strange Case of Jekyll and Hyde* focused on the idea that a respectable man can give into sadistic impulses in the darkness, and this is reflected in the character Hyde and his nocturnal attacks.⁸ The play centered around a doctor named Jekyll who was creating a potion to get rid of the darker self within a person. Jekyll decided that he would test the experiment on himself, and it went wrong. Instead of getting rid of his darker self, he allowed it to surface at night, becoming the character Hyde. When Jack the Ripper surfaced in the public's eye, he was compared to the characters of Jekyll and Hyde. The Ripper murders brought to life these two characters, the respectable man during the day but a monstrous killer at night, and this comparison scared the citizens of London.⁹ Even though the Ripper murders emphasized the realness of Jekyll and Hyde, it was the newspapers that strengthened Jack's ties to the illusory realm of fiction. The comparison between Jekyll and Hyde and Jack the Ripper allowed for newspapers to promote the fictional aspects of the Ripper murders to make them more compelling to their readers. The connection between the two allowed social commentators to constantly report seeing "Hyde like creatures on the streets of London", while referring to possible Jack the

Ripper suspects.¹⁰ This dynamic between the play and press shaped the image of the Ripper, and it allowed for the Whitechapel horrors to catch the attention of other prominent authors.

Fictional authors began to recognize Jack the Ripper as being a "shadowy and wilful" figure, causing novelist like Bram Stoker to mimic their fictional character after Jack the Ripper. Bram Stoker published *Dracula* on May 26th, 1897. This novel has many parallels, connecting the character *Dracula* to Jack the Ripper. Five women had been killed by Jack the Ripper and *Dracula* had five brides, whom he attacked and mutilated. Another similarity, as a result of the fear that Jack the Ripper and *Dracula* caused, Van Helsing and his friends formed what Stoker calls a "vigilance committee", while in Whitechapel, a group called the Mile End Vigilance Committee patrolled the streets.¹¹ The two vigilance committees were intended to protect its citizens from the monster that attacked them at night. Although there is a significant number of other connections that can be made between *Dracula* and Jack the Ripper murders, the two mentioned are to show the association with *Dracula* and the corrupt version within the newspapers of Jack the Ripper.¹² The use of Jack the Ripper to create new stories finalized his transition into the fictional realm, as it allowed authors to memorialize the Ripper murders as a nightmare instead of reality. Jack the Ripper is still a mystery that is unsolved, and authors in present day can use that to their advantage in telling the story of the Whitechapel murders. Conclusion

The Ripper murders were reality for the citizens of Whitechapel, and women began to fear going out at night alone. The murderer remained uncaught; therefore, he became fictionalized

within the tabloids, making him more a terrifying story than reality. Little boys in the East End areas would use the idea of Jack the Ripper to impose fear in little girls to teach them a lesson that they belong in the safety of their homes because the night is a dangerous place to be. The Newspapers emphasized the inhumane qualities of the killings which allowed for a comparison of Jack the Ripper to fictional characters like Jekyll and Hyde. Other authors, such as Bram Stoker, based their stories and characters from the Ripper murders which finalizes Jack's transition into the fictional realm. Due to the fictionalization by the newspapers and authors, Jack the Ripper is portrayed as a horror story used to scare people. Today, the idea of Jack the Ripper is still captivating as the killer is unknown and there are books and movies that have been created to tell different perspectives. The idea of Jack the Ripper changed individuals' interpretation of monsters as he incorporated London's worst read fictional fears. The role of the newspapers had a major function in making Jack the Ripper seem more like a fictitious character in a terror tale rather than a real-life killer because it emphasized the inhuman qualities of the killings by relating it to other fictional characters.

Endnotes

1. Kevin, Swafford, "Among the Disposable: Jack London in the East End of London." *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 48, no. 2 (2015): 15-40.
2. Kevin, Swafford, "Among the Disposable: Jack London in the East End of London." 17.
3. Judith R. Walkowitz, "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 3 (1982): 543-74.
4. Judith R. Walkowitz, "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 564.

5. Judith R. Walkowitz, "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 563.
6. Judith R. Walkowitz, "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 544.
7. Judith R. Walkowitz, "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 550.
8. Sara A. Winter, "'Two and the Same': Jack the Ripper and The Melodramatic Stage Adaptation of Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde." *Nineteenth Century Theater and Film* 42, no. 2 (2015): 174 - 194
9. Sara A. Winter, "'Two and the Same': Jack the Ripper and The Melodramatic Stage Adaptation of Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde." 177.
10. Nicholas, Rance, "'Jonathan's Great Knife': 'Dracula' Meets Jack the Ripper." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 30, no. 2 (2002): 439-53.
11. Nicholas, Rance, "'Jonathan's Great Knife': 'Dracula' Meets Jack the Ripper." 441-446.
12. Nicholas, Rance, "'Jonathan's Great Knife': 'Dracula' Meets Jack the Ripper." 444.

When the Inquisition faced an Apostolic Church: The Cathar Movement

Corentin Messina

Christianity's history is filled with persecutions, martyrdoms and divisions. Martyrdoms were not always caused by non-Christians, sometimes it was Christians themselves who created martyrs. The reason for this paradox, is that Christianity should not be referred to as Christianity but as Christianities. Why Christianities? Simply because Christianities seem to be the proper terminology by looking at the pluralism of Christian movements today and in the past.¹ Often the dominant movement considered the other as non-Christians or heretical. During the Middle Ages, one Christianity known as the Holy Roman Catholic Church, or the Church of Rome, was dominant in Western Europe. The word Catholic means universal² and was used in the Early Church era to refer to Christianity as a whole. During the 12th and 13th centuries the Church of Rome faced heretical movements. One of these, known as the Cathars, was established in Northern Italy and in the *Pay d'Oc*.³ The Cathars faced crusades and persecution for almost one century before fading away. This research will look at the reason for which this heresy stood firm for almost one century after the Albigensian Crusade. I argue that Catharism was able to survive and withstand persecution for almost a century because it was at the stage of an Apostolic Church in its religious development. By Apostolic, this paper argues that Catharism was

an organic movement, such as the Early Church was under the Apostles.

Evidence for the Apostolic dimension of Catharism can be found through an anthropological reading of primary sources such as Inquisitorial records from Southern France. The steps that this research will use to argue its thesis are: a short overview of the historiographical works about the Cathar Church and the justification for the use of an anthropological framework, an explanation of the theory of a religious movement's development, the justification of the term an Apostolic Church for the Cathar movement through the comparison of the Early Church under the Apostles and what we know from the Cathars. This step will be done through primary sources like the New Testament, Inquisitorial documents such as *Ms 609: Bernard de Caux's interrogation register, manuscript 609 of the Toulouse Municipal Library*.⁴ Secondary sources about the Early Church's organization under the Apostles and sources about Catharism in Southern France from 1208 to 1321 CE⁵ like *Inquisition et société en pays d'oc (XIIIe et XIVe siècles)*⁶ and Julien Théry's works.⁷

Historiography

The Cathar movement has been studied by scholars from different fields of study. Although some acknowledge the existence of an organized heretical movement, others do not. The partisans for the existence of an institutionalized Cathar Church based their theory on the so-called Cathar council of St-Felix. Recent works of this theory are: the thesis advanced by Theofanis L. Drakopoulos of the University of Geneva in his work *L'unité du Bogomilo- Catharisme d'après quatre textes latins analysés à la lumière des sources byzan-*

tines⁸ and Piotr Czarnecki's work published in 2018, *The Cathar Myth of the Fall: A Late Invention of Independent Heretical Exegesis*.⁹ However, due to the controversy regarding the basis of its argument: the authenticity of primary sources. Some of these primary sources are known as *The Acts of the Cathar Council of Saint-Félix de Lauragais 1167*¹⁰ and other texts that appears in *the Niquinta Charter*.¹¹ A majority of scholars disregard this theory. The side of the non-organized Cathar Church follows Moore's argument of a persecuting society creating heretics. These historians include Julien Thiéry, Mark Gregory Pegg, Jean-Louis Biget, among others. They argue that in its quest for unity and uniformity, the Church of Rome created heretics. They say that the Gregorian reform triggered the rise of anti-clerical movements like Catharism.¹² These scholars do not deny the existence of heretical movements, they deny the existence of a unified Cathar Church. They think that the idea of a Cathar Church was created by the tendency of clerics to categorize and generalize beliefs of so-called heretics.¹³ In other words, it only existed in the imagination of Church intellectuals, but not in reality, not on the ground.

In both cases, the two camps look at the social and cultural construct of the places filled with heresy. Carol Lansing in *Power and Purity Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy*¹⁴ argued that any study of the Cathar movement should be done in its local context. Lansing, therefore, examined the case of the town of Orvieto. She concluded that the popularity of the Cathar faith was due to the social context of municipalities. In Orvieto's case, the fight for autonomy from Rome may have been crucial in the success of Cathar missionaries. Davidson argued a similar idea in his article

Montaillou: Cosmology and Social Structure.¹⁵ The article focusses on Montaillou's case and tries to understand the social construct of the locality. Roach in *The Devil's World: Heresy and Society 1100-1300*¹⁶ argues that the success of the Cathar faith is not so much in its dogmas but rather the behaviours of its clergy. For Roach, it is not simply a matter of social class or for the quest of autonomy, but a quest for a true religious experience. It is what Paul also concludes in his article *La parole hérétique d'après le registre de Bernard de Caux et Jean de Saint Pierre (milieu du XIIIe siècle)*.¹⁷

The study of Catharism is thus divided into two camps; the camp that adheres to the theory of a non-existent Cathar Church vs the camp that believes in an institutionalized Church. This research with its thesis disagrees with both camps. The Cathar movement was at the stage of the Apostolic Church in its lifetime of a religious movement.¹⁸ The methodology used impacted greatly the theory advanced by this work. The methodology framework to look at the Cathar movement was an Anthropological approach to history. It is through the analysis of everyday life, the rituals, and the texts left to us that the concept emerged.¹⁹ Without an anthropological perspective, it would have been impossible to come up with the concept of an Apostolic Church. The reason for this kind of framework instead of any other is the following.

Methodology

Often the Marxist framework of studying history had been applied to Catharism. The choice of this paper not to follow that old trend among historians is for these specific reasons. Marxist historians published various works on the Cathar matter. They viewed them as the marginalized

and the oppressed class. This research does not follow this method and does agree with Lutz Kaelber's attack on the Marxist theory while studying the Cathar movement in *Weavers into Heretics? The Social Organization of Early Thirteenth-Century Catharism in Comparative Perspective*: "the twelfth-century Cathars attracted men and women from heterogeneous social backgrounds. As Herbert Grundmann, perhaps this century's most distinguished scholar of medieval heresy, has emphasized, no class, group, or profession can be singled out."²⁰ The works of recent scholars have been from an anthropological perspective. This perspective of history is the study of societies and culture. It relies on records from various sources about the life and beliefs of the people. This demonstrates the so-called defeat of the Marxist historical narrative about heretics.

What do I mean by Apostolic Stage of Life?

In the *Pays d'Oc*, the Inquisition faced a movement that was rooted in the landscape of the country. Cathars were never the majority, but constituted a considerable minority of around 5 to 8 % of the population, depending on the town or village.²¹ The heresy was connected to particular families and was highly present in the local nobility and the merchant class. Even among non-followers, the "perfects" (Cathar priests) were highly regarded by the population.²² It was not institutionalized and it was not created by the Church in its search of heresy. It was a movement led by local people with a high moral standards and an ascetic way of life. Because of these characteristics respect and fascination was the usual response. It was the beginning of a new Church, with its own rituals and its hierarchy. The Roman Church did

act at the right moment to stop the evolution of this movement into a concrete Christian denomination. The Cathar movement was at the stage of the Apostolic Church in its lifetime of a religious movement. To understand this concept, we need to define the terminology, Apostolic Church.

The Apostolic Church

The Apostolic Church was the Early Christian Church under the Apostles. It was the Jesus movement. Followers still considered themselves as Jews, but Jews that follow the true messiah, Jesus-Christ. It was an organic movement. It is only later on, after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, that one can observe Christianity becoming its own religion. Its communities were scattered all over the Mediterranean Sea. Connected through family ties and the teachings of the Apostles. Apostles and their closest followers traveled from community to community to encourage and teach. They are the foundations of the Church. The terminology of word Apostle means messenger²³ and it was solely what they were, messengers of God to this world. Richard A. Horsley, in his book *Sociology and the Jesus Movement*, says that we must assume that the Apostles and their closest companions were itinerant preachers if Paul and Barnabas were itinerant preachers. He based himself on the Biblical narrative of the *Book of Acts*. Which gives the accounts of the early days of the Early Church and the conversion of the Apostle Paul. Three years after Paul's conversion to Christianity, on his route to Damascus, when he returned from the desert, Paul arrived in Jerusalem and at first was not able to encounter the first disciples of Jesus. Horsley concludes from this narrative that these disciples were out of town. They were

probably following what Jesus asked them to do in Mark 3:13, going through the country to preach and heal.²⁴ These itinerant preachers were known among the scattered communities, they were the link between each of them. Communities wrote letters to Apostles, letters about current challenges and questions considering any aspect of life. The Apostles as leaders of the movement wrote back to them with answers. The New Testament is composed of these letters. The Apostle Paul's letters are letters sent by him to these communities established in Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, and Rome. These letters address different aspects of the Christian life. Through the reading of these letters, one can have a picture of the challenges and beliefs of these communities. The role of an Apostle was to establish communities and also to strengthen them as illustrated by the Epistles: *Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John, Jude, and Revelation*. This is why Paul the Apostle, wrote instructions and teach them the true faith through his visits and letters.²⁵ The Apostle has divine authority in Christianity.²⁶ The organization of the Church under the Apostles can be resumed according by Richard A Horsley as follows: having three actors, the wandering charismatics (the Apostles), the sympathizers and Jesus-Christ as the central figure.²⁷ The wandering charismatics were the spiritual authorities and the sympathizers the ones who offered material support for the cause.²⁸ Under the Apostles, there was no guide of rituals and dogmas to follow nor was there is no canon law. There was no need to have one since the believers had the Apostles for

that.

"Certainly, the Pauline church did not represent an enthusiastic chaos of charismatics; there were leaders and there was order in it. However, Paul did not react to conflicts by building up authority and ministry..."²⁹

This does not mean that there were no rituals and dogmas in the Early Church. There is just no higher authority other than elders established by Apostles or Apostles to decide orthodoxy. By saying orthodoxy, I mean the official and general accepted beliefs of the religious group.³⁰ It is also, the explication for this behaviour among Apostles to be wandering charismatics. By traveling to each community of believers, they reaffirm the beliefs they held. It was a way to maintain orthodoxy. Therefore, if one could go back in time and attend a religious gathering with the church of Corinth and then with the churches of Galatia, he would find differences. Differences that are cultural, but not theological. It was an organic movement because any leaders in these communities were established by the Apostle that founded the community. In that way, it ensured the theological correctness and loyalty of the local leader to the movement. Loyalty was not to an organization like being loyal to the Church of Rome for example. It was to a movement, a cause, the proclamation of the Kingdom of God on earth. The Apostolic era in Christianity ended when the Apostles died and therefore the Church became less and less organic.³¹ The movement became an organized religion, with written dogmas and a clear hierarchy. The proclamation of the Kingdom of God on earth was still the goal. However, the goal had to be attained via a frame and it needed to be supervised. Thus, theol-

ogy was developed, argued, debated and decided upon the foundation left by the Apostles, the foundation upon the rest of the Church is built upon (Ephesians 2:20). They left their writings, Apostolic writings (which are part of the New Testament), writings that have their Apostolic authority within it.³² It is a normal process in the development of a religious movement, from an organic movement into an organised religion. Once the foundation is built you cannot put another foundation on it. You build on it, you develop the construction, it continues, it does not stay at the same stage. It is what happened with the Christian Church. The process is long and filled with internal fights about doctrinal points of view.

The Cathar Church

While looking at primary sources like *Ms 609: Bernard de Caux's interrogation register, manuscript 609 of the Toulouse Municipal Library*³³ and other documents left to us by the Inquisition, the comparison between the Cathar movement and the Apostolic Era of the Church seem plausible. Through the lens of Inquisitorial records, one can see the respect and even the sainthood emanating from the perfects according to the population. It was not their theology, their vision of the world or their speeches that convinced people to worship them and to perform their rituals, it was their livelihood.³⁴ They were living with apostolic principles, they were considered saints, more so than any priests of the Church of Rome. The Inquisitorial records often refer to the terminology "adoratio" for reporting a specific gathering of the followers with a perfect.³⁵ In the Inquisitorial document: *lat. 12856 de la BnF, procedure de 1286-1287*, the ritual "adoratio" is the dominant ritual written down in

all accusations and depositions of the document, 287 times.³⁶ This numbers demonstrates that it is the ritual most done by people. The terminology "adoratio" is powerful. It means that the perfect was almost worshiped by his followers. It shows a deep respect and affection from the people participating in Cathar gatherings toward these holy men and women.³⁷ They were known as having no interest in material affairs. On the other hand, it was known that the priest of the Church of Rome will often do services for his interest. Therefore, the Cathar perfects were considered more trustworthy. It was widely known among the locals that the Cathars were good Christians. Maybe their beliefs were not orthodox, but that was not important for the common people. In *Le catharisme populaire selon le Registrum inquisitionis de Jacques Fournier (c. 1318-1325)*, Sylvain Poirier shows a solid example of this attitude:

"Un témoignage de cette bienveillance et de cet amour vient de Pierre Maury. Il y est présenté comme suit: «*Il n'est pas nécessaire que vous envoyiez quelque chose au monsieur (l'hérétique) pour qu'il vous aime davantage, car il vous aime autant d'une manière ou d'une autre, car, que vous ayez seulement entendensa de Be, il vous aime plus, parce qu'il vous a, que si on lui donnait toute cette maison pleine d'orlo*»! Il serait difficile de trouver un témoignage analogue, dans cette région, pour le clergé catholique."³⁸

Their reputation and their apostolic way of life enable them to create and maintain a web of connection between scattered communities in the *Pays d'Oc*. By Apostolic way of life I mean living

one's life like the Apostles. In other words, it means poverty, self-denial and preaching the word of God. They were not only living like the Apostles, but they also had a similar organization such as the one of the Early Church under the Apostles. There are no traces of any hierarchical structure in Inquisitorial records about it. Thus, the only proper conclusion that can be made is that it was an organic structure. A structure that only relied on relationships. The perfects were the messengers of God like the Apostles were and their mission was to instruct people on God's word. It very well may be the reason for their resistance for almost one century under persecution: The perfects traveled from village to village.³⁹

La vie pastorale est bien attestée et de façon à peu près régulière. (...) Les parfaits se rendent dans les villages auprès de leurs fidèles avec une certaine assiduité.⁴⁰ The perfects seem to never stayed at the same place for too long. They appeared to not have had a seminary, a church building, a monastery, a place where they could have stayed and flourished their ideas and formed other perfects. Instead they were constantly travelling through network of communications between the friend of so and so. They were messengers, dependent on the envoy and on the receiver: for food, for clothes, and for safety. Their life was similar to *the mission of the twelve* in the Bible as described in Matthew 10. In Matthew 10, Jesus sent his twelve closest disciples (Apostles) in Israel with the mission of proclaiming the word of God:

"(...) These twelve Jesus sent out with the following instructions: (...) You received without payment; give without payment. Take no gold, or silver, or copper in your belts, no bag

for your journey, or two tunics, or sandals, or a staff; for laborers deserve their food. Whatever town or village you enter, find out who in it is worthy, and stay there until you leave. As you enter the house, greet it. If the house is worthy, let your peace come upon it..."⁴¹

The Cathar perfects exactly lived that way. They lived a life of poverty, preaching and self sacrifice. Living through the generosity of their supporters. The only possible way this movement survive so long is solely based on the relationships they had with their sympathizers. One of the activities that is widely reported in the *Jacques Fournier's record* is having a meal with the perfects. It seems to have been an important part of the ministry of the Cathars. It only shows how well connected they were with the communities they ministered in.⁴² Performing rituals like; the *consalateum*, it is a ritual that is done for a dying sympathizer of Catharism. The ritual welcomed the dying person into Catharism, making him or her a perfect before his last breath.⁴³ The *eucharist*, a Christian ritual commemorating Christ's sacrifice, by eating bread and drinking wine,⁴⁴ even if the Cathars did not believe that Jesus actually died. And eating with their followers, and preaching.

The numerous mentions of rituals by the people interrogated by the Inquisition are tangible proof of the existence of this alternative religious movement operating in the *Pays d'Oc*. Studying the *Ms 609: Bernard de Caux's interrogation register, manuscript 609 of the Toulouse Municipal Library*⁴⁵ is often repeated, often the accused says that they worship or listen to the perfects when the perfect passed by. They always say that their first encounter with them was through a family member

or a friend. It was organic since the only way to get in contact with them was through a relationship. The Inquisitorial records therefore, proves that they survived for almost one century due to this unique reason: relationships. The perfects were truly the messenger of God to these local communities as were the Apostles in their time.

Conclusion

The debate upon the existence and resistance of Catharism during one century seems to be eternal. While there are no concrete and verifiable proofs of a structured Cathar Church, but tangible proofs of religious dissidence among segments of the population in the *Pays D'Oc* according to Inquisitorial records. The argument advanced by this paper may offer a moderate answer to this historic dilemma. Catharism cannot be denied and it cannot be affirmed as an alternative religious institution. Since it seems to never had attain this evolutionary step necessary for it as a religious movement. Catharism was stopped by the Church of Rome at the right moment. It was at its early stage of development. The Cathars were a minority, a minority that sustained theologically due to its perfects, these men and women of God. They were like the Early Church was under the Apostles leadership. An organic movement trying to establish its foundation. The foundation was established through relationship, through communication between scattered communities via messengers, via men of God. These men and women for the Cathar, traveled from community to community to proselytized, to strengthen and instruct them on God's word. It is the reason for the numerous reports of "adoratio", of house meetings, of *consalateum* performed before death by the

perfect on the dying follower, even with the risk for the family for repercussion due to persecution. The perfects were at first the messengers of a new religious movement and a new foundation for another Christian denomination. They appeared as being closer to God. Due to their simplicity and sainthood emanating from them. The locals did consider them with high esteem. However due to persecutions and other factors, they became the guardians of a dissident religious group instead of the founders of an alternative Christian Church in Southern France. The movement faded away due also to reform among the Church of Rome. The Church of Rome never became organic or less institutionalized. However, changes happened. They translated into the plurality of mendicant orders, priests living by Apostolic principles.⁴⁶ The Cathars were no longer the only leading religious life example among the commoners. Losing supporters due to persecution, the incompatibility of most of their beliefs with the dominant religious discourse and having no refuge resulted in the impossibility to grow and inevitably to the death of Catharism.

Endnotes

1. A variety of New Testament scholars, theologians and Church historians like Bart D. Ehrman and Holland Lee Hendrix (former president of the faculty and the Henry Sloan Coffin Professor of Divinity at Union Theological Seminary in New York City) agree on this terminology.
 2. Catholic means "universal."
- "Catholics Beliefs and Practices, Marks of the Church," Loyola Press A Jesuit Ministry, accessed date december 8, 2019, <https://www.loyolapress.com/our-catholic-faith/scripture-and-tradition/catholic-basics/catholic-beliefs-and-practices/marks-of-the-church>.
3. Southern of modern France.

4. Ed. Jean Duvernoy, "Enquête de Bernard de Caux et Jean de Saint Pierre, copie vers 1260 du 4ème livre et de partie du 5ème livre pour le Lauragais (1245-1246, 1253). Ms 609 Biblio. Mun. Toulouse," <http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/listetexte.htm>.
5. It is when the last Cathar in Southern France was burn at the stake.
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When the moonlight hits your eye: *That's Amore*

Anthony Arata

Throughout European history, the night was always portrayed as something dangerous, obscure, evil and where the devil dwells. However, there is one European nation that saw the night as a romantic realm, a place of scandal and lust. This place is known as Venezia or better known as Venice. Surprisingly enough, Venice's concept of the night as being a realm of romance and lust will soon spread throughout Europe and slowly become a common notion of how we should see the night. After all, we still consider to this day having a picnic under the stars as being romantic or having someone serenade to you while you are up on your balcony or even the concept of taking someone out on a date all originated from Venice. I will thus argue that the reason as to why this concept of the "*romantic night*" originated in Venice and was first conceptualized by Venice is due to its geo-location, it's culture and it's political and economic structure. Thanks to these characteristics this permitted Venice to break the common notion that night is a dangerous place into a romantic one making it part of its common culture which we can still observe to this day.

To begin, Venice is a very particular city. It is built on 118 islands connected by over 400 bridges in order to cross its hundreds of canals.¹ Compared to other Medieval or Renaissance cities, Venice has no walls, no gates and is only accessible by ship. When it came to security Venice was vulnerable towards outsiders but was also unsafe for

those who were living in it. During those times, people didn't know how to swim. So at night time, it was particularly dangerous walking out since with one wrong turn and you could fall in the canal and drown as a result. In consequence, Venice had to not only worry about crime and prostitution occurring at night but also had to ensure its citizens don't drown and ships don't smash and collide against the homes and canal structures. As a response, in 1128 AD under the order of the Doge Domenico Michiel, the first street lamps were installed throughout all major routes.² As time went on, more and more lamps and torches would be attached on homes and posts to light the way for the wayfarers as well for the trading ships. With that, the streets and canals had now become much safer as well accessible for the public. Citizens of Venezia could head out and have a night stroll with no problem, enjoying the night landscape and be able to participate in nightly activities. 700 years before Paris started to light up its street, Venice was already doing it since the medieval ages. Due to this, the concept of the night being obscured and dangerous couldn't be applied any more for Venice. As a result, the concept of the night was adopted into Venetian culture and consequently began to transform and influence Venetian customs.

Also, as the dangers of the night scattered away thanks to illuminating the pathways, Venetian culture and customs had now the possibility to spread and be part of the night time. Since the Venetians were a very libertarian, romantic and ambitious culture they thus transpose these values into their concept of the night. An example of one of the most known and impressive results of Venetian culture occurring and interacting during

the night is the Venetian Carnival. The first-ever recorded carnival happened in 1162 AD and from then on, the Carnival became bigger, crazier and most of all more scandalous.³ Since Venezia was often hated by the Papal state due to its "immoral" practices and it's an association with the enemy which was the Ottoman Turks it had transformed the night as a way to protest against the church and throw away normal convictions.⁴ This is why the Carnival became so scandalous. The day time was reserved for morality, order and virtue while the night was free, sexual and disorderly. During the Carnival, it was custom to wear a mask to hide one's identity and personal agenda since the night was lightened up and therefore the mask replaces the obscurity that the night used to provide. As "tradition" men would often cheat on their wives for one night and would woo their crush by serenading to them below their balcony. Since Venice had little land to expand from, many homes and public buildings adopted these mini terraces which would later be called balconies. This practice of partying at night and wooing girls below their balconies soon spread throughout Europe. A perfect example, the play *Romeo and Juliet* written by William Shakespeare's refers to house parties and its famous monologue occurs with Juliet on her balcony and Romeo below. Venetians had therefore influence and changed the perspective of night and have spread their idea of it, all away across to England. The night was therefore portrayed as free, vulnerable and a romantic space. It shouldn't be feared but instead, be tempted since it permitted freedom to express oneself as well indulge with your guilty pleasures.

Lastly, Venice's relation with the night has to do a lot with how its society was structured.

Compared to other nations, Venice was a republic specifically a merchant republic. Due to this, wealth was more evenly distributed compared to a feudal kingdom permitting people to participate more in leisures as well have a greater amount of people being part of the aristocracy.⁵ As a result, Opera houses and theatres in Venice grew exponentially since a grander public could afford to see and finance these work of arts.⁶ This consequently, leads to the concept of "dating". The term dating and the concept we practice today only really appeared during the late 19th century. However, the dating that we observe in Venice throughout the Renaissance followed a very similar principle but just like throughout Europe you would be partnered with someone that would bring in wealth or benefits to the family. However since Venice was a merchant republic there were a lot of possible suitors and since there was no need to secure for an heir, the aristocracy was freer to pick and choose who they wanted to marry. This is where many women would gang up two to four of her suitors against one another in order to be able to pick who was fit for her hand in marriage. Similar to how birds attract a mate, these men would wear their most lavish clothing, pay her expensive gifts, and get to know as much as possible about her to show that he would be a good husband for her. After a few of these dates or spontaneous gestures, the girl would pick her man with the approval of her father and they would thus be later engaged. This for Renaissance Europe was very modern and question the notion of romance which was previously based on chivalry. This was more about impressing and making a spectacle. The night was used as an intimate setting, as well as a perfect environment to express and display

one's love. To display affection to someone wasn't just reserved for the day time, it was also practiced during the night and since most people would have sex during that time, this display of love in the night would be displayed as more passionate and engaging. This is why in many Venetian literature and plays, the romance in these stories shift from occurring in the daytime to nighttime with lavish balls and night walks in the garden as the setting. In conclusion, Venice has a rich and complex culture, and the night time is part of it. Seeing it as a setting for romance as well indulging in every guilty pleasure shaped and formed Venetian festivities and mentalities. The night was quickly conquered with the introduction of lighting up the streets and as a result with it's liberating mentality and flexible political system as well being a very wealthy state Venice was able to spread it's concept and views on night all across Europe and even to this day leaving an impact. In a time where today the night has re-transformed into a scary and insecure place especially for women, perhaps it is time to bring back some light and security and look for back at the Venetians as to how they made this obscure, evil setting into a romantic one full of love.

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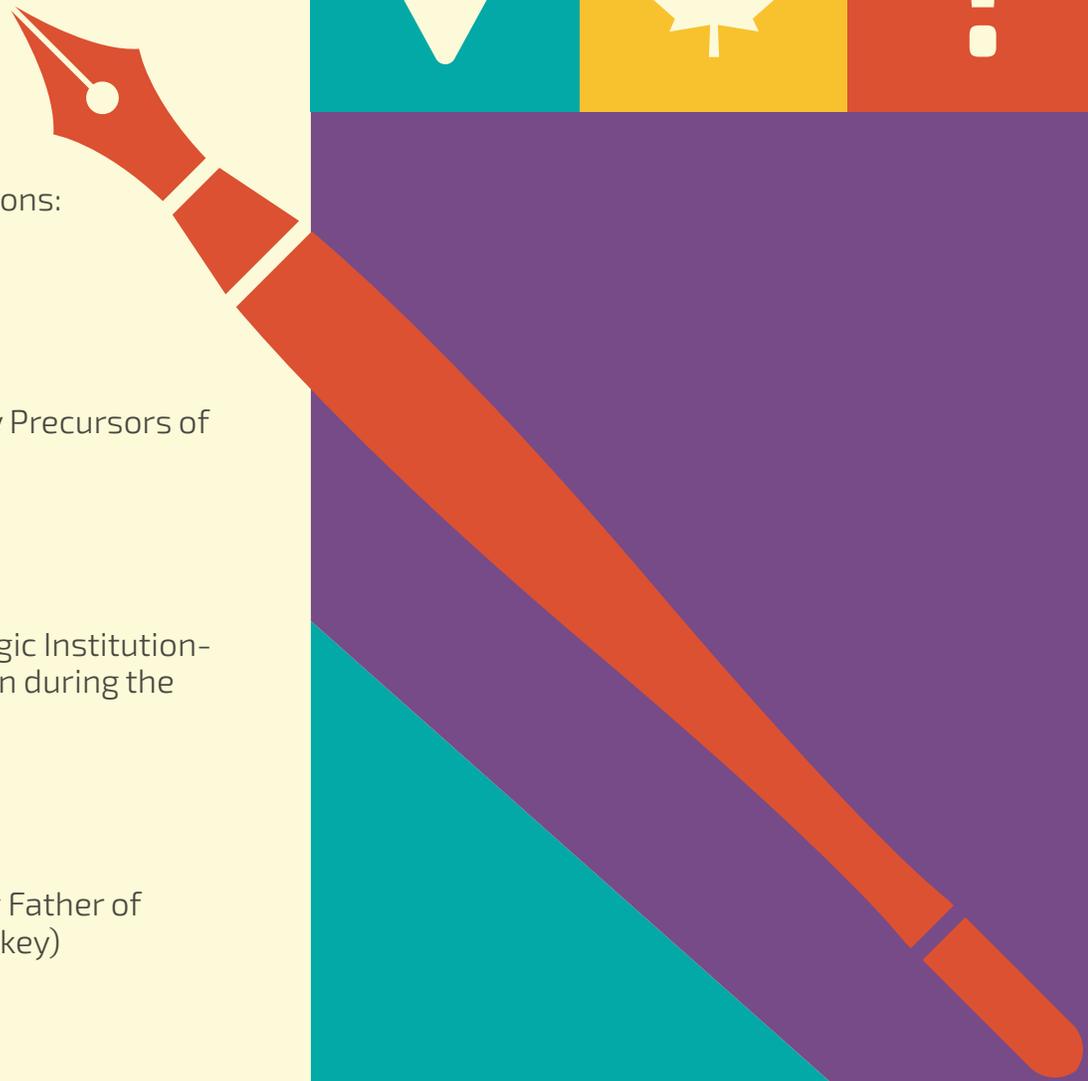
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The Bayeux Tapestry

Jennifer Fawcett

There has been a protracted discussion about the original patron of the Bayeux Tapestry since its rediscovery in the 18th century. The most prominent theory puts Bishop Odo, William the Conqueror's half-brother as the patron.¹ In particular, the dimensions of the tapestry would indicate that it would have been made to be displayed at Bayeux Cathedral,² so as Odo was Bishop of Bayeux, this may be the most obvious explanation. Hicks also suggests that the depictions of Odo give him a great deal of precedence in the events shown, indicating that the patron is being portrayed in favourable light. However, Hicks also suggests that Edith Godwinson, sister of King Harold, may be the commissioner; citing her intelligence, education, superior knowledge of needlework, and her determination and success in remaining in William's favour.³ However, in contrast, there are always English claims to the patronage and even the production of the tapestry. For example, Wright suggests it was made by men, and laymen at that, in England for a Norman-French client and it was never even destined for Bayeux.⁴ He critiques the view of others such as Grape, by highlighting the fact that embroidery of this tapestry required a knowledge of military tactics and shipbuilding. He even attributes the somewhat eccentric colour choices in the tapestry to colour blindness in the embroiders, induced by head trauma in battle. This assertion, while confident, seems rather far-fetched. The more commonly accepted explanation remains that

Odo is either the patron or it was given to him, for example, by a donor like Eustace.⁵ Many historians also agree that the work was completed in England, rather than in France or elsewhere.⁶ Whatever the origins of the work, Grape explains that "Between the lines, as it were, the intention is clear; the varied sequences consistently prompt the viewer to follow and approve the actions of the Norman Duke as well as the contributions made from time to time by Bishop Odo."⁷ Even such a broad discussion of the possible provenances of the tapestry is enough to illustrate the difficulty in obtaining a clear picture of its purpose. Therefore, while the Bayeux Tapestry has value as an important source of information about the time period, it is perhaps more important to understand what kind of collective/national memory it evokes. Understanding the tapestry in the light of something akin to an epic poem or *chanson de geste* allows a more useful discussion and ensures that an appropriate amount of weight is placed on the tapestry as historical artifact. This draws forward a picture of the tapestry as an object of heritage, which supports a stronger direction in decisions about how to display and share it with the current generation.

The symbolic value of the tapestry as a narrative device has clearly been established. However, its use as an accurate representation of all facets of 11th century life has often been accepted without critique. Michael Lewis cites Grape, among others, as those who have been "incautious" and have not "demonstrate[ed] their awareness of its limitations."⁸ Lewis emphasizes that it is not a neutral, objective or even necessarily factually accurate rendition of past events and elements of 11th century life. He gives an excellent

example of the kind of contradictions the tapestry produces when he discusses the depiction of some of the armor and weapons in the piece. He argues that at times the depictions are drawn from "real life" or something that the artist may have seen; and at other times, they are borrowed from accepted depictions that were available to the artist. Many of these depictions came from Carolingian art forms or were heavily stylized.⁹ By contrasting the way shields appear with the way the helmets are embroidered; he illustrates this distinction quite neatly. The helmets in the tapestry bear a "close correspondence between the design in the Tapestry and the known form of the contemporary artefact"¹⁰ that is, the artist was drawing from life. In contrast, the round-shields are depicted in profile as having a convex shape, when all archaeological records of shields at the time show that the round-shields were flat. With this simple example, he shows the complexity of interpreting the Tapestry – and reminds the viewer that at times a "circular logic" is employed, where archaeological "incomplete items are interpreted in the light of the Tapestry, and the resulting reconstructions are then seen to reinforce the authority of the Tapestry as an archaeological resource."¹¹ It is possible to use this same idea to understand the purpose of the tapestry as a whole. Rather than seeing it as a factually accurate representation of a chain of events, it is more useful to compare it to other art forms of its time to understand its storytelling power. This is an important aspect of understanding the role the tapestry has played. Similar to a Homeric epic, fact and legend seem intertwined.

Suzanne Lewis has written extensively of the "rhetoric" of the tapestry. She argues that

rather than continually debating the facts or even the artifacts represented, it is more useful to discuss the role the visual narrative plays in creating a sense of meaning about the Norman conquest and the Battle of Hastings. In this way, the tapestry would be seen more as an epic or panegyric, praising the character and actions of William. As a result, we are better able to "assess its extraordinary power to move and compel audiences to become complicit in the visual argument."¹² The fact that the tapestry was created at the behest of a patron would also support this idea. This narrative of recent history functioned as a structure for explaining how things were now in their rightful place, rather than a strict recounting of facts. This helped people to understand that the current state of affairs was in order, validating the invasion of William and showing how Harold was not worthy of the crown. She explains this by saying that "one of the major projects that the Bayeux Tapestry shared with Anglo-Norman history was to make the past present in order to show that the past already belonged to a coherent new order of feudal values."¹³ This could be seen to be achieved by depicting the scenes of William's preparation to invade, and the actions of Harold over in England. In explaining the effectiveness of the tapestry in drawing the viewer into the story, she likens it to a *chanson de geste*, explaining that "[l]ike the epic *gestes*, the Bayeux Tapestry was not intended to be read but declaimed, but it was not a *jongleur* who made the rounds from castle to castle but the visual narrative itself."¹⁴ The viewers in the elite courts enjoying the embroidered pictures and reciting the short texts in Latin that hover above the images absorbed the story, and it was added to their collective memory.¹⁵ The celebration of the

tapestry becomes a celebration of the ideology of the times, in a form of collective effervescence. In appreciating and displaying the work in ritualized manner, the viewers experienced a strong link between memory and identity. The tapestry thus forms part of a rich heritage.

There are two examples provided by Wolfgang Grape that help to support a similar idea. The first is regarding certain motifs that appear which have been variously interpreted. One such motif is that of a woman and child exiting a house that been set on fire.¹⁶ It seems an odd motif to include as it depicts an act against two defenseless individuals. This depiction would stand out as critical of the Normans, when all the others are praising. However, if it is viewed as a warning against disloyalty to William, it makes more sense. This is an example of the kind of "values" that Suzanne Lewis mentioned. The second instance is regarding repair work that was undertaken in 1818, in England. Grape explains that

The problem here is the arrow, which is another restoration by the Stothards, based on existing needle holes. The account by William of Poitiers, more or less contemporary with the tapestry, gives no details of the way in which Harold died in battle, but later, twelfth-century English sources mention that he was struck in the eye by an arrow.¹⁷

This restoration is problematic in that it shows a conflict between two different memories of events, one Norman, one English. In the case of this repair work, a perhaps more English slant on Harold's death has been included for whatever reason. This example also reinforces the idea that the tapes-

try was created and manipulated to serve ideas in the collective memory. This kind of surreptitious reworking would also evoke another of Lewis's ideas, in that this form of narrative depicted in "the Bayeux Tapestry can be seen as a way of mediating tensions created by a culture uncomfortable with the naked bias of propaganda, at one extreme, and the allegorical interpretation demanded of free-standing fiction, at the other."¹⁸ However, when it comes to propaganda, this unusual piece of embroidery has certainly been appropriated for this aim by another, more recent, French leader.

Sartore explains another element, that of religious imagery, represented in the tapestry which illustrates the aim of shaping the narrative to suit certain aims. She describes three images that explain how William presented the conquest of England as a holy war, namely:

the oath taken upon holy relics by Harold [that William would be the king of England, which Harold ostensibly broke after Edward the Confessor died], the hand coming down from a cloud in the scene showing Westminster Abbey, and the alleged papal banner given to William by the pope as an endorsement of his cause.¹⁹

The layering of these religious overtones upon the scenes gave William's quest a moral meaning and objective that further served to solidify the ideology and values of the societal landscape after the Conquest. It allowed a justification of the Battle of Hastings, the death of Harold and the overthrow of the English. Napoleon, in 1803, wished to use the narrative of the tapestry to validate a similar objective – his desire to invade England and

take control. He styled himself as a reincarnation of William the Conqueror and brought forward a picture of the English as liars and dissenters who were plotting to assassinate him. Hicks eloquently explains that “[t]he Bayeux Tapestry proved William's triumph: Napoleon selected it to predict his own.”²⁰ He publicly displayed the tapestry to a society who were very much caught up in superficial imagery, strongly enthralled to him and yet who needed to be convinced of his confidence in succeeding in what was actually a campaign that did not have a certain outcome.²¹ Again, the “flatness and insistently prosaic character”²² of the tapestry allows a multiplicity of messages to be interpreted from what seems to be factual material. In speaking directly, as it were, to the viewer through an intensely visual method, a sense of meaning about one's society in the place of history was reaffirmed.

This rather cumbersome *jongleur* will soon leave its resting place at Bayeux and visit England in 2022. The tapestry represents collective memory of a major historical event, but it is important to understand that this is a shared collective memory – with a point of view from both England and France. Knight discusses the oblique and intensely political gesture of Macron's announcement that the tapestry would be loaned to England while repairs were carried out at Bayeux Cathedral.²³ While this is an extremely practical rationale for the loan, he also details how this kind of loan has been attempted before but never brought to fruition. He explains how it is strange that England, shown as the losers who must assume French rule, feel so connected to and protective of this art piece. As an anecdotal example of this kind of proprietary feeling, the pro-Brexit politician, Nigel

Farage, has often been seen sporting a tie that represents scenes from the Bayeux Tapestry. In the context of Brexit, Knight offers the following suggested interpretation of the loan from France:

By the time the tapestry arrives, in 2022, some of this will be resolved, but Macron's gesture, summoning shared blood, was enough to demonstrate that the U.K. will never escape its European fabric. [...] For the English, the tapestry will always represent the dilemma of how to rub along with our closest allies and oldest enemies across the sea: to live under their rules, or to go it alone.²⁴

While the particulars of the loan remain to be worked out, the display of this venerated artefact and the excitement surrounding it proves to illustrate the heritage value of the work, and the power of narrative that it still commands. It also recalls an intrinsic link between England and France; as it is known for its sympathetic representation of the Anglo-Saxons, has been understood to have been produced in England under Norman patronage, and represents one of the clearest representations of the tangled roots of the two countries from times past.

Understanding its purpose as a visual narrative that represents collective memory will be key in making the loan a successful and memorable collaboration between France and England.

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Ebola, West Africa, and the Response of the United Nations: 2013-2016

Cameron Kirkey

Introduction

This research essay examines the response of the United Nations to the Ebola epidemic in West Africa between 2013-2016. The Ebola public health crisis, a humanitarian catastrophe focused on Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, resulted in the loss of more than 11,300 individuals. Five major research questions lie at the centre of this paper: which U.N. agencies, key individuals, task forces, and committees were tasked with working to eliminate the Ebola epidemic?; did the U.N. work to secure the support of, and collaborate with, other international organizations, regional actors, and nation-states in this effort?; what concrete actions (medical, cultural, economic, political) in West Africa were initiated by the U.N. to arrest the outbreak and spread of Ebola?; did the response of the U.N. evolve over time, and if so how?; and, were the collective efforts of the United Nations successful in assisting West Africa in eradicating or significantly containing Ebola? This essay argues that despite a slow and uneven start by the United Nations' World Health Organization (WHO) in addressing the outbreak, transmission and treatment of the Ebola virus outbreak in West Africa, it – along with other U.N. agencies and partner organizations – was ultimately very effective at containing the disease and treating people who were impacted by the virus. Research for this essay includes an array of primary sources (princi-

pally United Nations publications), and secondary source materials including scholarly books and journal articles.

Understanding Ebola

To truly understand the U.N.'s handling of the Ebola epidemic in West Africa between December 2013 and 2016, it is first necessary to understand the disease. The virus initially emerged in the Republic of Zaire (now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo) and modern-day South Sudan in 1976, when two separate outbreaks emerged simultaneously.¹ In Zaire, a village named Yambuku is where one of the first two outbreaks occurred; it was physically located close to the Ebola river, which proved to be the place-based inspiration in naming the Ebola virus. Despite its relatively recent discovery and diagnosis by medical science, it is believed that the Ebola virus has existed long before its initial discovery. Scientists have since studied hundreds of different kinds of animals in Africa in search for the host of the Ebola virus, but have yet to properly identify its source to this very day – currently, prevailing medical research believes that bats play a key role in the transmission of the disease, and that primates such as gorillas, chimpanzees, and other species closely related to humans are involved. This has never been scientifically proven, as the virus is classified as a “dead virus,” meaning that the virus vanishes from the body once the infected subject is deceased. Indeed, while Ebola is usually regarded as one central virus, there are actually six different variations of Ebola; five of which cause disease to humans while the remaining strain only harms animals such as primates and pigs.²

The symptoms exhibited by humans

infected with Ebola make it one of the deadliest and most feared diseases in the modern world. It can result in high fever, chronic diarrhea, regular vomiting, aches and pains throughout the entire body, internal and external bleeding, and if not successfully treated, death. These symptoms occur over a period of two to twenty-one days after someone has been infected with the virus, and it is at this point when a person can transmit and infect other people.³ The average rate of death for someone infected with Ebola is very high, estimated to be around fifty percent, though there have been localized outbreaks of the virus in the past that have had as high as a ninety percent fatality rate.⁴ Some of the most prominent factors associated with surviving Ebola is age, the state of an individual's immune system, and the kind of medical treatment an impacted person is given. Even if an individual manages to recover from Ebola, there are post-infectious symptoms that can re-develop in a person's body long after the virus dissipates. Officially titled, "Post Ebola Syndrome" in 2014, these features can include musculoskeletal pain, headaches, and ocular problems. Some cases have even left the person affected by the syndrome permanently blind. The Ebola virus is transmitted from person to person, or to various animals through the direct contact of bodily fluids, which range from blood, semen, vomit, sweat, etc. It takes only a small amount of this to infect people with Ebola. The virus is frequently spread in the field of healthcare workers, and amongst family members who engage in burial ceremonies for their dead who have been infected with the virus. This will be later illustrated to be one of the most significant contributing factors in explaining why the Ebola outbreak in West Africa became the larg-

est outbreak of the virus to date. One positive issue about contracting the virus, is that if you manage to survive the disease, an individual's body builds up anti-bodies that effectively kill any kind of Ebola within their system for a period of ten years. The Ebola virus is considered so dangerous that testing on it is usually done in a biosafety level four lab, which is reserved only for testing the worst diseases known to our world.⁵

Ebola, West Africa and the Response of the United Nations The outbreak of the Ebola virus in West Africa is believed to have started in early December 2013, when a small boy from Guinea contracted the disease from an unknown source.⁶ He soon passed away along with other people in his village. The virus spread rapidly to neighboring countries such as Sierra Leone and Liberia.⁷ These three nations would be the most severely impacted by the overall outbreak, in significant measure because all three countries have comparatively underdeveloped health care systems, and weak presiding central governments that emerged from long periods of instability and civil war.⁸ As WHO would later state, the countries "were poorly prepared for this unfamiliar and unexpected disease at every level."⁹ The virus continued to spread throughout the country and only got worse in the beginning of 2014. It is believed that a major reason why the virus was able to spread was through dead bodies. In Africa, there are many different customs when it comes to people burying their dead and dead bodies are very infectious sources from which the virus can easily spread to other people who have been in contact. In Guinea, it is believed that 60% of the infected cases came from these traditions.¹⁰ One dead body impacted with Ebola, for example, has the potential to

infect up to thirty people. Cases also emerged in non-African nations, such as the United States, as people travelled and encountered locals who were unknowingly already infected (but non-symptomatic) by the outbreak. Eventually, the geographic spread in West Africa, and the sizable increase in impacted individuals, led the United Nations to take action; an action, that some critics at the time, and after the crisis would recede in 2016, would call far too delayed.

The United Nations response to the disease was by no means immediate. Initially, the virus was not properly identified, and was considered a mysterious disease by the nations the outbreak was occurring in. On March 18, 2014, the WHO, MSF (also known as Doctors Without Borders), and other health organizations, launched a major scientific investigation in Guinea to identify the virus.¹¹ The delay in launching the investigation rests in the fact that Guinea did not report the virus for three months, and had not properly implemented laws from the International Health Regulations (IHR).¹² Again, this was in part due to the political, economic, and social instability the nation had faced for years. Four days after the initial launch of the investigation, the WHO declared it as the Zaire strand of Ebola virus - one of the five strands deadly to humans. At first, the WHO only labeled the spread of the virus as a Grade Two outbreak, a categorization that required only a moderate response. On the other hand, MSF, regarded as the "front-liners" in the fight against Ebola in West Africa, believed that the disease needed more serious attention. The countries of Guinea and Sierra Leone tried to downplay the severity of the outbreak for months, suggesting that it was under effective control and would be swiftly managed.

In late March, the Guinea government predicted that the outbreak would be defeated with "rapid and final success."¹³ The WHO was also criticized for downplaying the outbreak as well, when WHO spokesperson George Hartl told media reporters in early April 2014 that "this outbreak isn't different from previous outbreaks," and that it was "relatively small" compared to "previously known outbreaks."¹⁴

The WHO opted to place its regional office for Africa in charge of managing the Ebola virus outbreak, even though organizations such as MSF called for the organization's head office to lead a stronger response. This decision suggests that the WHO did not fully comprehend how severe the outbreak could potentially become. The WHO later responded to criticism by suggesting they were simply following protocol, in letting their African office handle matters, as the outbreak was only a Grade 2 threat. This initial approach to the outbreak contributed to an increase in cases of the virus over the following months, especially after the outbreak was upgraded to a Grade 3 emergency at the close of July 2014. The WHO would later admit that they did not properly engage the communities in Guinea early enough when it came to the disease. A WHO panel report later identified this as a critical factor, considering that community mobilization in previous Ebola outbreaks played a major role in the isolation of the disease.¹⁵ Eventually the downplaying of the virus stopped once the severity of the outbreak increased over time. By August 2014, the international community realized how significant the outbreak had become. On August 8, the WHO declared the West African Ebola outbreak to be a Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC) - this being only the third

declaration of a disease to be recognized as a PHEIC since its introduction as a scientifically recognized category in 2005, stating that “a coordinated international response” was necessary “to stop and reserve the international spread of Ebola.”¹⁶ Originally there were only four dozen impacted individuals in March; by August, there were over four thousand confirmed cases. The epidemic was, The New England Journal of Medicine observed, “in grave danger of spiraling out of control.”¹⁷ The WHO’s August declaration turned out to be a significant turning point in the fight against the Ebola outbreak, as it brought the severity of the disease to the attention of the international community (even though news of the virus had already been internationally circulating for months) and precipitated significant actions. This brought about, for example, initiatives by nations such as the United States and the United Kingdom to significantly increase funding for organizations such as WHO and MSF in an effort to combat the transmission of the virus and treat impacted populations, in an effort to quickly put an end to the outbreak before it spread throughout the international community. Further measures would be taken by the UN as well.

The United Nations now confronted a rapidly growing epidemic of Ebola the likes of which world had never before experienced. By the end of August, the United Nations realized that it had to address the epidemic in an unprecedented manner; Ebola outbreaks had previously occurred, but never at such a pace and involving such geographic scope. This was due to the fact that despite the WHO dedicating significant resources to the Ebola outbreak, and ultimately the full cooperation of the governments of Guinea, Liberia, and

Sierra Leone, the virus was still spreading on an unprecedented scale in West Africa as well as to outside countries.¹⁸ The Director-General of WHO now called upon the UN to bring its full capabilities to bear to aggressively tackle, control, and eliminate the epidemic in a quick, coordinated effort.¹⁹ The UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, issued letters to the international community for assistance, through the UN General Assembly, and the President of the Security Council. In early September, Mr. Ban moved to announce the establishment of GERC, the Global Ebola Response Coalition. This so-called coalition, consisting of multiple governments and international organizations within the UN, was established to create a network of shared information that all partner nations and organizations could utilize to assist the governments of the impacted countries.²⁰ With increased international attention, resources, and infected individuals, the United Nations General Assembly launched a dedicated mission headed by the WHO to tackle the Ebola virus epidemic in West Africa; a mission, termed the United Nations Mission for Ebola Emergency Response, more commonly known as UNMEER, that passed unanimously in the UN General Assembly in the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 2177 on September 18, 2014.²¹ “The passage of Resolution 2177,” Anna Hood writes, “was the first time that the Security Council had determined that a health issue constituted a threat to international peace and security.”²² The General Assembly adopted Resolution 69/1 the following day, affirming the UN’s commitment to defeat the Ebola outbreak, pledging its full support to UNMEER.²³

UNMEER represents the first time in the history of the UN that an emergency mission

was specifically created to stop the outbreak of a virus. Despite the UN having previously established health missions, this was the first time an emergency health mission was created. The UN, under the advice of the WHO, appointed Dr. David Nabarro as its special envoy on Ebola, and Anthony Banbury as the Special Representative and Head of UNMEER, on September 23.²⁴ The mission of UNMEER focused on six principles: (1) reinforce government leadership in the infected countries; (2) deliver rapid impact on the ground; (3) closely coordinate and collaborate with actors outside of the United Nations; (4) focus on tailored responses to particular needs of the different countries involved; (5) reaffirmed that WHO was in charge of all health related issues in the area; and, (6) to identify benchmarks for transition post-emergency and ensure that actions strengthen the systems they were supporting.²⁵ This guide was inspired mostly by the system and actions that were undertaken by GERC. Furthermore, UNMEER was tasked with five strategic goals: stop the outbreak, treat the infected, ensure essential services, preserve stability in the region, and to prevent any other potential outbreaks from blossoming in unaffected countries.²⁶ The WHO then moved to establish multiple thirty to ninety day target dates to come up with flexible, locally-focused and cohesive plans in order to best contain the further geographic spread and human outbreak of the Ebola virus. This model was very different model than those previously undertaken by the WHO, which would usually last for significantly longer periods of time. Given the severity of the outbreak and how rapidly people were being infected by the virus, these short planning target dates were deemed the best way to medically

address the evolving situation.

UNMEER began by setting up its headquarters and offices across different nations in West Africa. It then moved to establish clear and cohesive relationships with the impacted West African countries to ensure that they worked in a coordinated manner to combat the epidemic. Next, UMEER quickly moving to launch treatment and care centers in the most infected countries. The next step taken was to ensure that all of the infected cases were isolated from the general public, so as to limit the potential for further spreading the infection. Proper burial methods for individuals who had passed from the virus, in order to prevent their bodies from spreading, was also put in place.²⁷ UNMEER's decision making process was executive in nature, which is unusual for a UN mission, as such initiatives usually involve lengthy consultations between multiple departments and a need for a consensus.²⁸

Even though the numbers of people infected by Ebola would rise as months passed in 2014, UNMEER slowly began to see positive steps in controlling the outbreak. Outbreaks of the disease were becoming less frequent in West African nations, and greater public knowledge of the threat posed by Ebola was reaching rural communities.²⁹ The UN Mission started to see decreasing numbers of infected people by early 2015, suggesting that efforts to “flatten the curve” of people being infected were successful.³⁰ Over the next couple of months, UNMEER shifted its operations to areas where the virus was most rampant, in order to further restrict the scale of the outbreak, with various administrative sections of UNMEER either closing, or transferring select responsibilities to national governments or another UN agency.³¹ On

July 31, 2015, UNMEER would officially conclude, arguing that the worst of the virus outbreak in West Africa had been effectively contained, and that it was unlikely that another Ebola epidemic would materialize.³² By the time the outbreak officially ended in June of 2016, 28,780 people were infected worldwide, 11,323 people died, and approximately 17,000 people managed to recover from the virus, with over ninety-eight percent of the cases being centred in Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Liberia.³³

While the United Nations did spearhead the movement to end the Ebola outbreak in West Africa, they were not without help. By September 2014, the international community now recognized the severity of the outbreak and took action to aid the UN and combat the virus.³⁴ The US would send over 2,900 troops to Africa and give 750 million US dollars to help put an end to the epidemic. The EU would pledge 450 million Euros to those nations most affected by the Ebola epidemic, and various African organizations pledged money as well.³⁵ These responses were commended by the international community as it demonstrated a willingness and seriousness as to what nations and regional organizations could do to effectively combat the disease. Even Bill Gates committed 50 million dollars of his personal fortune to help end the outbreak. The World Bank also committed 400 million dollars to combat the Ebola crisis. Small nations such as Cuba sent over doctors and medical experts to help stop the epidemic. Even the private sector, in the form the Ebola Private Sector Mobilization Group (EPSMG), assisted when it came the Ebola outbreak. Founded by Arcelor-Mittal, a world-renowned steel company based in West Africa, the EPSMG was launched to align "private sector capability with the international

Ebola Response."³⁶ The African Development Bank Group would further contribute 125 million dollars to the four countries being most affected by the Ebola epidemic. In November 2014, China would significantly step up their support once cases started to spike, sending more people over to combat the disease. The United States chose to also focus on the construction of Ebola Treatment Units. Even though these collective efforts could have come earlier, they stand out as shining example of how the international community came together to fight for a similar cause. Furthermore, pressure from outside sources and the general public cannot be overlooked, as public opinion played a large in motivating nations, regions, and individuals to take action to fight the epidemic.

Even with the outbreak under control by 2015, serious social and economic damage to the nations of Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Liberia had taken place. "The impact of Ebola," the UN wrote, "goes beyond the thousands of lives lost to the disease. It is about the suffering of survivors, the hardships of families and the effects of the disease on entire societies."³⁷ Unemployment, along with food insecurity, increased during the outbreak; some 17,000 children were orphaned.³⁸ The economic implications were undeniable, estimates suggest that all three West African nations saw a decline of five percent in their GDP in 2015 alone, severely setting back the progress of each one. As the report *Recovery from the Ebola Crisis* points out, "Ebola is reversing development gains in West Africa."³⁹

Despite the largest epidemic of Ebola being officially contained, this did not mean that the virus no longer poses a threat. Since the end of the West African outbreak there have been, for

example, three other outbreaks that have occurred over the past four years. Instead of originating in West Africa, they have been located in Central Africa in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda.⁴⁰ One of the outbreaks in fact reached a point that the WHO declared it a Public Health Emergency of International Concern. These recent outbreaks infected less than twenty percent of the total number of people who were impacted during the 2013-2016 epidemic. These relatively low numbers can be attributed to the experience of the Congo and Uganda in previously dealing with Ebola – they, in other words, much more prepared than the West African countries when the epidemic occurred. The WHO also directed an earlier and more serious response in this case, given the lessons learned from the outbreak in West Africa. While the virus is treatable, there wasn't until recently a proper cure or vaccine. The United States has now developed a vaccine for the Ebola virus, which was used during the outbreak in the Congo, with over 90,000 individuals receiving treatment.⁴¹ Despite the fact that both the US and the European Union have approved use of the vaccine, it remains largely untested and it is not recognized internationally by the WHO or the international community as an approved vaccination drug against the Ebola virus.

The Efforts of the United Nations to Combat Ebola – An Assessment The response of the United Nations to the outbreak of the Ebola virus in West Africa between 2013 and 2016 evolved considerably over time. At first, this humanitarian threat was addressed principally by the WHO, with the main bodies of the United Nations not fully engaging nor took a critical look at the scope of the initial outbreak. The WHO, this paper argues, initially

regarded the outbreak as only a minor localized emergency, compared with what the virus would ultimately become in West Africa. It has been further argued that the WHO had initial difficulties mobilizing and partnering with the governments of the nations where the disease was quickly spreading; nations, characterized as politically unstable, in large measure owing to the fact that each had been in conflict with the other or had experienced civil war for decades. The WHO's work was further hampered by the national governments of Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone who purposely worked to downplay the overall severity of the outbreak to the general public, in order to prevent widespread panic and ensure that each nation would remain stable. As history has tragically demonstrated, these were merely fabricated lies by respective governments who were nowhere close to being adequately medically prepared to handle the kind of outbreak the West African Ebola Epidemic would become. The WHO would overtime gradually step up its efforts in the first half of 2014 in order to contain the virus, which was to no avail.

The WHO would eventually realize the severity of the disease and call upon the United Nations to take action in order to combat the virus on an international scale. They started by directly appealing to the UN General Assembly for assistance, which eventually materialized during the 69th summit of the General Assembly in New York City in September 2014. Some people might argue that the principal reason the UN started to take the Ebola epidemic seriously, was because the virus had reached more stable and powerful countries such as the United States – who, in fact, significantly fund the UN's operating costs on an annual basis. Regardless, the record shows that

in the latter part of 2014 and into 2015, the UN moved to expeditiously care for the nations that were largely infected by the virus, worked with them as much as possible to treat infected individuals, prevent further transmission of the virus, and educate the general public on proper hygiene practices. In short, the United Nations made a positive contribution by addressing the medical, social, and economic needs of those nations. The UN, as examined in this essay, established UNMEER and tasked it with specific objectives aimed at ultimately combatting the virus with as much flexibility and aggressiveness as possible in order to end the epidemic and make sure that the countries would be stabilized as well. Over time, particularly throughout 2015 and into early 2016, the UN slowly decreased its direct engagement in addressing the outbreak, focusing on maintaining containment measures in Guinea, and Sierra Leone to treat previously infected patients and to help the government prepare in case another outbreak of the Ebola virus were to occur.

This essay has demonstrated that while the UN was slow to respond (given the geographic scope, sickness and human lethality ultimately associated with the Ebola virus), it did a very good job of containing the virus, before it effectively spread throughout the African continent and beyond. Criticism levelled at the WHO for not taking affirmative action earlier in 2014 against the disease (i.e., by moving to isolate and treat the virus in the areas where the disease first took off) is justifiable when one considers how deadly the disease is. It can even be argued that had the WHO taken earlier and more decisive steps, the transmission of the disease may not have reached so boldly to the nations of Sierra Leone and Liberia.

By not recognizing nor prioritizing the outbreak, the WHO arguably contributed to the spread of the Ebola virus in West African countries. As to the UN response after the outbreak turned into a pandemic in the summer of 2014, the organization did a very commendable job of getting the international community on board to support the expanded efforts of WHO and other organizations to combat the disease and contain it as quickly as possible. The establishment of UNMEER was also vital to the containment and ending of the epidemic, as its decisive and aggressive handling of the outbreak allowed it to contain the virus from spreading to other countries and allowed medical professionals to treat the people who had already been infected with the virus. Overall, despite what some might characterize as a slow and naïve initial response, the UN ultimately came together and put an end to the West African Ebola epidemic.

The history of the Ebola virus, its initial emergence, and its physical impact on humans (i.e., how deadly a disease it is, and how seriously it needs to be taken in future cases) has been reviewed. Furthermore, the paper has argued that a collaborative and cohesive effort on an international scale was necessary to control the outbreak; a pivotal point, considering the international community will undoubtedly be faced in the immediate future with widespread future virus outbreaks (consider the current SARS COVID-19 pandemic). The best course of action, as illustrated in the West African Ebola virus case, is for the international community to be prepared and to take comprehensive, calculated, and immediate action. Consider these words from Bill Gates in 2015: "Perhaps the only good news from the tragic Ebola epidemic in Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Libe-

ria is that it may serve as a wake-up call: we must prepare for future epidemics of diseases that may spread more effectively than Ebola."⁴²

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Truth and Justice: Necessary Precursors of Reconciliation

Caroline Homet

Reconciliation is a concept that has multiple interpretations. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was the first commission to focus on reconciliation by name. It urged forgiveness – abandoning one's right to revenge – as a mechanism for reconciliation. Amnesty was encouraged as a way for the nation and its individuals to let go of the past and move on to the future. The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission alludes to this founding model of reconciliation in its report, yet it is not the definition it chooses to use itself. For the Canadian TRC, reconciliation is “establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples”.¹ Building on the Canadian TRC's definition, I think reconciliation should be about building a stronger relationship of trust between two people(s). Regardless of whether there was a good relationship at first or not, there was weakness in the bond between the parties for their relations to have bread conflict. Trust is essential to make relationships stronger, especially in Canada. Because of Canada's perpetually colonial attitude towards Indigenous peoples, there is no trust between the parties, and rightfully so. Canada needs to build that trust to move forward. To do so, the nation needs “awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes and action to change behaviour”.² As Pam Palmater

put it, there cannot be reconciliation without first having truth and justice.³

Truth itself is useless unless it is recognized by the Canadian population. The TRC's report is Canada's third chance at uncovering the truth of settler-Indigenous relations and sharing it with its citizens. The government cannot make the same mistake of ignoring facts such as when the 1983 Liberal administration disregarded the Penner Report and Chrétien dismissed the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in 1996.⁴ The federal and provincial governments must recognize the recurring findings of these three reports as the truth. They must “make Canadians aware of their government's human rights violations toward Indigenous peoples”⁵ because knowledge breeds tolerance. The federal government must adopt Shingwauk's vision and build a “teaching wigwam” where both parties can learn from each other and their “mutual” history.⁶

Luckily, the bones for this teaching wigwam already exist within Canada's education system. Quentin Condo said there is a problem when many students are only learning the full truth about Canada's Indigenous people's history in university when we already have the system to implement a proper curriculum.⁷ Canadian children should learn the truth in elementary school like the TRC recommended in its 2012 interim report.⁸ The problem with a Canada-wide curriculum is that since education is provincial mandate, the federal government cannot impose its own curriculum across provinces. On the other hand, commenting the TRC's calls to action, Marie Wilson said that educational programs should be adapted to specific communities because the reality of Indigenous peoples varies across Canada. Indigenous nations all have

their own cultures and their distinct struggles with the federal, provincial and municipal governments depending on where they are in Canada or within their own province. Thus, having schoolboard or community-based curricula would be interesting.⁹ That being said, there remains a need for a national mandate that establishes certain criteria about the program's content. Although their heritages are distinct, First Nation, Inuit and Métis people all survived residential schools and are all prey to systemic poverty and racism today. Culturally, they share fundamental Indigenous values such as identifying as people of the land. These similarities justify the need for school curricula to be built on a national base to ensure that each local variation, each interpretation of the program covers all the important truths.

Canada-wide truth sharing must not be limited to students. Most of the population is not in school anymore, yet this does not justify the end of their education on Indigenous truth. The sensitization of adults is important not only because they are society's decision-makers but also because they reinforce what their children learn in school. Therefore, it is the responsibility of civil society to keep the truth alive and spread it to as many citizens as possible. In this, Canada can learn from Timor-Leste and Peru.

As public institutes, Timor-Leste's Centro National Chega! (CNC) is similar to Canada's National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR). Both follow-up bodies were created to archive memory and make the truth accessible to the public, which allows for its citizens to learn about their collective truth all their life. Canada's NCTR could learn more from the CNC, however. The CNC's poster collection is an example of its use of

creative arts to commemorate Timor's history, a strategy that the NCTR should tap into to inform more Canadians. That being said, Canada does already benefit from Indigenous artists to spread awareness. Anishinaabe and Cayuga DJ collective A Tribe Called Red (ATCR) produces music within the Idle No More movement by preserving their culture and experience.¹⁰ This is similar to Timorese musicians promoting human rights within their country as featured in the documentary *Generation 99*. Especially in our digital society where media is highly accessible, we need more Indigenous music like ACTR to sensitize more Canadians.

Peru's extensive use of arts within its reconciliation process further proves how critical art is to spreading truth. We need to adopt more monuments like the Peruvian *El Ojo que Lloro*. We need more Indigenous sculptures in public areas like Reginald Davidson's *Raven Stealing the Beaver Lake* displayed in the Vancouver airport. Beside every memorial to John A. Macdonald and other Canadian persecutors of Indigenous peoples, there needs to be a monument of Indigenous history, rewriting for all to see the public colonial narrative and committing the truth to public memory. We need more radio shows like Peru's *A Desalambarrar* rather than merely archiving old TRC testimonies on the NCTR website. The Indigenous struggle is not a thing of the past. Current Indigenous events must be reported on a dedicated media platform. Although it is critical to reconciliation to have radio shows in Indigenous languages broadcasted to Indigenous communities, such as the CBC programs *Marie Wilson* developed in the North,¹¹ we also need to hear of Indigenous affairs in French and English and in all of Canada on an exclusive channel where the full truth won't get

lost in other current world events.

Just spreading the truth, however, is not enough for reconciliation. Indigenous peoples also need justice. Canada must learn from South Africa that forgiveness and reconciliation can only be hoped for after apologizing properly. Actions must follow words. Perpetrators of the Afrikaans administration admitted to their acts and apologized for them individually in testimonies. All South Africans were granted the right to self-determination when Mandela ran for president. The Afrikaans backed their regret with concrete acts to restore justice. They did not merely proffer a sweeping statement delivered to parliament like Harper's and Trudeau's "apologies." Palmater, Condo and Manuel all call for the Canadian government's sincere apology. A true apology, Palmater said, is the one you were forced to give as a child. It is backed by a change of behaviour: the upheld promise to never hurt again and compensation for the hurt inflicted.¹² This is the assurance of justice.

In concrete terms, justice to Canada's Indigenous peoples is first and foremost the governments' respect of their laws and treaties. By extension, it is the full respect by the federal government of the international law it agreed to: the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Respecting the Indigenous peoples of Canada's right to self-determination is therefore the most basic act of justice. Article 3 in UNDRIP reaffirms this right from Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by stating that "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination".¹³ Manuel explained that in the Canadian context, this means that Indigenous Nations have the right to live as people of their respective nations. They are enti-

tled to make a "sustainable economic life and ... culture"¹⁴ for themselves on their land. They are entitled to "follow [their] own customs within the Canadian space".¹⁵ In concrete terms, Pam Palmater gave the example of applying justice to Indigenous childcare: we must never have an Indigenous child stolen from its family again. She insists that Canada needs to create the infrastructures for Indigenous people to support their children in their communities, not apart from them.¹⁶ This is what self-determination is: not having decisions concerning Indigenous peoples taken by external parties and thereby not having their culture jeopardized.

Self-determination is a critical step in the decolonization of Canada. By allowing Indigenous nations to govern themselves, we recognize them as peoples with rich and complex cultures, as equals to Canadians. Maintaining a relationship with Indigenous peoples on a nation-to-nation basis is the cornerstone for abandoning Canada's colonial perspective. Canada not only needs a drastic reconfiguration of its institutions but especially of its culture. It is not just the container but what's inside that's broken: terra nullius and the doctrine of discovery our country was built on must be dismantled.

Canada needs a cultural revolution to stop enacting white supremacy. Dismantling the colonial patriarchy that sets the able-bodied, entrepreneurial, white male on a pedestal will in fact aid Indigenous peoples by abolishing more than racism. Indeed, Canada's persecution of Indigenous peoples is more than racist: it is sexist, it discriminates against people with mental and physical disabilities, and disregards the environment, the land Indigenous peoples live on and

protect. Acknowledging the intersectionality of Canada's violence towards Indigenous peoples is therefore critical to a complete apology. By adopting just values, Canada will cease disregarding the missing and murdered Indigenous women often victims of sexual abuse and trafficking. Canada will invest in mental and physical health infrastructures to reduce the disproportionate rate of suicide among Indigenous youth. It will cease to push for development programs that are detrimental to Indigenous land. In other words, in adopting a just culture (i.e. one not based on colonial and patriarchal values), Canada will fully readjust its structure to respect justice towards Indigenous peoples and by extension, other minorities. When Canada sincerely adopts just values and respect towards self-governed Indigenous people, reconciliation will then and only then be fathomable. Reconciliation must be an open and frank dialogue between the federal government and self-administered Indigenous nations. Arthur Manuel explained it as "the long, grown-up talk about who we [Indigenous peoples] are and what we need, and who you [settlers] are and what you need...".¹⁷ Pam Palmater noted that if this conversation feels good, it is not reconciliation. It will be tense and painful because true reconciliation is about healing for the survivors and not for the benefit of the settlers. It is Indigenous peoples who will decide how to move forward with Canadians.¹⁸ To build a strong future, all Canadians need to earn Indigenous peoples' trust by learning about the ongoing pain inflicted upon Indigenous communities, acknowledging their suffering, and apologizing for this hurt by taking meaningful action. Since the colonial behaviour of settlers has repeatedly caused harm to Indigenous peoples, there is no

trust between both parties. Settlers must atone for the effects of their colonialism to gain Indigenous nations' trust because this bond is crucial when building a strong relationship.

Endnotes

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“Gone to the Asylum:” Strategic Institutionaliza- tion of Quebec’s Women during the Industrializa- tion Period¹

Charlotte Armstrong

The advent of the insane asylum in Quebec, beginning with the establishment of the Beauport Asylum in 1841, consequently altered familial and societal perceptions of mental illness, particularly for women. For both Quebec’s Anglophone and Francophone population, the industrial transformations of society, starting in the 1850s, eroded traditional, paternalistic relationships. As a result, James Moran argues that the fate of the insane became “shaped” by “socioeconomic dislocations of the time,” and by the “bourgeoisie’s endorsement” of the asylum for the restraint of “society’s unproductive groups.”² Thus, institutionalization constituted the “pragmatic response of households to the stresses of industrialization,” and not necessarily the healing of the insane family member.³ This strategic use of institutionalization necessitated the utilization of phenomena borrowed from abroad, including the “canon of domesticity” and the practice of committing unwanted wives.⁴ Women’s domestic performance thus determined their value in households struggling to navigate the consequences of industrialization. The men and women institutionalized for mental illness experienced a reproduction of the family and the traditional household in state and proprietary asylums. Mentally ill men in

Quebec however, more frequently received care at home. Thus, during the period of industrialization in Quebec, there emerged a trend for women who became ineffective in the care of their households due to mental illness, to be strategically removed to asylums, thereby prescribing their value as dependent upon domestic performance.

As a response to promotional efforts of moral reformers and asylum alienists, the families of the insane developed the practice of strategic institutionalization, which constituted committing women for reasons other than the hope of a cure. The effects of Quebec’s first industrial revolution reverberated within traditional community and familial structures, thereby ensuring that “social and economic stresses in the household” were of greater importance than medical considerations for the families and communities who made “strategic use of the institution” in a manner “inconsistent with the principles of asylum medicine.”⁵ Indeed, Thierry Nootens argues that families retained control of the committal process, which they used based on their current needs and long-term goals.⁶ It follows that women who contributed to the social and economic stresses of the household, through an inability to function at full-capacity, could be institutionalized either temporarily or permanently, in a socially acceptable and strategic use of Quebec’s asylum system. While some families and communities bought into the promises of alienists and moral reformers of the wondrous curative powers of the asylum and committed the insane out of genuine concern, certainly some women were institutionalized due to factors other than their health and healing. As Quebec’s asylum system borrowed heavily from the well-established models of care for the insane

in the United States and Great Britain, dominant ideologies concerning women's roles also found a place in Quebec. Firstly, there is evidence of what Nancy Cott coined the "canon of domesticity," which served as a "redemptive counterpart" to the societal erosion that accompanied the transition to industrial capitalism, by transforming a woman's household work into her vocation.⁷ Secondly, the establishment of the asylum as a prominent institution in the United States gave rise to the use of institutionalization by men seeking to rid themselves of troublesome wives. Ada Metcalf of Illinois, wrote in 1876, "If a man tires of his wife, and if befooled after some other woman, it is not a very difficult matter to get her in an institution of this kind."⁸ Quebec's women also experienced a reassertion of traditional patriarchal structures and a reaffirmation of their roles within a framework of domesticity as identities came into question with the move towards industrial capitalism. Additionally, husbands and male family members took advantage of asylums to ride themselves of the mentally ill women in their lives. Therefore, ideologies and models for the use of asylums, exemplified abroad, influenced the relationship between women and institutionalization in Quebec.

The scale of duties facing both rural and urban-dwelling women during the period of industrialization necessitated efficiency and productivity. Moran gives the example of Sophie Mercier, a young rural housewife whose duties spanned multiple areas such as tending to the garden, maintaining the household, and rearing the children.⁹ Therefore, her "inability to perform her traditional roles as wife and mother" exacerbated the "hardships" facing her family.¹⁰ Similar scenarios appear in the Quebec Morning Chroni-

cle, which ran in Quebec City from 1888-1898. For instance, "the Wife of a B Battery man," sent to the Beauport Asylum, abruptly developed "signs of insanity."¹¹ The writer notes that the woman recently gave birth to her first child. This routine newspaper announcement plainly illustrates the tendency for women who showed an incapacity to perform domestically to be removed to asylums. Additionally, Sophie's journey with mental illness exemplifies how a woman's inability to perform in her prescribed role, combined with social and economic pressures, could result in committal rather than familial or communal care. The announcement, along with the example of Sophie, demonstrate the connection between a woman's committal and her ability to perform household duties.

The societal effects of industrialization in Quebec, such as the movement towards urbanization and waged work, influenced working-class families' capacity to care for their insane relatives, particularly women. Thierry Nootens notes that in Montreal, the mental illness of a family member undermined families' precarious financial situations, "plans made for children," and "efforts to move upward through Montreal's social and symbolic hierarchy."¹² The advent of the asylum thus permitted families to avoid the strain of cohabitation with mentally ill family members, facilitating continued "social reproduction."¹³ This concept demonstrates a clear departure from previous methods of caring for the mentally ill in Quebec, which consisted of care within the household and community, with strategic use of the local jail, provisional asylum, general hospital, and système des loges.¹⁴ Evidently, women who could not contribute to their families' social repro-

duction or economic stability were more likely to become a burden. This problem became exacerbated in urban households as the movement of work to sources outside the home reduced families' capacities to supervise mentally ill relatives. Thus, the expectations on women to contribute to the working-class families' advancement in the turbulent atmosphere of industrialization resulted in their mental illnesses being a problem to family members required to work outside the home and a hindrance to families' ability to undergo social reproduction.

Even while families made strategic use of institutionalization to rid themselves of the burden of mental illness, they remained the "locus of care" for many mentally ill family members and could serve as a barrier against committal.¹⁵ As noted by James Moran, "families' and friends' perceptions of insanity were fundamental in the initial diagnosis and treatment of those they considered to be insane."¹⁶ In an announcement in the *Quebec Morning Chronicle*, an "old woman," the "servant of a private family," found herself "removed to the Beauport Asylum" by a policeman.¹⁷ Although the newspaper provided few additional details, this woman likely depended upon her employer for protection. Her prompt committal implies the incapability of performing her assigned duties and the lack of a financially and socially stable family. Therefore, as families continued to serve as the main source of care for the mentally ill, resorting to institutionalization implied a lack of social and economic stability in the family.

Quebec's highly gendered asylum structure served the ultimate function of restoring patients to the status of productive societal members who could perform effectively in their assigned spheres.

Michel Foucault outlines how the "acknowledged virtues" of "family and work," reigned in the asylum, which served as a recreation of the family structure in terms of parent-child and transgression-punishment relationships.¹⁸ Quebec's asylum alienists certainly subscribed to the concept of "moral therapy" through work, requiring female patients to "perform duties deemed appropriate to females," such as sewing, mending, tending to fellow patients, and helping staff with cleaning and cooking.¹⁹ Therefore, women sent to asylums in Quebec performed their traditional roles in a curative sense, revealing the alienists' merging of the medical benefits of work therapy with their "social perceptions of rationality and order."²⁰ Thus, women who were committed to state and proprietary asylums in Quebec underwent moral therapy designed to instil in them socially acceptable values and work habits within their assigned sphere. The concept of returning patients to society as more useful than before committal reveals the extent to which women's ability to function within the sphere of domesticity determined their value to society.

Mentally ill men in Quebec also faced the prospect of institutionalization due to their inability to contribute to the functioning of the household. However, they more frequently received care within the home. Phyllis Chesler observes that the asylum's structure more closely resembled the female experience than the male, in that the insane held the status of minors, and personnel treated them as such.²¹ There is evidence of men's insanity diagnosis and treatment being connected to their ability to work and provide for their household, similar to the trend that emerged among women's diagnosis. Men, however, more

often received care within their own homes. For instance, a former employee of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, Joseph G., underwent care at home after becoming "certified as mentally unsound" in 1865.²² The development of insanity in the male household provider, required dependent women to take on the responsibility of providing for the household and caring for the mentally ill man, thereby guarding him against the shameful return to childhood that committal would represent. This phenomenon juxtaposes the trend for women who displayed an inability to contribute to the household, to be removed to insane asylums rather than receiving treatment at home. Thus, men in Quebec during the first Industrial Revolution also found their worth and insanity diagnosis tied to their ability to provide for their families. Their care and treatment however, occurred more commonly within the home than in the infantilizing environment of the asylum.

During the period of Quebec's first industrial revolution, Quebec's mentally ill women developed a precarious relationship with state and proprietary insane asylums, whereby they faced committal for the inability to contribute effectively to their household's functioning. The gradual transition to an industrial capitalist system certainly motivated this phenomenon as the influence of the "canon of domesticity" subtly hinged women's value on their domestic performance. Some families coped by using strategic institutionalization of family members inhibiting their ability to socially reproduce. The demands placed upon women in the domestic sphere ensured their indispensability to the functioning of the household, and any change in their performance ability increased the likelihood of committal. Once committed, women

underwent "moral therapy" intended to cultivate their domestic performance abilities. Furthermore, men experienced a similar connection between their ability to work and their commitment to asylums, although they were more likely to receive care at home. Therefore, Quebec's society experienced profound transformations due to industrialization, severely impacting the family's ability to care for the mentally ill women among them, whose value ultimately depended upon the effectiveness of their household contribution. A further course of investigation would be to examine the methods of care and treatment for mental illness in women among Quebec's indigenous population during the period of industrialization.

Endnotes

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Thomas Jefferson: Founding Father of Patriarchy (and Other Malarkey)

Lauren MacPhee

Founding Father Thomas Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence "...that all men are created equal..."; however, his legacy shows that he lived in stark contrast to this belief. Jefferson certainly has an impressive resume as the first drafter of the Declaration of Independence, the first Secretary of State, the second Vice President and the third President of the United States. He is often credited for stabilizing the economy, brokering the Louisiana purchase and founding the University of Virginia. However, Jefferson's wrongdoings and their lasting impact on American society should not be overlooked. While it is true that Jefferson played an integral role in developing the United States into the country that it is today, it must be asked; is that a good thing? Jefferson's patriarchal anxiety¹ and worsening misogyny caused him to act selfishly and in turn, against the better good of the nation. Throughout his life, Thomas Jefferson discriminated against minority groups in a calculated effort to maintain the social order which prioritized white male property owners. Some may argue that Jefferson was a product of his time and his character flaws were merely societal norms in his era however, his commonplace books, relationships, and lasting impact prove that his actions reflect a deeper immorality.

First and foremost, Jefferson's malevo-

lent intention can be observed throughout his commonplace books. A commonplace book is a tool of self-fashioning which was most prominent in 18th and 19th-century England. It is comprised of excerpts, quotes and pieces which provide the reader with moral guidance. The passages which are included in a commonplace do not provide direct advice however, the meaning behind them is to be the basis of the author's belief system. For this reason, the inclusions in a commonplace book strongly reflect the author's true feelings or aspirations. In the case of Thomas Jefferson, he was able to conceal misogynistic beliefs in the words of others. He did this by referencing notoriously misogynistic authors and sometimes, by taking passages out of context to fit his patriarchal narrative.

It is important to consider Jefferson's personal life while analyzing the message within his commonplace books. Take into account the fact that Jefferson's father, Peter Jefferson passed away in 1757.² Although Jefferson was his oldest son, Jefferson's father's last will specified that control of his estate would be left to his wife, Jane Randolph Jefferson; Kenneth A. Lockridge argues that the president felt constrained living in a matriarchal household. Given the nature of the time, it would be common for the young boy to inherit control of the estate over the woman of the household. Being in a subordinate role to his mother directly contrasts Jefferson's patriarchal beliefs and the lack of control might have been Jefferson's first introduction to the patriarchal anxiety which would one day consume him. Further proof that Thomas felt resentment toward his mother is the lack of correspondence between them. Jefferson is known to have been a meticulous record keeper,

so the lack of preserved correspondence between Thomas and his mother indicates that Jefferson may have burnt it subsequent to her passing.

The earliest passages in Jefferson's commonplace book date back to 1756 and continue until 1764.³ The timeline is notable because the book begins around time that his father died and ends when Thomas is 21 and legally independent; meaning that the book was kept throughout his patriarchal upbringing. These passages show the foundation of Jefferson's misogynistic beliefs. Jefferson begins by writing of rage against arbitrary power. Immediately following these passages are ones which paint women as seducers and temptresses who require a strong man to tame them. The ordering of these writings is not a mere coincidence, but rather sets the stage for the gendered war which Jefferson wages in the upcoming pages. Furthermore, the linkage of arbitrary power to women can be attributed to Jefferson's mother having control over his resources. The matriarch threatens the self-image that Jefferson sought to embrace, representing, in his eyes, the truest form of arbitrary power.

As the commonplace continues, Jefferson's misogynistic views become less hidden. Just after the initial entries, Jefferson copies words from *Paradise Lost*, "...O! why did God, Creator wise! That Peopl'd highest Heav'n With Spirits masculine, create at last This Novelty on Earth, this fair Defect Of Nature? And not fill the World at once With Men, as Angels without feminine? Or find some other Way to generate Mankind?... innumerable Disturbances on Earth through female Snares, and straight Conjunction with this Sex!", the excerpt suggests that God made a mistake in creating women and that He ought to have made

men self-replicating. More profoundly, this quote introduces the idea that a woman's sole purpose is to reproduce and, if man did not need woman to reproduce then he would have no need for her at all. Jefferson does not just introduce the idea of male self-replication; he wishes for it. The included passage expresses desire for a world without women, speculating that this would relieve the earth of "innumerable disturbances."

Subsequently, Jefferson includes the translated work of ancient Greek, Euripides; "Yea, men should have begotten children from some other source, no female race existing; this would no evil ever have fallen on mankind."⁴ This excerpt emphasizes Jefferson's previous point, that women are a necessary evil in order to reproduce but serve no other purpose. Although, Jefferson previously implied that the creation of woman resulted in countless wrongdoings, this passage goes further and it calls women the root of all evil. By placing blame for the world's tragedies on the female gender, Jefferson exposes his patriarchal anxiety. Like so many other patriarchs in history, Jefferson looks to place fault on a marginalized group. This allows him to avoid responsibility and further suppress the group, in turn maintain the existing hierarchal order.

The many chapters of Thomas Jefferson's commonplace book include themes of power, freedom, death and women. Jefferson often combines these themes by blaming women for both death and the loss of power/freedom. The idea that female sexuality is inherently evil is advanced throughout the pages until eventually; "A final selection from Young then confirms that, for those who love women, the world is a landscape of death."⁵ The linkage of femininity and

death effectively heightens the gender war within the text. As he develops this storyline of gendered conflict, Jefferson often contrasts the insensibility that he believes to be inherently feminine to the male counterpart's inherent reason. Jefferson speculates that women are outwardly beautiful but internally are either illogical or evil. Whether it be irrationality or wickedness is irrelevant; in the anxious patriarch's eyes, woman posed a threat to society and the existing order of things.

Another passage which speculates that, "...women's tears are perhaps also but a stratagem";⁶ proves the extent of Jefferson's patriarchal anxiety. Jefferson's true fear is not women's lack of sense or moral, it is that women may disrupt order by becoming included in it. By falsifying female sadness, Jefferson dehumanizes women and label them the antagonist in his self-fashioning. This, along with linkage of women to death, senselessness and disorder rationalizes Jefferson's self-constructed gender war. His concealed misogyny reveals itself as the book develops, showing that as Jefferson aged, his hatred and fear of women grew with him.

The aforementioned growth is further illustrated by Jefferson's relationships later in life, the first of which being his marriage to Martha Wayles in 1772.⁷ Martha was a modest and domestic woman who abided by Jefferson's definition of a good wife. She is known to have been weak-willed and to lack political interest, meaning that she never questioned Jefferson's authority. Furthermore, Martha's father, John Wayles passed away about a year after the couple married. Wayles left his estate, Monticello, to Jefferson. The inheritance might have held a deeper significance to Jefferson considering the matriarchal household which

he grew up in. In ownership of his late father-in-law's estate, Jefferson held the same control over Martha as his mother did over him during adolescence. In all senses, Jefferson's marriage to Martha maintained the patriarchal order which he desired. It is likely for this reason that, upon her deathbed, Jefferson promised Martha that he would never remarry.

Although he never remarried, correspondence proves that Jefferson did have relationships subsequent to Martha's death. On October 12, 1786, Jefferson authored a 12-page love letter to the English-Italian artist, Maria Cosway.⁸ The letter contains a conversation, which Thomas writes, between his head and his heart. His heart is in great despair, Cosway was a close acquaintance of Jefferson throughout his time in France. He wrote this letter upon her departure.

Throughout the letter, Jefferson writes in the perspective of his head, the voice of reason, as well as his heart, the emotional wreck. His head says to his heart, "You confess your follies indeed: but still you hug and cherish them, and no reformation can be hoped, where there is no repentance."⁹

Once again, Jefferson allocates shamefulness to female desire, this time insinuating that it is need for "repentance". Moreover, the conflict between Jefferson's head voice and heart voice can be compared to the gendered conflict which Jefferson depicted throughout his commonplace book. The head demonstrates logic, a trait which Jefferson believes to be inherently masculine, while the heart represents foolishness and weakness, traits which Jefferson believed to be inherently female. The conflict between Jefferson's head and his heart further demonstrates Jefferson's patriarchal anxiety. He has compartmentalized emotional vulner-

ability to be a feminine quality and in turn, illogical. For this reason, he fears his strong affection for Cosway.

All evidence suggests that the relationship between Jefferson and Cosway was richer in passion than that between him and his late wife. As Jefferson's head perspective argues, this passion could distract a patriarch and threaten his authority. In an attempt to validate his feelings, Jefferson describes (in his head voice), "that the lady had moreover qualities and accomplishments, belonging to her sex, which might form a chapter apart for her: such as music, modesty, beauty, and that softness of disposition which is the ornament of her sex and charm of ours. But that all these considerations would increase the pang of separation... such a separation is worse than death".¹⁰ The first message in this excerpt is that Cosway displays traits, such as modesty and softness, which make her superior to most women. The subsequent message is one linked to another theme in Jefferson's commonplace book. That is, women's association with death. By comparing the pain Jefferson felt upon the couple's separation to death, Jefferson emphasizes the same message that he did throughout his first commonplace book- do not fall subject to female temptation or the repercussions will be dire. It is evident that the same misogynistic themes of his commonplace have been internalized by Jefferson. In turn, they translate into Jefferson's later life, relationships and political career. As a Founding Father and a man who took on many positions of authority, Jefferson's misogyny surely created an uphill battle for the women of America in years to follow. Thomas Jefferson's third relationship is also his most telling. As previously mentioned, upon the

passing of John Wayles, Thomas Jefferson was left the property owner of Monticello. This also left Wayles' slaves to Jefferson. Among those included Elizabeth Hemings and her daughter, Sally. Interestingly, Sally was also the daughter of John Wayles, thus making Sally the half-sister of Martha Jefferson. As the daughter of a white father and a half-white mother, Sally's complexion was very fair in comparison to the majority of slaves. She also had straight hair, making her almost white-passing. She was considered quite beautiful and she and her mother were at the top of the slave hierarchy at Monticello. This is the extent of the public's knowledge of Sally Hemings.

Much like her personal details, Sally's relationship with Jefferson is a mystery to the public. Sally was born around the time that her father passed away, meaning that Jefferson owned her since she was an infant. At the age of nine, Sally helped care for Martha Jefferson when she fell ill. Unfortunately, Martha died, leaving behind three children.

Shortly after her death, Jefferson took the oldest child with him to France. Recall that Jefferson's relationship with Cosway took place in Paris until 1786. The succeeding year Sally arrived with his daughter, Mary to meet Jefferson.¹¹ The timeline allows many to speculate that Jefferson commenced relations with Sally upon her arrival in France, when she would have been 14.

Furthermore, Sally Hemings' son, Madison, "... told an Ohio newspaper in 1873 that his mother informed him that Thomas Jefferson was his father, and that Sally first carried a child of Jefferson when she returned from France in 1789".¹² In addition, Madison's brother, Eston Hemings also publicly claimed to be the son of Thomas Jeffer-

son. Israel Jefferson, another slave at Monticello has corroborated Madison's story, claiming that his position gave him access to Jefferson's living quarters and direct insight into his master's relationship with Sally. John Hart Cocke, a founder and first board member of the University of Virginia also corroborates the story. Cocke had paid many visits to Monticello and, in 1853 and 1859, he wrote into his diary that Jefferson had a slave mistress.¹³ Despite the numerous eyewitness accounts of the relationship, there has still been controversy throughout history on the legitimacy of the claims and Jefferson never publicly addressed them.

The testimonies claiming Jefferson to be the father to (at least some of) Sally's five children are often distorted or overlooked as proof of the relationship. Regardless, the timeline of Sally's conceptions provides indisputable evidence. Almost immediately upon his return from France, Jefferson moved to Philadelphia to assume his role as Secretary of State. Despite his usual absence, "Hemings never conceived a child when Jefferson was not in residence at Monticello".¹⁴ The argument that the timing of Jefferson's visits and Sally's conceptions is coincidental is highly unlikely because of his long periods of absence. If Jefferson was not the father, it seems strange for none of the five conceptions to take place while Jefferson was away.

Additionally, all of Hemings children were said to portray a striking resemblance to Jefferson and were treated better than the majority of the Monticello slaves. Throughout their enslavement, the children were assigned the least debilitating tasks, such as apprenticeships. Most notably, all of Sally's children were freed around the age of 21. Freedom of such young slaves was unprecedented at Monticello, "The other people he freed were

older men who had rendered valuable services to him over the years."¹⁵ Harriet Hemings was the only female slave that Jefferson ever freed, proving that she had to have been of extreme significance to him. Also, subsequent to Jefferson's passing Sally was freed. The terms of her emancipation were not made clear to the public although, given the evidence it can be speculated that this was as a result of the nature of her relationship with Jefferson.

Proof that Thomas Jefferson fathered Eston Hemings finally came to light in 1998 when a DNA test was performed to compare male DNA of Jefferson's descendants to those of Hemings. The test concluded that Jefferson was the biological father of Eston Hemmings.¹⁶ Although this DNA test does not necessarily prove Jefferson to have fathered all of Sally's children, when combined with the aforementioned considerations the assumption holds great substance.

Jefferson's relationship with Sally surely reflected his patriarchal anxiety. The relationship would have taken place while Jefferson took on many roles of political authority, including President of the United States. It seems curious that a man of such status would want a relationship with his slave rather than a free woman. As an anxious patriarch, the subordinate role of his lover would appeal greatly to Jefferson. As seen in his relationship with Cosway, Jefferson fears passion and the loss of emotional control that comes with it. By courting his slave, Jefferson ensured his authority in the relationship. The law did not recognize slave consent nor lack thereof. Therefore, Jefferson did not risk of rejection or separation. Furthermore, the sexual control which Jefferson had would eliminate the fear of female sexual-

ity which Jefferson displayed in his commonplace book. It appears as though Jefferson had found the alternate method of reproduction which he searched for in his teen years. By impregnating a slave, the risk of female insatiability was effectively avoided as Jefferson maintains all control. Another benefit of impregnating a slave is outlined in a letter which Jefferson wrote to his former son-in-law just two years before Harriet Hemings was freed, "...in which he said that he considered female slaves to be far more valuable than male slaves... because female slaves had children and thus, added capital."¹⁷ Again, Jefferson raises the idea that a woman's sole purpose is to procreate. Jefferson also dehumanizes black people here by labeling them as financial assets rather than people. The message to his son-in-law is shockingly offensive and proves once again that Jefferson's misogyny only got worse as he gained more political power. The despair which Jefferson felt upon the loss of Martha and Maria caused Jefferson to become even more anxious, thus motivating him to assert control and take a 14-year-old slave as his next lover. This abuse of power is not exclusive to Monticello, Jefferson uses his political position as a tool to maintain control over women and black people alike throughout his career. As a result, he effectively excluded them from the social order.

Finally, Jefferson's lasting impact on the United States supports the notion that he did more wrong than right for America. During his time in France, it was impossible for Jefferson to deny the differences between European culture and American culture. Jefferson's correspondence indicates many times that he feels that America is superior to the Europe, especially in terms of gender

roles. The difference between Europe and America heightened Jefferson's patriarchal anxiety, "Jefferson's ideal society embraced female domesticity as part of the natural order of things- an order, he came to believe, realized only in America."¹⁸ The lack of uniformity in women's role across different societies threatened Jefferson's enlightened image. Jefferson preached that women must be domesticated and excluded from work and politics in order to avoid catastrophic repercussions, claiming that this was the natural order. Meanwhile in other parts of the world, women were integrated into societies in which they were considered to be an asset.

The success of women's involvement did not inspire Jefferson to question his misogynistic views, but instead he became more anxious about the threat of women's involvement in societal order came closer to reality. Jefferson responded to this perceived threat by clinging to his patriarchal values more zealously. Indeed it seems that, "The shock of his encounter with difference in France clarified this conviction and compelled Jefferson to make explicit the gendered underpinnings of his nationalism."¹⁹ In seeing women's success in society, Jefferson's misogynistic morals were disproved. However, instead of denouncing them Jefferson embraced them. This reaction proves that Jefferson's suppression of women never had anything to do with the better good of American society, rather it existed to benefit his personal agenda.

Following his stay in France, Jefferson took on his role as the first Secretary of State. As America was newly independent, the foundation for the country's culture was laid by the Founding Fathers. Jefferson used his influential position to

spread propaganda claiming that nationalism and gender roles were interdependent. He was careful to conceal his misogynistic motive, claiming that women must be excluded from politics and business for the general good. Regardless, the internalization of his message laid the foundation of misogyny, racism and classism engrained into American society. Although progress has been made, the connection which Jefferson made between nationalism and gender roles made it impossible for women to achieve full equality without dramatic systemic reform.

Jefferson also mentored James Madison, an integral figure in the drafting of the American Constitution.²⁰ Although the Constitution helped develop the Early Republic into the United States we see today, it is not a flawless document. For example, the 3/5 compromise, which stated that a black man was worth just 3/5 of his white counterpart, was written into the Constitution from its enactment until 1865.

In addition, the right to vote was not guaranteed until 1870 for black citizens and 1920 for women, effectively depriving both group of political representation. The unequal allocation of the right to vote in America represents success for the anxious patriarch. In excluding these groups from political representation, their needs were not considered in the early developments of the American government. As such, "Jefferson's conception of proper gender roles afforded American women variety in behaviour and visibility, but rarely, if ever, most scholars seem to agree, did such indulgence challenge the patriarchal order."²¹ Since its establishment, the American Constitution, which the country was built on, has been grounds for discrimination. The lasting impact of early inter-

pretations of the document are still present and moral issues arising from it continue to divide the country.

In summation, Thomas Jefferson's commonplace book, relationships, and his lasting impact on American society indicate that his political career reflected his misogynistic morals, effectively impeding on the freedoms of many of its citizens. In combining nationalism and the "natural order," Jefferson succeeded in excluding women and black people from the American hierarchy, even subsequent to his passing. American morals reflect unfair stereotypes which this Founding Father portrayed through words and relationships throughout his lifetime. Jefferson's legacy also set the stage for many other anxious patriarchs to come. Jefferson thought of himself as an enlightened man, claiming that his inherently masculine voice of reason allowed him to realize what is best for the nation. To this day, some male politicians still use the same guise of nationalism and enlightenment to hide their sexist, racist and classist agendas. Thomas Jefferson's matriarchal upbringing provoked a need for patriarchy in Jefferson which only grew deeper throughout his life. Jefferson's extremist patriarchal views directly translated into the foundation of American Society to the point where female domesticity became a characteristic of American culture. All this to say that throughout his career, Jefferson did not truly act on behalf of the United States but rather on behalf of the anxious patriarch who wishes to preserve the white male status and privilege.

Endnotes

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God, Justice, and King: Religion and Public Executions in 16th Century France

Paris Kilbourne-Olver

The popular image of public executions in early modern France that persists today may be described as bloody, barbaric, and boisterous. It was passed down to us from at least the 18th century—when historical memory of public executions bore a close resemblance to the gruesome axe of the French Revolution's guillotine. Cesare Beccaria expressed the sentiment shared by "enlightened Europeans" towards public executions when he wrote *On Crimes and Punishment* in 1764: "Who does not shudder in horror when looking at history: so many barbarous and ineffective torments coldly used by men who called themselves wise?"¹ However, what appears to have been lost to history is a very different picture of public executions—encouraged less by bloodshed and fear than a conviction for salvation. In position that above being used as a tool for punishment, entertainment, or deterrence, public executions were primarily a venue for religious beliefs that prioritized God and redemption.

Christian thought and expression informed the role of the audience in public executions. Spectators did not populate these exhibitions merely to be terrified into submission, nor was "horror" considered an "appropriate response." Neither were they necessarily seeking entertainment from the expiring of the so-called patient, unlike the raucous crowds of the French Revolution's beheadings centuries later. Rather the tone of the audience

was typically somber, as one would find at a religious ceremony.² The execution of the accused "was a moment for collective overcoming" as their sacrifice redeemed the public and expelled the disease of their crimes. Pierre L'Estoile, a French diarist of the period, described a "great relief" felt amongst the crowd at the execution of the "notorious" thief Pontaut.³ According to Paul Friedland, the assembly took an active spiritual role at executions "praying with the patient, and even alternating verses of prayers and hymns."⁴

This communal prayer recalls public penance rituals of the time. Moreover, the sacrifice of the patient's body for the 'health' of the public is analogous to the story of the passion—known intimately to early modern Europeans who performed it in Palm Sunday processions.⁵ These processions were an imitation of Christ's return to Jerusalem, where he was greeted by the Israelites, along with Noah and King David, with palm leaves. Redemption was key to both Palm Sunday and public executions. Mary Mansfield found that "the cyclical imitation of historical suffering every year was bound to the redemptive victory granted [to] the whole Christian people,"⁶ just as the suffering of the patient redeemed himself and the public. Furthermore, the two events stressed the role of the audience as a whole, thus Mansfield positions:

The theme of prayers and ritual alike [in Palm Sunday processions] was the confident plea for redemption of the whole people as one, not the expiation of individual sins. Indeed, the liturgy... hardly made reference to the self-inflicted griefs of Lent or to the system of penance that measured merits against sins and calculated the balance for each Christian.

Palm Sunday processions helped to isolate heresy by stamping “the church as the true Israel, as opposed to the false tiers who still lived alongside Christians in every French town,”⁷ akin to how public executions rooted out and expelled heresy. Lastly, it may be worth noting that the word ‘patient’ and ‘passion’ derive from the Latin ‘pati’ meaning to suffer.⁸ If terror and entertainment were not the primary purposes of public executions, then it was healing of the body—the patient’s and the public’s. The patient was redeemed by showing true penitence, often asking the audience for forgiveness.⁹ Their redemption was so necessary that if their body was absent—either due to them having escaped or died—a cadaver or effigy was secured in place.¹⁰ Crimes that shared the death penalty with heresy all appeared to cause concern with purity; namely witchcraft, homosexuality, and bestiality. By the same token, records of the trial were often burned, and the patient’s house could be torn down. In cases of heresy first offenders who showed repentance could avoid burning, and instead face “fines, banishment, confinement in a monastery or nunnery, and whipping.” These alternatives also had practical effects: a living, repentant Christian was more valuable than a dead heretic as church propaganda. Furthermore, it created fewer martyrs for the Protestant cause.¹¹

Anne Du Bourg’s case exemplified the value of repentance. In 1599, the crown arrested six magistrates after Du Bourg, a conseiller, “delivered a bold harangue before the king.” Repentant, the others were freed. However, Du Bourg remained imprisoned because he was unwilling to retract his Protestant sympathies. Instead, he doubled down on his sentiments, asserting that an “ungodly king’s authority” was invalid. This was considered

an extreme accusation against the monarch: “Even Calvin had refrained from going that far and it was no surprise to Parisians when Du Bourg was soon thereafter burned at the stake not just for heresy, but significantly for sedition and *lèse-majesté*.” Despite his immoderateness, his execution was unpopular in Europe and served to strengthen the Calvinist movement, creating what the church and state hoped to avoid—a martyr.

Du Bourg’s declaration reflected the relationship between God, justice, and the king. This trinity laid the bedrock upon which French society rested; the king “not only had a right to exist but had a divinely appointed purpose to act as God’s earthly judge.”¹² Du Bourg’s inflammatory statement on the king’s authority both undermined and reinforced this belief. While he undermined Henry II’s divinely instituted position and his execution of justice, he also reinforced the idea that this justice was only given value by God. Du Bourg and the other magistrates’s charges were a result of the monarch’s attempted rendering of his duty, in which he aimed to purge the disease of heresy (Protestantism) by applying the death sentence to such cases “without appeal.” However, not all deemed the king necessary in this process of justice. Claude Barie, who was arrested and given the death penalty for drunkenly threatening to kill the king in 1596, asserted that “the damnation of his soul [was] not up to the king nor any other person,” only God’s judgement would suffice.¹³

Though God was seen by all as paramount in the justice system, it was uncommon that the king’s role was so diminished. An old Catholic belief affirmed the place of God and the king’s judgement in public executions. It followed that if the

condemned person survived the initial execution, this was to be seen as a sign from God of their innocence, and that they should be released. In 1528, a young Parisian man “claimed he had buried a man without knowing he had been killed by his wife and her lover.” For this, he was condemned to the gallows. However, the executioner found him to be breathing when he was brought down. When the executioner attempted to finish the job, the audience moved against him, decrying him a traitor.¹⁴ The king granted the boy remission based on his account that he had simply prayed to the local church’s statue of Our Lady.¹⁵

Public participation in executions could be taken to the extent of non-state sanctioned executions, spurred by righteous Christian fervour. Accounts survive of Catholic crowds who performed their own executions of heretics in the streets of France. Of interest is that in many such cases, the crowds mimicked official public executions, particularly by killing them at sites used by the state to do so. In 1562, one crowd dragged a Protestant printer, Roc Le Frier, to the *Marché Aux Pourceaux*, a well known place for official executions in Paris, and executed him. 40 years prior, the man considered to be the first French Protestant martyr, John Vallier, was burned at the stake by the crown in the same spot. Also in the annals of Protestant martyrdom, Etienne Benard and Marin Duval met similar fates at the market at the hands of the state, two years after Vallier. In Toulouse, the same year as Frier’s expiry, another Protestant was dragged to the town hall by a Catholic crowd to be executed. In Orleans, a Protestant trader was executed but not before the crowd proclaimed “the king salutes you” and put a noose around his neck— mirroring the procedure of offi-

cial agents. Even in cases where a trial came to a head, Catholic crowds would insist on execution. In 1569 in Montpellier they “forced the judge to condemn important Huguenot prisoners to death in a hasty ‘trial’, then seized him and hanged him in front of his house.” Eight years prior, in Marsillargues a crowd “rearrested” prisoners who had been released on heresy charges by royal decree and hanged them.¹⁶ Though these crowds appeared to reject the state’s authority, they nonetheless reflected its role in delivering justice from God and the importance of His judgement. Furthermore, the necessity of publicly executing individuals was likely informed by the ritual of expelling heresy—such crimes were public affairs that involved the suffering and redemption of both the heretic and the public.

Redemption and the place of God were highly valued by the French when carrying out public executions. By embracing true penitence, the condemned redeemed themselves and redeemed the public through their sacrifice. The crimes which shared the death penalty—impure activities—and the alternative paths to salvation besides death should one repent, such as a fine, buttressed this intent. In 1599 when the crown charged several officials with heresy for their protestant sympathies, all but Anne Du Bourg showed repentance and were thus let go. Du Bourg refused to fold—proclaiming a challenge to the monarch’s place in the justice system. His statement upheld the belief that God, justice, and the king were intertwined; and that his authority to impart executions came from God. This was further exemplified in the Catholic conviction that if someone survived their execution, the king should grant them clemency for God had shown their innocence. Catholic crowds

who committed their own public executions of heretics displayed the role of the king (or the state) by mirroring official procedures and reinforced the place of God through bypassing state authority to execute offenders.

Endnotes

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7. Ibid, p. 144.
8. Friedland, "Beyond Deterrence," p. 314.
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10. Friedland, "Beyond Deterrence," p. 309-310.
11. Nicholls, "Theatre of Martyrdom," p. 121.
12. Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
13. Hamilton, "Contesting Public Executions," p. 6.
14. In "Beyond Deterrence" Friedland compares the social status of the executioner in French society to that of an actor; both were looked down upon when they were not performing. Friedland writes: "both professions called upon its practitioners to perform the act of physical metamorphosis on the human body: premodern actors understood themselves (and were perceived by others) to be literally transforming

their bodies into those of the characters they represented on the stage; executioners, in the act of punishing, sculpted the patient's flesh into the original wound, transforming the patient's body into that of the victim. And although both performances could profoundly move audiences, they were nevertheless extraordinarily problematic. Both actors and executioners, in a sense, trafficked in the sacred - in the transubstantiation of human flesh - and their presence was not tolerated except when they were in the act of performing. Whenever their performances were interrupted - on the stage or the scaffold - the spell was broken, and the hostility of audiences immediately vented itself on the failed actor." This further helps explain why the crowd reacted the way they did.

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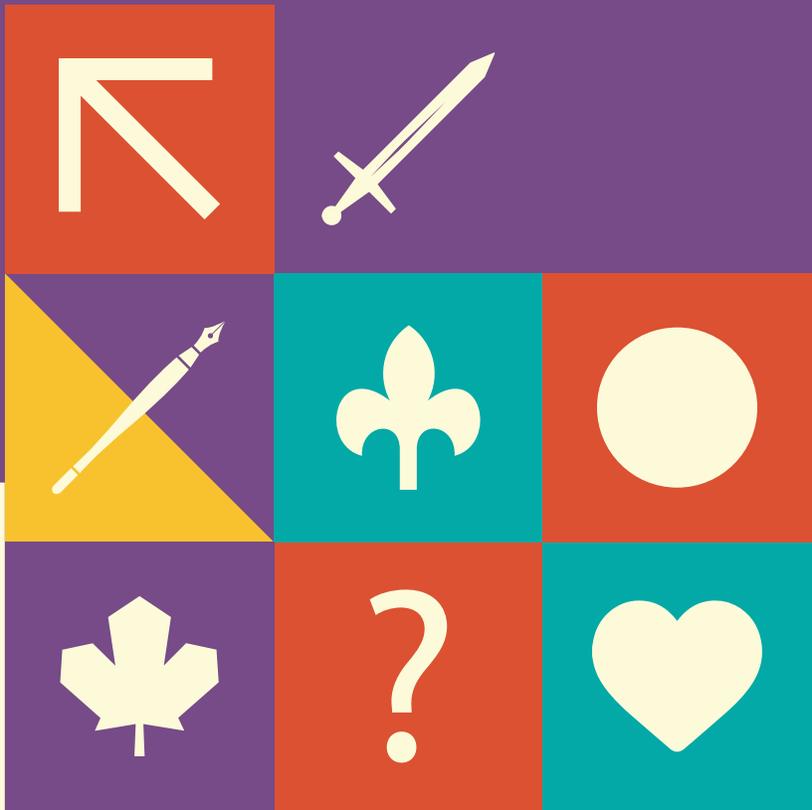
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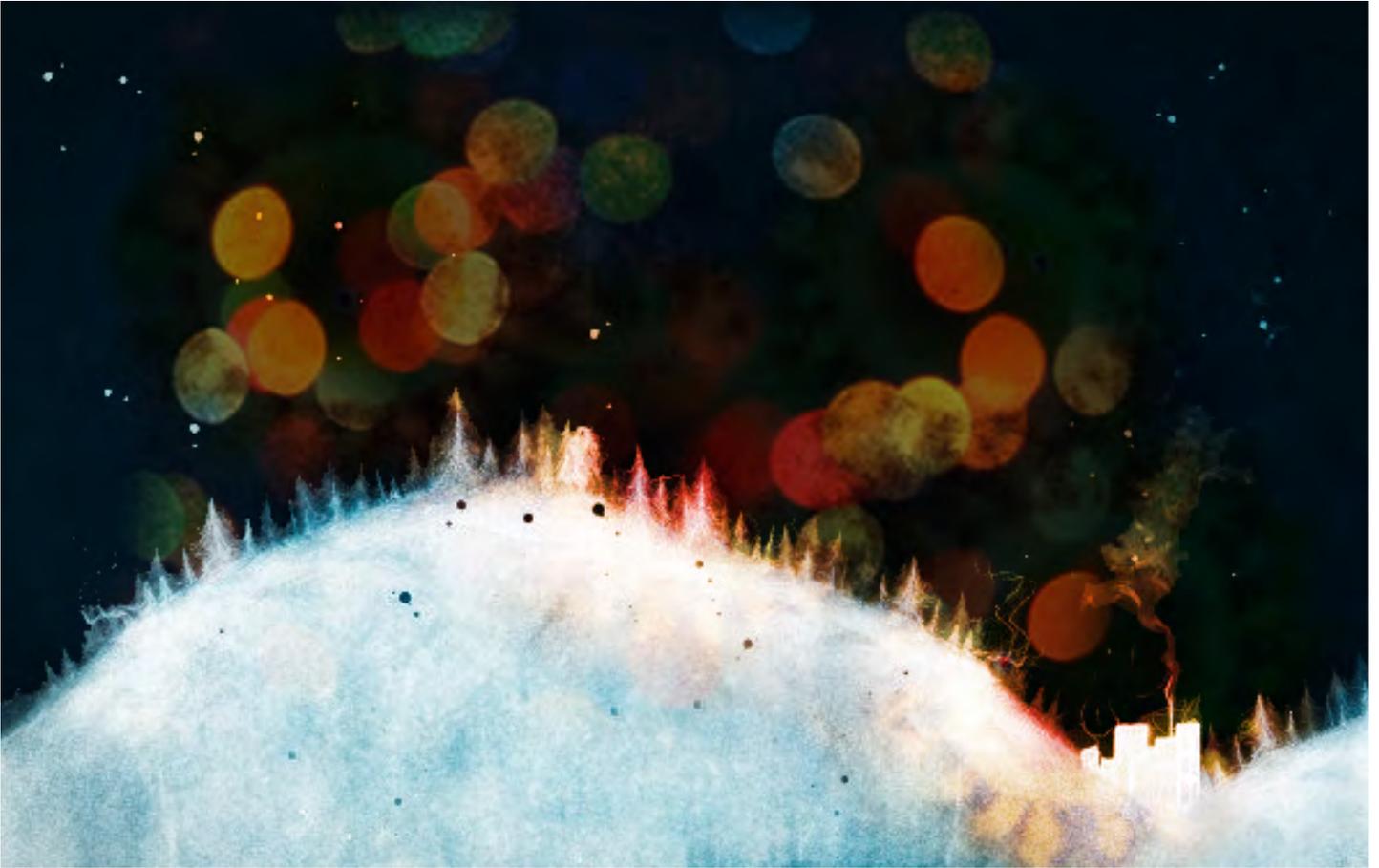
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Holiday Rainbow Lights

Darrin Wilson

The drizzle of rain gently marks the cracked concrete leading to the front doors of DeerCreek School. In the twenty years since it first opened, the structure's once vibrant stucco façade has become worn and faded by the intense Alberta sun, reflecting the battered morale of the school's staff working tirelessly within it.

Inside, old vandalism peeks through the freshly painted walls of the boys' restroom; blue and white protective masks can be found soiled and discarded, tucked into the various nooks and crannies around the building; and loose paper leaks from the half-closed binders that rest precariously

on the tops of the school's maltreated desks, spilling onto the empty seats below them. Students can be found crowded together in the playground outside, seemingly unconcerned by the ongoing pandemic raging beyond the boundaries of their school or their teachers' persistent admonitions to follow the governments' guidelines for physical distancing. And despite it being early December, the staff are already becoming exhausted and some are beginning to burn out.

The lunch bell rings.

Inside the school's office, the sounds of students shuffling down the hallways quietly drifts past the open doors as they head towards their classrooms again. A few of the school's staff stand nearby, trying awkwardly to stay out of every-

one's way while encouraging students to keep a safe distance from one another. Teachers have been on constant supervision these days – the demands have increased substantially in response to the Alberta government's COVID-19 protocols. The health and safety guidelines described by the government have encouraged the staff to actively watch over their students constantly, ensuring that these protocols are being met. Each of the three grade levels at Deer Creek School must enter the building through separate doors that have been designated to them in the hopes of limiting the community spread of the virus. While in their masks, students must immediately disinfect their hands before heading straight to their specified homeroom classes.

Once there, these young people will need to stay seated for the duration of the day – with the exception of a roughly one-hour daily Phys. Ed. period that requires everyone to remain masked at all times unless their classes take place outdoors. Because of the strenuous nature of these activities, students can find it difficult to breathe while keeping their faces covered. Finding adequate space for physical distancing on the school grounds can also be difficult for teachers. Since daily physical education is mandated, many of these teachers need to find creative solutions in order to get their students' bodies moving, particularly as the colder winter months limit outdoor physical activities. And yet somehow, these teachers make do with what is available to them and persevere.

Outside of the gym, students are assigned one seat and one desk for the duration of the day and are discouraged from moving. Instead, teachers float from classroom to classroom, depending on the subjects that need to be taught. There are

no lockers allocated to students this year. Nobody is permitted to enter or leave their ascribed room unless going to the washroom. Little to no group-work is permitted. No physical materials can be shared. And there are no opportunities for students to remove their masks unless they are eating or drinking during their designated snack times. Understandably, the school community is starting to crack under these oppressive but necessary health measures, and continuously enforcing these protocols within the building can be viewed as an exercise in futility for the school's staff. And even with all of these health and safety measures in place at these schools, Alberta is struggling to keep the number of COVID-19 cases down.

In Deer Creek School, two cohorts of 14-year-olds – around 60 students in total – and five teachers were recently put into isolation after two reported cases of the virus were reported in the building. In the last few days, teachers have been tasked with covering each other's classes whenever they have a spare moment out of absolute necessity. There has been a shortage of subs across the province due to the increasing number of teachers who are required to isolate and quarantine at home – many of whom are continuing to teach their classes remotely almost immediately after being told by Alberta Health Services to sequester themselves. As a result, the staff at Deer Creek have had to help support one another in order to get by. Although the school boards in Alberta are trying their best to meet the health and safety guidelines laid out by the province, many of these systems are already running a deficit for the school year and are continuously bleeding out funds to pay for extra cleaning staff, disinfectants, extra masks, sanitizers, substitute teachers, and



staff who are taking leaves of absences. And like many educators across the province, teachers at this school have become progressively concerned with the increasing number of students and staff who are testing positive for COVID-19. It is hard for everyone to stay positive when every effort to thwart the virus seems to result in more infections, more isolations, and further restrictions for everyone. In the last few weeks, some students have begun to knowingly break health protocols just to be around one another, to recapture some semblance of their former lives before the pandemic uprooted them and created a culture shock so disruptive that some are concerned that we may never return to our former ways of living.

The restrictive nature of these guidelines also means that students who attend the same school as many of their close friends may never actually see them. Instead, they will only ever see the same cohort of students. There is also little

variety in how schools can approach instruction, design the classroom environment, and schedule students' timetables. The monotony of daily school life has become psychologically crushing for some. It is only when students are temporarily released to congregate outside on the playground at lunchtime that the overwhelming desire for freedom can be too much for these young people, which can result in misbehaviors and increased insubordination.

Outside of the school boundaries, Albertans are similarly growing tired. Lately, the media have been giving increased attention to the *COVID Cowboys* – the dissenters of the public health guidelines and Trump-supporting protestors of masks and common sense that are gaining traction in Alberta and elsewhere. These rebels surround the compliant rule-followers, making it harder to enforce the province's guidelines in the weeks leading up to the holidays. Like the students who



are being asked to conform to the safety protocols being laid out in their schools, Albertans are becoming increasingly weary of being subservient to the needs of the larger community. They long for their previously established culture free from masks, physical distancing protocols, and hand sanitizer that has the viscosity of thick, oily egg whites.

But this is not the time to think of our own individual rights and freedoms.

Prior to the pandemic, and even during the early months at the onset of the virus' spread across the country, masking oneself in public was unheard of in Alberta. But now, as a province and as a country, we should accept it for what it is: Masks are a part of our collective identity, a symbol

of unity that binds all of us together. *This* is the new abnormal now. And we need to need to keep this in mind as we start fresh in January.

In the end, it is hard to know whether the decisions made by the Government of Alberta to reopen schools in September 2020 – which made masking optional in some of the lower grades and kept the ratios between teachers and students high – were the right choices to make. Only time will tell. And despite all of the issues mentioned above, if schools must remain open, then teachers will *need* to continue with these restrictive measures because it is likely what's best for all Canadians. And, hopefully, we will carry on through it all.

With governments calling for everyone to stay apart over the holidays, to physically distance at work and in schools, and to isolate if feeling

unwell, it may seem counterintuitive to state that we also need to band together right now. But, metaphorically, we must. We cannot lose sight of the fact that the only way we are going to get through this pandemic is by having a unified front. Now more than ever, we need to depend and support each other. And as uncomfortable as this whole experience had been for many of us, like the teachers and students at Deer Creek School, we should be grateful that we didn't have to go through it alone. From the health care workers protecting our communities to the COVID-infected trying their best to get through this in one piece to the healthy majority who have become fearful of their neighbours, friends, and families, we need to depend on each other in order to survive this. Because we are all in this mess together.

For better or worse.

Navigating the Double Pandemic: COVID-19 and Racial Injustice in Trump's America

Erica Morrow

Introduction

During the morning of November 8th, 2016, millions of Americans took to their polling stations to cast their ballot in what, at the time, seemed like a foot race between a Republican who had forgotten to tie his shoes and a Democrat who had already crossed the finish line. Amongst pollsters, it was projected that Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton would be met with the unwavering support of female voters, allowing her to cover red states in an unmistakably blue paint and ultimately, be elected President of the United States. However, despite numerous methodically curated forecasts allotting Clinton percentages of winning that rest among the high-nineties, the map began to drown in a sea of blood red - allowing for Donald Trump's untied laces to be replaced with Velcro and win an ostensibly uncompetitive race. Throughout the night, an overwhelming number of Americans refreshed the temporarily inaccessible Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada website, while tossing and turning until sunrise - yearning to escape the nightmare that had become reality. In the United States of America, citizens had become dazed by the falsified notion of the reparation of race relations following the civil rights movement and election of President Barack Obama. Thus, the election of Donald Trump, whose presidential

campaign was fueled by uncensored racism and bigotry, was devastation for those who aren't able to camouflage themselves amongst the rich, white and male. Further, the results signified the overwhelming desire to "Make America Great Again" (MAGA), suggesting that the divisive language and ideologies employed throughout the Trump campaign didn't hinder his results - but rather, assisted in his success. Since 2016, the foundation of Trump's presidency has been contingent upon an eagerness fostered by the white working class and the alt-right to reinstate a vision of pre-diversity America, where the attainment of the American dream is preserved for them.

On March 11th, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the novel coronavirus disease (COVID-19) a global pandemic. With more than 118,000 cases of COVID-19 detected in over 110 countries and territories worldwide, panic began to erupt throughout the United States of America (Ducharme, 2020). Quickly, hospitalizations surged and the devastating demand for personal protective equipment (PPE) became inescapable - yet, the Trump Administration remained dangerously unperturbed by the rapid spread of the virus. Alternately, Donald Trump frequently took to the echo-chamber that is Twitter, politicizing and trivializing the crisis of COVID-19 through the production of inherently racist and dismissive tweets. Nonetheless, this was dissimilar to Trump's previous attempts of controlling the narrative, for COVID-19 is not an abstract entity that fails to exist beyond the television screen but instead, it exists as a transcendent threat to the livelihood and well-being of Americans. By failing to provide leadership and guidance, the Trump Administration left Americans to indiscriminately and inde-

pendently navigate the dangers of a pandemic. This catalyzed the infection of millions and deaths of hundreds of thousands of Americans, both of which have unjustifiably impacted historically Black communities and their members. However, it is wholly irresponsible to imply that the lives of Black Americans are stolen by COVID-19 alone. Similar to the virus, racial injustice plagues American society - killing innumerable Black Americans annually, including George Floyd. Following the eruption of record-breaking Black Lives Matter protests throughout and beyond the United States of America, the Trump Administration employed the use of aggressive rhetoric and political violence. By categorizing the nation into mutually exclusive divisions of patriots and thugs, Donald Trump successfully accelerated the deterioration of race relations - allowing him to try to appeal to his predominately white base of voters, while communicating to Black Americans that they are neither valued nor welcome (Haberman & Martin, 2020). Within this essay, the social implications of the Trump Administration's reckless mishandling of COVID-19 and the Black Lives Matter movement and protests will be explored. Further, the disproportionately high COVID-19 infection and death rates amongst Black Americans will be correlated with the murder of George Floyd. This will be executed through the examination of the perpetual and premeditated anti-black racism embedded with the fundamental structure of American society - particularly, during a double pandemic.

COVID-19

As COVID-19 continues to dominate the United States of America, a number of jurisdictions have enforced and reinstated previously

implemented mask mandates as well as social distancing and isolation measures - while said public health measures remain heavily politicized in others. Ironically, despite the current absence of harmonious nationwide legislation, politicians and publications alike have worked to communicate that Americans are navigating COVID-19 as a collective - yearning to produce a sense of togetherness amongst an otherwise disconnected nation. However, the normalization of notions of connection and community (i.e. we're all in this together, alone-together) is paradoxical, for within the United States of America, "...some lives are more griveable than others...[and] more Black bodies are dying than white bodies...[because] there is... more to...[the] COVID-19 pandemic than America defending itself from an attack by an invisible enemy that...is exposing...[the] racist structures that America has tried so hard to keep invisible" (Kennedy, 2020, p.291). Thus, there is no unity amidst the uncertainty of COVID-19 - but rather, Black Americans are met with abandonment and an expectation to bypass illness, while flawlessly navigating a system built upon historical and contemporary anti-Black sentiments. Since the colonial era, racial injustice and inequality has been entrenched within the foundation of American society. Generally, this foundation is disguised by patronizing white-saviour complexes and the pandemonium of modern capitalism - however, the presidency of Donald Trump and COVID-19 actively exploit the racial disparities within the aforementioned foundation, while threatening to perpetuate them (Snowden & Graff, 2020, p.1). Therefore, it is evident that the impacts of COVID-19 are not universal, despite the adoption of collectivist clichés. Following the declaration

of COVID-19 as a global pandemic, Black Americans have been disproportionately dying, as a result of systemic racism. According to data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) on September 28th, 2020, "African Americans, who represent about 13.4% of the US population, comprise 18.2% of COVID cases and 20.9% of deaths" - leading to the underrepresentation of whites and overrepresentation of Black Americans (Snowden & Graff, 2020, p.2). This is directly linked to several social and economic injustices, including but not limited to: health-care, employment, income, poverty, education and housing. Amongst Black Americans, there is intergenerational trauma associated with the health-care system, as a "...long-standing issue based on a history of medical abuses dating to slavery" exists within (Barrón-Lopez, 2020). For many, this has influenced the development of a general distrust of medical practice and practitioners and thereby, Black Americans aren't receiving the information and treatments they need to properly protect themselves from COVID-19. Further, Black Americans are more likely to suffer from pre-existing and underlying health conditions, such as diseases of the heart and diabetes. With fewer opportunities for diagnosis, these illnesses go undetected and contribute to greater susceptibility of the virus. This coincides with racial inequalities in employment in the United States of America, as "...African Americans continue to be uninsured at substantially higher rates than whites. This may lead to greater fear of paying out-of-pocket costs for testing and treatment and less willingness to seek care when it is needed" (Snowden & Graff, 2020, p.2). Historically, Black Americans have been disadvantaged by substantial wage/benefit gaps

and have faced significantly higher rates of unemployment. While unemployment spiked throughout the nation due to COVID-19 restrictions and regulations, it stuck with Black Americans - as their occupations afford little-to-no job security. With limited access to economic resources, Black Americans are more likely to face an inability to meet monthly payments and therefore, are at a greater risk of homelessness following eviction or foreclosure. In contrast, those whose employment was maintained subsequent to the rise of COVID-19 generally belong to the sector of 'essential' services. Within the United States of America, "Black Americans continue to be overrepresented in the lowest-paying service and domestic occupations, including taxi drivers and chauffeurs, food servers, and maids and house cleaners. In such works, face-to-face contact with the public is required and social distancing is difficult to maintain" (Snowden & Graff, 2020, p.3). Thus, Black Americans are forced to risk the health of themselves and their families, for the purpose of generating an income - as the possibility of working from home is highly improbable. Moreover, 'essential' workers are less likely to have access to paid leave, making the abandonment of unsafe work a mere fantasy for Black Americans, as "...white families hold more than five times as much liquid assets as black families do, \$49,529 versus \$8,762. This makes white families far more capable of weathering the storm of COVID-19, whether it be job loss or another financial hit" - as Black Americans are more likely to live in poverty, due to low wages and stunted wage growth (Gould & Wilson, 2020). Due to COVID-19, the risk of intergenerational poverty is heightened - as the closure of schools and cancellation of educational programs may interfere with

one's ability to perform well academically and thereby, one's ability to accumulate funds. Traditionally, Black Americans are disproportionately bound by disadvantageous community conditions, including housing in impoverished and segregated neighborhoods - potentially offering less opportunity for isolated study and access to functioning laptops and Wi-Fi, as "Black households with teens are 2.5 times more likely to lack high-speed internet access" (Snowden & Graff, 2020, p.5). When considering the contagion of COVID-19, this becomes increasingly disparaging - as housing units in these vicinities are often multi-unit structures, requiring Black Americans to share communal utilities and services. Within these units, there is an increased likelihood that more than 3 generations are being housed, expanding the risk of COVID-19 leading to illness or death amongst Black Americans - as the elderly are encouraged to isolate themselves, particularly from those who foster the duty of performing 'essential' work (Snowden & Graff, 2020). Lastly, within the United States of America, Black Americans are more likely to face incarceration than whites. Additionally, Black Americans are more likely to face longer sentences, inducing the over-representation of older and susceptible inmates. This is troublesome, as uncontrollable infection has plagued correctional populations throughout the COVID-19 pandemic - leading to crude and disproportionate death rates amongst Black prisoners, as well as their families and communities upon release. Prior to COVID-19, racial injustice and inequality was sickening and rationalizing the death of Black Americans. However, the Trump Administration's failure to offer leadership exposed the reality of a double pandemic, making it virtually impossible for

Black Americans to succeed and survive within the United States of America.

Black Lives Matter and the Murder of George Floyd

On the evening of May 25th, 2020, the assertion of "I can't breathe" was no longer confined by the walls of overcrowded hospitals, while exhausted doctors and nurses navigated the deadly ventilator shortage. Instead, it echoed down the streets of Minneapolis, Minnesota, as white police officer Derek Chauvin knelt on the neck of George Floyd, a 46-year-old Black man, for eight minutes and forty-six seconds - denying him not only air, but humanity. Following the purchase of cigarettes at a local grocery store, an employee had notified authorities and reported that Floyd had completed his purchase with "fake bills" and was "awfully drunk" - implying that he was unable to control himself (Richardson, 2020). Shortly, officers J. Alexander Kueng and Thomas K. Lane arrived and interacted briefly with Floyd, before proclaiming that he was under arrest and escorting his handcuffed body to their police car. At this time, Floyd fell to the ground and disclosed that he was suffering from claustrophobia and anxiety, as well as recovering from COVID-19 - and, he couldn't breathe (Richardson, 2020). Moments later, officers Derek Chauvin and Tou Thao arrived in a third police car. Upon exiting the vehicle, officer Chauvin inquired about the state of the arrest before kneeling on his neck, ignoring the critique of bystanders armed with iPhone cameras and Floyd's desperate pleas for his mother, a drink of water, and for his life (Richardson, 2020). Rather, the officers made a non-emergency call for an ambulance and refused to provide Floyd with

medical assistance, despite the absence of a pulse. Later, George Floyd would be pronounced dead at the Hennepin County Medical Center and overnight, witnesses electronically distributed the now viral video-footage of his murder - provoking Black Lives Matter protests to erupt throughout Minneapolis. In the coming days, these protests expanded and surfaced in a number of divergent cities throughout the United States, including Memphis, Los Angeles and Louisville - where Breonna Taylor was shot and killed by white police officers, during a botched raid in March. A state of emergency was declared by Mayor Jacob Frey of Minneapolis on May 28th, as a local police precinct had become engulfed in flames and invaded by desperate protestors, demanding for charges to be brought against the four officers involved with the murder of George Floyd. Subsequently, President Donald Trump had published a tweet expressing his displeasure and disapproval of the 'lack of leadership' demonstrated in Minneapolis. This was accompanied by a threat to send in the National Guard, which was soon activated by Minnesota Governor Tim Walz. As protests continued to overwhelm the United States of America, officer Derek Chauvin was charged with third-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter, leaving the remaining three officers untouched by indictments. Per usual, Donald Trump took to Twitter - referring to protestors as "thugs" and violently stating "when the looting starts, the shooting starts" (Stelter & O'Sullivan, 2020). Quickly, this tweet would be hidden and provided a "public interest notice" by Twitter, as it violates the site's rules and policies against the glorification of violence, due to the historical context of his proclamation. Nonetheless, the warning label may be surpassed and

thereby, individuals may continue to access the tweet - as Twitter has determined that this may be in the best interest of the public. Either way, it is indisputable that Trump's rhetoric had incentivized brutality and hostility amongst demonstrators and law enforcement - for the seemingly unlawful utilization of tear gas and other non-lethal projectiles (i.e. pepper balls, flashbangs) had become increasingly prevalent, while being justified by the Trump Administration in the name of law and order. Following the unyielding escalation and international recognition of the protests, prosecutors leveled new criminal charges against those involved with Floyd's murder, including the already jailed officer Derek Chauvin - modifying his charge of third-degree murder to that of the second-degree, which may carry a sentence of up to 40 years. Additionally, each of the three previously unscathed officers were charged with aiding and abetting both second-degree murder and manslaughter (Stelter & O'Sullivan, 2020). Still, the Black Lives Matter protests and movement continued to grow throughout the United States of America - calling for the condemnation of unjust policing in America and demanding that Black Americans are awarded the right to breathe. When discussing the continued relevance and necessity of said orders, Jean (2020) explains:

The recent killings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Tony McDade, and Ahmaud Arbery - to name a few individuals - have resulted in widespread protests and support not only from the Black American community, but from allies across the globe. The historical upholding of white supremacist values in criminal justice policies, degradation of economic opportunity in

the Black community, and Black political and economic marginalization have resulted in the senseless and preventable loss of countless Black lives. If citizens in all 50 states and numerous countries are protesting about the unnecessary killings of Black people by the American police, it is safe to assume that the current system is broken. (p.1)

Despite President Donald Trump's perpetual and public dismissal of police violence and defamation of anti-racism organizers and protestors, the power of the Black Lives Matter movement prevails. This demonstrates the inescapable and inconceivable anguish experienced by Black Americans, as they continuously watch their community members be denied air by the very systems that the President of The United States allows to persist.

Trump's Mishandling of COVID-19 and Racial Injustice

For eight years, the United States of America received guidance from Barack Obama - a member of the Democratic Party and man of integrity, dignity, and humility. Too often, Americans had naively understood the election of the first African-American President as the reparation of race-relations within the United States of America; causing individuals to optimistically attempt to diminish the unceasing racism and authoritarianism permeating within the structure of American society. However, this effervescence would rapidly dissipate after the invasion of red and the consequential election of Donald Trump - whose presidential campaign was recklessly fueled and funded by white nationalism and supremacy.

Following the inauguration of Donald Trump, the United States of America underwent an extreme retrogression, transforming contemporary society into a reflection of the pre-Civil Rights era.

This left Black Americans to endure the trauma associated with the truths of Trump's victory, including the notion that capitalism is prioritized over the provision of oxygen to Black America. It is abundantly clear when considering the Trump Administration's mishandling of the COVID-19 pandemic, Black Lives Matter and the murder of George Floyd that Black Americans are left without leadership and thereby, are rid of the tools necessary to combat the double pandemic. Throughout the duration of Trump's presidency, he has demonstrated narcissistic and egocentric behaviours - leading to the premature dismissal and disposal of evidence-based COVID-19 warnings issued by medical and scientific experts. Nonetheless, the Trump Administration's unreceptiveness and inaction arguably did not act unaided in the conversion of the seemingly untouchable United States of America to the epicentre of the COVID-19 pandemic. Rather, more than 1.5 million Americans were killed by Trump's inability to forgo the employment of mockery and ridicule - influencing the trivialization and politicization of healthcare, including mask mandates, social distancing measures and COVID. On numerous occasions, Donald Trump has publicly taunted individuals, including Lesley Stahl and Joe Biden, for being 'politically correct' for abiding by public health and infection control measures as provided by the CDC. Correspondingly, thousands had organized and attended anti-mask rallies throughout the United States of America, ironically and freely protesting the violation of their freedoms.

By dangerously minimizing the severity and legitimacy of the COVID-19 pandemic, the virus has become uncontrollable - particularly within Black communities, which have been wholly forgotten by the Trump Administration. In failing to address the racial disparities embedded within the COVID-19 pandemic, Black America has been disproportionately impacted by death. However, this has not been exclusive to the spread of the virus - but rather, is associated with Donald Trump's violent response to the Black Lives Matter movement and protests, as well as his failure to condemn white supremacy. Following the murder of George Floyd, Donald Trump relentlessly referred to Black Lives Matter demonstrators as thugs and terrorists, while tweeting that the media coverage of the protests is unpatriotic Fake News. Further, "Donald Trump's hate speech and demonization of non-Whites, mainstream media, and oppositional politicians, and his implicit and explicit praise of violence resulted in many verbal and corporal attacks of the denigrated groups" - producing a heightened sense of fear and distrust among Black Americans, while perpetuating the fatal cycle of systemic racism (Nacos, Sapiro & Bloch-Elkon, 2020, p.20).

Conclusion

Conclusively, America has never been 'great' for Black people. Designed to protect the safety and successes of the rich, white, and male, the structure of American society is fundamentally flawed - covertly and overtly denying Black Americans equal access to resources and opportunities. Moreover, Black Americans are denied humanity - allowing for the death of Black bodies to be rationalized in the name of patriotism. Following the

election of Donald Trump, racism has been allowed to barge through the closet doors and relocate to the swing set on the front lawn. For Black Americans, this remains life threatening and the Trump Administration refuses to do anything besides gleefully listen to the squeaks of the chains. During the unprecedented year of 2020, Trump's vilification of Black bodies induced a double pandemic in the United States of America: COVID-19 and racial injustice. In failing to control and communicate the dangers of the virus, while continuing to employ aggressive rhetoric and political violence, the Trump Administration is responsible for the deprivation of oxygen in Black communities. Upon the navigation of the validity of the aforementioned double pandemic and correlation between the fatalities, Jean (2020) asserts:

Although police brutality and COVID-19 are separate tragedies, they intersect. As with police killings, the COVID-19 death rate is higher among Blacks than the U.S. population overall. The COVID-19 pandemic has shed light on America's deeply rooted structural health inequities. From inadequate access to healthcare to representing a disproportionate share of active frontline essential workers, the U.S. Black population consistently bears the burden of life-threatening consequences due to structural racism and non-inclusive policies throughout multiple institutions. (p.1)

Since 2016, Black Americans have been desperate for a leader who understands the necessity of the construction of a new America, rather than the revival of a nation that required Black Americans to merely exist with no justice and no peace

- and this is reflected in the results of the 2020 US Presidential Election. For in Trump's America, the message is loud and clear:

Black Lives Do Not Matter

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Exchange 2020 – How Quickly It All Ended

Amelia Krallis

February 27th, 2020 – 1369 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

I was in a bar with all of my high school friends saying my last good-byes before leaving for my exchange for Argentina. We were all enjoying ourselves when one of my friends made a joke that I would never be let back into Canada because Corona Virus would stop all international air travel. I remember laughing at him calling him ridiculous and a dooms day conspirator.

March 2nd, 2020 – 2281 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

The Pierre Elliot Trudeau Airport was covered in warning signs for Covid-19 symptoms, I was asked numerous times if I had traveled to any Asian countries in the last 2 weeks. I had connecting flights in Washington and Houston both those airports had similar signage but a few more people wore masks.

March 4th, 2020 – 2200 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

I prepaid 4 months of rent on an apartment.

March 5th, 2020 – 2777 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

At the Exchange Student Orientation of *Universidad Catolica de Argentina* the exchange coordinator, Veronica Muñoz, ensured us that the Minister of Health for Argentina was monitoring

the Covid situation and we had nothing to worry. (That day two people tested positive for Covid 19 in Buenos Aires after having returned from Italy.)

March 8th, 2020 – 3738 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

All the exchange students received an email from the university saying our add drop week would be completely online so that the students coming from Europe would be able to quarantine themselves.

March 10th, 2020 – 4488 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

Myself and my American friend Liz decided to take advantage of our delayed class start and see a bit of Argentina. We traveled to Mendoza by public bus and toured the wine country. I do realize now that this was definitely a very bad decision but, in that moment, I was not taking it seriously at all. There were only 19 cases in Argentina and only 1 confirmed case in Quebec by the day I had left so I was fairly confident I was fine.

March 12th, 2020 – 6519 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

On our final stop of our wine tour my friend Liz received an email from her university officially canceling her exchange program essentially ruining our night. Her university was revoking her traveler's insurance within the week forcing her to return for fear of not being ensured. We did what any 22-year old's would do in a crisis and continued to buy more wine and try and console each other. At this moment I realized I had private travelers' insurance and would not be put in that situation, I predicted I would be able to last in Argentina

until at least end of April, there were after all not many cases where we were.

March 13th, 2020 – 9643 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

Before boarding a bus to go from Mendoza to San Rafael the bus attendant got spooked by our foreign passports, she took them for 25 minutes to look over them and then returned them to us with 2 masks she tried to explain to us in hushed and angry Spanish that we shouldn't be traveling because of the virus.

We went for dinner that night after arriving and the restaurants were wiping all the tables down and giving hand sanitizer to all the customers. Back then it seemed very strange but now, five months later, it is already very normal.

March 16th, 2020 – 11791 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

I had traveled back to Buenos Aires and after being told by both universities and governments to return home I decided that it was time to book a flight to Montreal. The airports were already being flooded with all the travelers from Europe and the world was slowly starting to shut down. Flights were being canceled so quickly that finding one was difficult as they couldn't have layovers for fear of being stranded in that country. My return flight was twice as expensive as my round-trip ticket.

March 19th, 2020 – 23977 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

The day before my flight back to Buenos Aires I decided to go walk around and see as much of the city as possible. I could already see the difference in activity, a week earlier the streets

and restaurants would have been packed but now places were giving discounts if customers took their food back home to eat, there were less people walking around, very few people on the buses which were normally packed, and everyone seemed more weary when walking by each other on the cross walk. Argentines greet one another with two kisses on the cheek. This is customary for both men and women but now people would jokingly bump elbows with each other. Our exchange office told us we had to walk around everywhere with a photo of our passport to prove that we had been there for a minimum of two weeks and they urged us to only speak Spanish with each other to seem less foreign.

At 8pm that night we got urgent messages from our coordinators saying that the government was going to enforce a nation-wide lock down because the cases had jumped from 97 to 129 in a single day

At midnight the people of Buenos Aires stood on roofs and porches banging pots and pans together as a thank you to their government for acting so quickly and supporting the health care workers. Some neighbourhoods even sang the national anthem together.

March 20th, 2020 – 32892 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

I got to the airport 5 hours before my flight to make sure it wasn't canceled. There was security at the entrances checking boarding passes as non-essential people were not allowed to enter. As I waited in line to check my bags I spoke with the other passengers and each of us had a different story of what plans got cut short and how this affected their trips. Two very lovely women quickly

agreed that my story was the saddest and continued to remind me of that for the hour-long wait. My flight had a stop in Santiago Chile to pick up more passengers, all the Buenos Aires passengers had to disembark from the planes and have their temperatures checked. All airport personnel were wearing masks and most elderly passengers were as well.

The 11-hour flight to Toronto felt much longer on the way back, a woman sitting beside me sprayed liquid rubbing alcohol into the air in front of her every 30 minutes and would glare at me when I tried to stifle my coughs from inhaling her fumes.

March 21st, 2020- 23444 Confirmed Cases Worldwide

Upon landing in Toronto, we had to wait on the plane for 2 hours because they were only processing 1 plane at a time to avoid massive crowds gathering inside the airports. I rented a car to drive back to Lennoxville for my mandatory 14-day quarantine. Some nice Lacrosse boys lent me their apartment because my roommate was still in mine and I couldn't infect her.

July 18th, 2020 – 14,043,611 Confirmed Cases Worldwide, 109,669 Confirmed Cases in Canada, 119,301 Confirmed Cases in Argentina.

All Data found by World Health Organization <https://covid19.who.int>

Covid Abroad, the Exchange Student Experience in 2020

Jeff Bafumi

Covid-19 was a shock for everyone on the planet, the world shut down for months at a time while we all learned to live with a new normal. My life, as an exchange student at NEOMA Business School in Reims, France, came with its own, unique set of challenges.

The progression of COVID's ascendance in Europe came violently and rapidly. What began as a news story of a virus in China, quickly became the center of all of our lives. My first hint of what to come came from my friend Giammarco, who had returned to Milan after one semester in France. He asked me about the COVID situation in Reims, and I was confused why he was asking about a virus that "was only in China." After I responded, he proceeded to explain that Milan was in complete lockdown, with only essential services being open, and travel to and from the city banned. This was a startling revelation that COVID would not be contained in China and was poised to take over the planet.

As time went on, COVID dominated headlines and was a topic of discussion every day. My friend Leigh-Ann and I would have our "daily COVID check" to see the new number of cases in each country. This went on for a few weeks until it became too depressing to see the cases grow exponentially in every country. Finally, the day we had all been expecting came. I was eating dinner at my friends' residence while we waited for Macron's highly anticipated speech. He announced

the closure of all schools, bars, restaurants, and the implantation of a mandatory paper to leave the house for essential reasons, capped at 1 hour per day. Initially, we were happy as we thought it would be a nice break from school before things reopened shortly, how naïve we were.

The next months were a test in keeping sane while staying locked in my studio apartment all day, every day. The transition from seeing people and going out constantly, to never, hit incredibly hard. Slowly, the Zoom calls and online games began to replace dinners and sports. I, like everyone, learned to adapt and change my routine. COVID taught us all a great deal about ourselves and those around us, it showed the best and the worst sides of humanity. It is an experience I hope to one day put behind me, but it has undoubtedly changed us all for the rest of our lives.

COVID Testimony - Belgium

Émilie Labbé & Skylar Marshall

We met on February 1st in Liège, Belgium during a museum tour. We joked about carrying hand sanitizer around in fear of catching the coronavirus. There wasn't an inkling of seriousness in our tones. Our European friends also thought it was humorous. We continued our day-to-day life going to classes, seeing new places, trying new food; without the fear that something might ruin our exchange.

In the middle of February, we travelled to Strasbourg for a three-day trip to tour the city with our Erasmus group. It was the most beautiful weekend; seventeen-degree weather in February, nothing compared to the chill in Lennoxville. We ate so many pretzels and walked around everyday, all day. We had a traditional Alsacienne dinner in this basement restaurant where forty of us were crammed together eating and drinking.

After we came back, on the news it said there had been over twenty cases reported in the exact area we had been staying that weekend. Prior to this news, most of us weren't feeling great after the trip but we blamed it on exhaustion and the damp rainy weather in Liège. One of us developed a really awful chest cold that lasted for over a week and the other developed a really bad cough that lasted about the same amount of time.

We pushed it away, blaming the weather and exhaustion; we continued to travel, to go to class. It started to get bad in March, the Italians in our program wanted to get home before

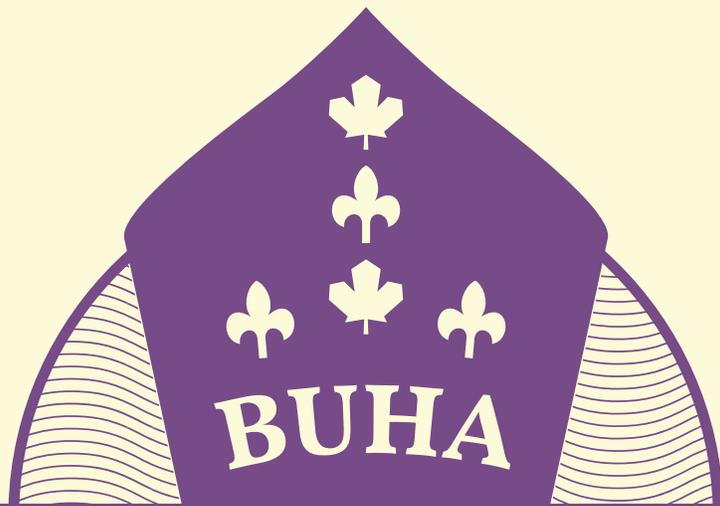
their borders closed. The numbers on the news kept getting higher, but it wasn't getting worse in Canada which made it seem okay. The lack of seriousness regarding the situation in Belgium was concerned; we continued to go to class, see people, travel.

On March 11th, we planned our April holidays to get as much travel in before exams. On March 12th, the Wallonian government cancelled in-person classes for six weeks, but the Belgian government did not. There was so much uncertainty to the severity of this virus. On March 13th, Liège was shutting down that night at 12:01; everyone was leaving, parents were travelling through multiple countries to get their children. I was going home.

An experience to give us memories for life did in some sense just not exactly how we had planned, but on the bright side, we met and that made the exchange worth it.



Émilie Labbé & Skylar Marshall, Université de Liège, 2019-2020



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