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Minerva
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This is the twelfth edition of *Minerva*, a journal representing the strongest fourth-year papers from the Brantford and Waterloo campuses at Wilfrid Laurier University. The continuing diversity of our fourth-year seminars is clear from the collection of essays presented here. Students are digging into historiography like in Rodrigues' eclectic study of British imperial historiography. Our students in the ancient studies seminar continue to engage some of our oldest histories; Martin engages in a comprehensive overview of tea's role in ancient China.

The second section of the journal demonstrates students undertaking in-depth primary source research. Both Shaw and Stokes deal with twentieth century histories of North America, researching the popular culture and understandings of AIDS and modern Warfare respectively.

The senior seminar continues to be a unique 1.0 credit one-term course that provides a capstone experience for all of our history and ancient studies students. Some continue to focus on one large research essay, while others deconstruct complex topics with multiple writing assignments, seminar discussions, and in-class presentations.

Congratulations to our authors!

Did you know?

A group of owls is now called a "parliament of owls." This originates from the fourth chapter of C.S. Lewis' 1953 novel The Silver Chair, part of the Chronicles of Narnia.

- The Audobon society.

When Queen Victoria passed away in January 1901, the empire that bore her name encompassed roughly one-quarter of the world's land surface and one-fifth of its population.[1] British gunboats patrolled the Nile and the Yangtze, Canadian wheat fed British industrial workers, wool from Australian sheep clothed them, Indian troops fought Britain's wars, and the City of London financed global trade, establishing itself as the epicentre of global trade.[2] The "imperial idea" – the conviction that European, and most notably British, civilization represented the pinnacle of human development and carried a sacred duty to rule "lesser" peoples – remained axiomatic for most of the governing classes and much of the population. Yet within fifty years, this edifice had crumbled. India gained independence in 1947. The late 1950s saw the British acknowledge the inevitability of African decolonization, most notably in Harold Macmillan's Cape Town address. By the 1970s, the British Empire had been reduced to scattered island possessions and nostalgic memory.

The question of when Victorian imperialism truly ended, however, remains surprisingly contested. Was its death certificate signed on the dusty veldt of South Africa during the Boer War, when the concentration camps and guerrilla warfare exposed the moral pretensions of the civilizing mission? Did it perish in the trenches of the Somme and Ypres, where European civilization committed suicide and took its claim to global moral leadership with it? Did it fester until the colonized peoples themselves, in Frantz Fanon's unforgettable formulation, rose and purged the imperial poison from their collective psyche? Or did it finally collapse in the global conflagration of 1939 – 1945, when the empires turned on each other and emerged from the ruins bankrupt, exhausted, and delegitimized?

This historiographical analysis examines four works, each representing a different moment in the chronology of imperial decline and a distinct methodological approach. Paula M. Krebs's *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire* locates the first cracks in the Boer War's exposure of imperial ideology's internal contradictions. Margaret MacMillan's *The War That Ended Peace* views the First World War as an integral collapse that rendered the old imperial order untenable. Frantz Fanon's revolutionary classic *The Wretched of the Earth* argues that true decolonization required a psychological liberation – a process whose roots lay in the interwar awakening of anti-colonial consciousness and whose fruits would ripen after 1945. Richard Overy's sweeping study, *Blood and Ruins*, restructures the Second World War as the "Great Imperial War" whose outcome physically and materially destroyed European global dominance. This paper proposes that these divergent answers reflect not simply disagreement over chronology but deeper historiographical divisions about whether imperialism was primarily a cultural system, an international order, a psychological condition, or a material structure. Together, these works demonstrate that the "end" of Victorian imperialism is not a single date but a palimpsest of overlapping endings – ideological, diplomatic, psychological, and material – and that the historian's choice of endpoint reveals fundamental assumptions about what imperialism actually was.

To begin, Paula M. Krebs's *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire* challenges the traditional periodization of imperial decline.[3] Where diplomatic and military historians have pointed to the First World War or the post-1945 independence movements as decisive turning points, Krebs argues that the origins of collapse lie earlier, in the representational crises of the Second Boer War (1899 -1902).[4] As she states in her opening chapter, the event of Mafeking Night "say less about British support for imperialism than they do about the power of the press to tease the British public into a frenzy of anticipation."[5] A literary scholar by trade, Krebs approaches imperial history through the analysis of public discourse rather than the archives of politicians or the chronology of battles. As she explains, she is not concerned with "tracing imperial themes in literature" but with examining "assumptions

[1] Niall Ferguson. *Empire: How Britain made the modern world*. Penguin UK, 2012. 163.
[2] P.J Cain and A. G Hopkins. *British Imperialism : Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914*. Longman, 1993. 44.
[3] Paula M. Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War*. Cambridge University Press, 2004. 178.
[4] Paula M. Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War*. Cambridge University Press, 2004. 29.
[5] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire*, 2.

about British imperialism and what sustained it in public discourse about the Boer War."[6] Her methodology shifts the historian's gaze to newspapers, pamphlets and the public debates that shaped how Britons understood their empire.[7] For Krebs, the question of when imperialism began to end is inseparable from the moment when Britons stopped believing the stories that sustained it.[8] The Victorian imperial project depended on a set of narratives: that Britons ruled for the benefit of the ruled, that the Empire was a force of civilization, and that British soldiers fought honourably against worthy opponents.[9] Her historiographical contribution lies in insisting that representational crises – moments when imperial rhetoric and practice become visibly mismatched – are as substantial as military defeats in charting imperial decline.[10] In this sense, Krebs does not simply add cultural history to the existing narrative; she redefines what imperial decline itself means.

Krebs's historiographical contribution is most evident in her treatment of the concentration camp controversy, where she demonstrates how a humanitarian crisis became a crisis of imperial legitimacy.[11] Where earlier historians of the Second Boer War focused on military strategy or diplomatic negotiations, Krebs examines how the camps were reported in the British press and how those representations compelled a re-evaluation of Britain's imperial mission. As she argues, "Imperialism in the Boer War was moving from being an ideological issue… to being a matter of public opinion, political controversy open to debate."[12] When Emily Hobhouse published her reports detailing horrific conditions – malnutrition, disease, and death on a staggering scale – the British public was forced to confront a version of imperial reality that contradicted everything it believed about itself.[13] As Krebs writes, "the camps controversy was the biggest scandal of the South African War."[14] Its significance, however, lay not in the scandal itself but in what it revealed: a British public forced to confront the gap between imperial rhetoric and imperial practice. For Krebs, this moment marked a rupture in imperial ideology not because it ended the empire but because it made visible the contradictions that would eventually undo it. Her historiographical intervention lies in treating this representational crisis as historically noteworthy in its own right, rather than as a mere episode in a larger military or political narrative.

Krebs's periodization has not gone unchallenged within the historiography of British imperialism.[15] Critics such as John MacKenzie have argued that popular imperialism peaked in the decade before 1914, suggesting that Krebs overstates the immediate impact of the Boer War's representational crises.[16] The music-hall jingoism, mass enthusiasm for Navy League parades, and wildly popular Empire Day celebrations all point to a public that remained deeply invested in imperial ideology well after the Boer War had ended. Yet this critique, while valid within a framework that measures imperial decline by the persistence of popular enthusiasm, operates on different historiographical assumptions than Krebs's. Where Mackenzie emphasizes continuity and the resilience of imperial culture, Krebs insists on the significance of the rupture and the fracturing of ideological consensus.[17] For Krebs, the Boer War did not kill British imperialism, but it made visible the contradictions that would eventually undo it.[18] As she concludes, "The Boer War, which lost its place in public memory in Britain after the more sweeping tragedy of the Great War, still has much to teach us about the workings of imperialism in an empire that was at the turn of the century struggling with new understandings about race, about the identity of 'the public,' and about gender."[19] In short, Krebs' literary methodology – her attention to the stories empire told about itself – allows her to trace an

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[6] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 8.
[7] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 30-31.
[8] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 178.
[9] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 1-2.
[10]Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 177-78.
[11] Paula M. Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War.* Cambridge University Press, 2004. 35.
[12] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 34-35.
[13] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 32-33.
[14] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 49.
[15] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 177-78.
[16] John M. Mackenzie. *Propaganda and Empire : The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960.* Manchester University Press, 1984. 231-36.
[17] Paula M. Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War.* Cambridge University Press, 2004. 177-78.
[18] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 145.
[19] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and Writing of Empire,* 178.

erosion of belief that a purely political or military history might miss. Historiographically, Krebs establishes that the "end" of Victorian imperialism cannot be understood solely through institutional collapse; it must also be traced through the slow, uneven unravelling of the cultural forms that sustained it.

Next, where Krebs locates imperial decline in the fracturing of cultural consensus during the Second Boer War, Margaret MacMillan's *The War That Ended Peace* offers a historiographical framework centred on systematic collapse.[20] A diplomatic historian by trade, MacMillan approaches the end of Victorian imperialism through the structures of international order rather than the lens of public discourse. Her focus on the Concert of Europe, the Franco-Russian alliance, and the system of great-power consultations reflect a methodological commitment to understanding imperial decline through international frameworks rather than cultural representation.[21] Her title announces her historiographical thesis: the First World War did not merely interrupt the peaceful progress of European civilization but ended a particular world, including the world of Victorian imperialism.[22] For MacMillan, the imperial order rested on a specific set of institutional arrangements: the Concert of Europe, the gold standard, British naval supremacy, and the shared assumption of European cultural superiority.[23] As she states, Europeans of the era believed "their civilization was superior and that its benefits were being spread around the globe."[24] Unlike Krebs, who sees the origins of imperial decline in the ideological ruptures of the Boer War, MacMillan insists that the structures reinforcing empire remained intact until 1914.[25] Her historiography emphasizes contingency, challenging deterministic accounts that treat the war as inevitable. "It is easy to throw up one's hands and say the Great War was inevitable," she cautions, "but that is dangerous thinking, especially when current events resemble those of the years before 1914."[26]

The First World War, in MacMillan's account, did not simply weaken the European empires – it shattered the international system that had sustained them.[27] The conflict did not immediately dismantle the empires; Britain and France emerged from the war with their territorial holdings expanded through the League of Nations mandate system.[28] Historiographically, however, MacMillan distinguishes between formal structures and underlying legitimacy. As she writes, "The Great War marked a break in Europe's history."[29] The Russian Revolution introduced a new model of anti-imperial politics that would inspire colonized peoples globally.[30] The war bankrupted Britain and shifted the centre of global economic power to the United States. The Versailles settlement, with its Wilsonian rhetoric of self-determination, created expectations that could not be contained within the old imperial framework.[31] For MacMillan, the war did not merely redistribute territory among European powers; it fundamentally altered the terms by which imperial rule could be justified. The spectacle of Europeans slaughtering each other by the millions fatally undermined any claim to moral superiority, while the promises of self-determination made at Versailles could not be indefinitely denied to the colonized peoples who had fought for their imperial masters. In this sense, the war destroyed not only the material foundations of the European empire but also the ideological legitimacy upon which it rested.[32]

MacMillan's periodization has faced criticism from historians who emphasize the continuity of European empires after 1918. As historian John Darwin argues, the immediate post-war crisis did not shatter the British imperial system; rather, "by the mid-1920s, the worst seemed over… The centre held."[33] The British Empire reached

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[20] Margaret MacMillan. *The War That Ended Peace : The Road to 1914*. Allen Lane, 2014. xxvii.
[21] Margaret MacMillan. *The War That Ended Peace : The Road to 1914*. Allen Lane, 2014. 23-27.
[22] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace,* 639-40.
[23] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace,* 22-23.
[24] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace,* 7.
[25] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace,* 14-15.
[26] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace*, xxvi.
[27] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace,* 640.
[28] Margaret MacMillan. *Paris 1919 : Six Months That Changed the World*. Random House trade paperback edition. Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2003. 405-06.
[29] Margaret MacMillan. *The War That Ended Peace : The Road to 1914*. Allen Lane, 2014. 640.
[30] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace,* xxiv.
[31] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace*, xxiv.
[32] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace*, xxiv, 639-640.
[33] John, Darwin. *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, 2009. 361.

its maximum territorial extent in the interwar years, and French colonialism persisted for another generation.[34] From this perspective, the First World War was a crisis from which the empires recovered, not a fatal blow. Yet, this objection reflects a different historiographical framework: one that measures imperial decline by territorial control rather than by the erosion of deep-rooted legitimacy.[35] MacMillan's emphasis on contingency reinforces her periodization: if the war had been avoided, the imperial order might have progressed differently; but once the war came, the old world could not be restored.[36] In other words, where Krebs traces the erosion of belief – the slow poisoning of the tales empire told about itself – MacMillan traces the destruction of institutions, the collapse of the mechanisms that had made imperial rule possible. Both accounts, however, share a historiographical limitation: in their focus on the metropole, the colonized peoples themselves remain largely offstage, affected by European decisions but not yet actors in their own history. This is where the work of Frantz Fanon and his lived history becomes essential, for he insists that the end of empire cannot be understood from Europe alone and that the colonized psyche, not the European archive, holds the key to decolonization.

In contrast, of all the works in this quartet, none fits less comfortably into the category of "historiography" than Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, a revolutionary manifesto written in the midst of the Algerian War rather than a work of academic history. Fanon was not a historian writing about the past but a revolutionary psychiatrist and theorist writing in the midst of the Algerian War of Independence, which he supported with passionate commitment. His book, published in 1961, is a manifesto, a work of political theory, a psychoanalytic exploration of the effects of colonialism, and a call to violence. To treat it as historiography requires reading it against the grain, extracting from its passionate prose an argument about when and how Victorian imperialism ended. That argument, when extracted, is both powerful and unsettling. Fanon insists that colonialism is not primarily a political or economic system but a psychological one. His interpretive framework privileges consciousness over institutions, internalized inferiority over diplomatic relations. "Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content," Fanon writes. "By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it."[37] For Fanon, the deepest wound colonialism inflicts is psychological, and it persists long after formal decolonialization. Consequently, his historiographical position holds that true decolonialization requires a violent rupture – not primarily physical violence, but psychological violence: the rejection of the colonizer's values, the assertion of a new humanity, the creation of a new consciousness. "Decolonization," Fanon declares, " is the veritable creation of new men."[38] At the level of individuals, violence is "a cleansing force" that "frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction."[39] Methodologically, Fanon thus shifts the historian's gaze from archives and treaties to the colonized psyche, redefining where and how the end of imperialism must be located.

Fanon does not write as a historian offering a clear periodization. His book is a revolutionary manifesto composed in the midst of the Algerian War, and his explicit focus is on the armed struggle of his own time. When he writes of violence as "a cleansing force" that frees the native from his inferiority complex, Fanon is speaking directly to the fighters of the National Liberation Front, not to historians seeking to date imperialism's demise.[40] Yet within this revolutionary text, one can discern an implicit periodization that locates the origins of decolonialization not in the battlefields of Europe but in the interwar years. Fanon acknowledges this directly when he writes of "the preceding generations" who "have both resisted the work of erosion carried by colonialism and also helped on the maturing of the struggles of today."[41] While he distinguishes their struggle from the present armed struggle – insisting that " we must rid ourselves of the habit…of minimizing the action of our fathers" – he also credits them with laying the groundwork. For Fanon, the roots of decolonization lie in the 1920s and 1930s, even if their fruits would not fully ripen until after 1945. Where Krebs locates imperialism's end in the Boer War and MacMillan in the First World War, Fanon shifts attention to the interwar period, when anti-colonial consciousness first crystallized. The

[34] Darwin, *The Empire Project,* 318.
[35] Margaret MacMillan. *The War That Ended Peace : The Road to 1914*. Allen Lane, 2014. 640-41.
[36] MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace,* xxxiv.
[37] Frantz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translated by Constance Farrington. New York: Grove Press, 1963. 210-211.
[38] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 36.
[39] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 94.
[40] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 93-94.
[41] Frantz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translated by Constance Farrington. New York: Grove Press, 1963. 206.

battles that decided imperialism's fate were not fought at Spion Kop or on the Somme, but in the minds of the colonized, where the slow work of psychological liberation had already begun.

The interwar years, in Fanon's implicit periodization, were the seedbed of decolonization. The Negritude movement of the 1930s, associated with Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sédar Senghor, began the cultural reclamation work that Fanon would later theorize. Fanon himself acknowledges Negritude as "the emotional if not logical antithesis of that insult which the white man flung at humanity," a movement that proved "capable of lifting interdictions and anathemas."[42] The Second World War, in which colonial troops fought for their imperial masters and then returned home with new expectations, created the conditions for the post-war explosion of nationalist movements. Fanon illustrates this through Keita Fodeba's poem African Dawn, which tells the story of Naman, a colonial soldier who fights for France, is decorated, and is finally machine-gunned by the police forces upon returning home. Fanon's commentary makes the periodizing significance clear: "Naman, the hero of the battlefields of Europe…is machine-gunned by the police at the very moment that he comes back to the country of his birth: and this is Sétif in 1945… All those coloured, all those wogs who fought to defend the liberty of France or for British civilization recognize themselves in this poem."[43] As a result, the consciousness that would fuel the post-war nationalist movements, Fanon suggests, had already begun to stir between the wars. It crystallized in cultural movements, in the bitter experience of colonial soldiers, and in the slow, painful awakening of colonized peoples to their own humanity. For Fanon, the empire ended not when its armies retreated but when its hold on the mind was broken, and that process of psychological liberation began in the interwar years.[44]

Lastly, Richard Overy's *Blood and Ruins* offers a historiographical intervention that returns the focus to Europe and to the military-strategic dimensions of imperial decline, but with a compelling twist. Where diplomatic and military historians have traditionally framed the Second World War as a moral crusade against fascism or as a continuation of the First World War's unresolved issues, Overy argues instead that the conflict must be understood as fundamentally a war of empires.[45] A military historian by trade, Overy approaches the end of Victorian imperialism through the material and strategic realities of industrialized warfare rather than through cultural representation, diplomatic negotiation, or psychological liberation. His framing challenges both the conventional view of the war as a struggle between nation-states and the tendency to see decolonization as a post-war phenomenon separate from the war itself. For Overy, the war was not fought between nation-states but between empires – the British Empire, the French Empire, the Japanese Empire, the German quest for Lebensraum in Eastern Europe, the Italian ambition for a Mediterranean empire.[46] As he writes in the preface, "what links all the differing areas and forms of conflict together is the existence of a global imperial order, dominated principally by the British and French, which shaped and stimulated the fantastic ambitions in Japan, Italy, and Germany, the so-called 'have not' nations."[47] Japan's war aims were explicitly imperial: the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was a euphemism for Japanese domination of Asia. Germany's war in the east aimed at the creation of a vast colonial empire in which, as Hitler himself put it, Germans would "look upon the natives as Redskins."[48] Even the Western Allies, for all their anti-fascist rhetoric, fought to preserve their imperial possessions. Churchill's declaration that he wanted to see "the British Empire preserved for a few more generations in its strength and splendour" was not an eccentric personal view but a statement of Allied war aims.[49]

By framing the Second World War in this manner, Overy makes a powerful historiographical argument about periodization. The empires did not simply collapse after 1945 under the weight of nationalist movements; they destroyed themselves in a war of mutual annihilation.[50] "The long Second World War," Overy concludes, "ended not only a particular form of empire, but discredited the longer history of the term."[51] The war's material consequences were decisive. Britain emerged from the conflict with its economy in ruins, its treasury empty, its cities

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[42] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 212.
[43] Frantz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translated by Constance Farrington. New York: Grove Press, 1963. 232.
[44] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 244-245.
[45] R.J Overy. *Blood and Ruins : The Last Imperial War, 1931-1945.* First North American edition. Viking, 2022. xii-xiii.
[46] R.J Overy. *Blood and Ruins : The Last Imperial War, 1931-1945.* First North American edition. Viking, 2022. 33-35.
[47] Overy, *Blood and Ruins,* xiii.
[48] Overy, *Blood and Ruins,* 205.
[49] Overy, *Blood and Ruins,* 104.
[50] Overy, *Blood and Ruins,* 826.
[51] Overy, *Blood and Ruins,* 878.

faced with heavy damage from bombing campaigns, and its population exhausted.[52] The United States of America, which had never been a colonial power in the European sense and was increasingly anti-colonial in its rhetoric, then materialized as the dominant Western power and pressed its allies towards decolonization.[53] The Soviet Union, whatever its own imperial character, provided ideological and material support for anti-colonial movements.[54] The war had also mobilized millions of colonial subjects, who served in imperial armies, worked in war industries, and experienced a world beyond their villages; they would not quietly return to colonial subordination.[55] Overy's contribution lies in insisting that the material destruction of the European empires – the bankrupting of Britain, the exhaustion of France, the separation of Germany – was not an incidental byproduct of the war but its key mechanism. In this sense, he does not simply add military history to the existing narrative of imperial decline; he argues that the war itself was the apparatus of destruction.

Overy's account complements and complicates the other three works in this quartet. Where Krebs traces the erosion of belief – the slow poisoning of the stories empire told about itself – Overy provides the material foundation for understanding why those stories could no longer be sustained. Where MacMillan traces the destruction of institutions and the collapse of international order, Overy shows how the Second World War made that collapse irreversible and total. Where Fanon insists on the psychological liberation of the colonized, Overy would argue that such liberation depended on the material conditions created by the war: the weakening of colonial states, the mobilization of colonial populations, the shift in global power from Europe to the United States and the Soviet Union. Yet, Overy's focus on the war as an imperial conflict also raises historiographical questions. By emphasizing the self-destruction of the European empires, does Overy risk minimizing the agency of colonized peoples? His account, for all its sophistication, remains centred on European decision-making and European conflict. The colonized appear primarily as victims of Japanese brutality, as soldiers of imperial armies, as subjects whose fate is determined elsewhere. Overy himself acknowledges these gaps and that his book is "intended as a history that asks large questions…rather than pretend an encyclopedic comprehensiveness."[56] This is not a criticism of his work, which does not pretend to be a history of decolonization. Still, it suggests the limits of even the most capacious military-strategic framework. In the end, Overy's materialist account of imperial collapse works best alongside Fanon's psychological one: the empire's body could not survive the war, but its hold on the mind required a different kind of liberation.

In summary, this historiographical analysis has examined four works, each offering a different answer to the question of when Victorian imperialism ended. Paula M. Krebs locates the beginning of the end in the representational crises of the Second Boer War, when the stories that sustained British imperialism began to fail. Margaret MacMillan places the rupture in the First World War, when the international order that had enabled European global dominance was shattered beyond repair. Frantz Fanon shifts attention to the interwar years and to the colonized psyche, arguing that true decolonization required a psychological liberation that could only come from within. Richard Overy returns the focus to Europe and to the Second World War, showing how empires destroyed themselves materially in a war of mutual annihilation.

These divergent answers reflect not simply disagreement over chronology but deeper historiographical divisions about what imperialism actually was. For Krebs, imperialism was primarily a cultural system sustained by tales and public discourse. For MacMillan, it was an international order sustained by institutions and diplomatic arrangements. For Fanon, it was a psychological condition that colonized the mind. For Overy, it was the material structure that could only be destroyed by industrialized warfare. Each historian's choice of endpoint – the Boer War, the First World War, the interwar years, and the Second World War – follows logically from their methodological commitments. A literary scholar who studies public discourse finds the rupture in a crisis of representation. A diplomatic historian who studies international order finds it in the collapse of the Concert of Europe. A revolutionary psychiatrist who studies the colonized psyche finds it in the awakening of anti-colonial consciousness. A military historian who studies industrialized warfare finds it in the material destruction of the Second World War.

The "end" of Victorian imperialism, then, is not a single date but a palimpsest of overlapping endings: ideological, diplomatic, psychological, and material. The historian's choice of which ending matters most reveals not

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[52] R.J Overy. *Blood and Ruins : The Last Imperial War, 1931-1945.* First North American edition. Viking, 2022. 838.
[53] Overy, *Blood and Ruins,* 870-71.
[54] Overy, *Blood and Ruins,* 838-39.
[55] Overy, *Blood and Ruins,* 388-89.
[56] R.J Overy. *Blood and Ruins : The Last Imperial War, 1931-1945.* First North American edition. Viking, 2022. xvi.

only their periodization but their fundamental assumptions about the nature of imperial power itself. Read together, these four works suggest that imperialism was simultaneously a cultural system, an international order, a psychological condition, and a material structure. Notably, each of these dimensions operated across European empires, not only the British one. Krebs's analysis of Boer War discourse engaged the British public, but the racial ideologies she traces were shared from Berlin to Paris to Brussels; MacMillan's Concert of Europe was, by definition, multilateral; Fanon wrote explicitly about French Algeria; and Overy's central thesis is that the Second World War was a war among European empires that destroyed them all. To understand the end of Victorian imperialism requires not choosing among these frameworks but holding them together, recognizing that the empire died many deaths before it was finally laid to rest.

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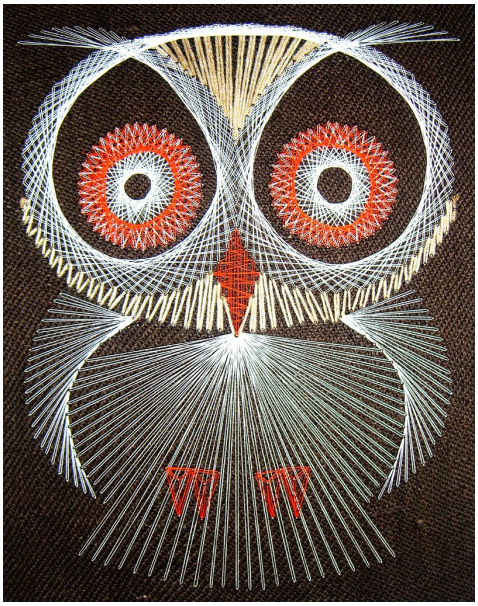

Tea became significant to everyday life within China during the Tang dynasty. I will discuss the production and processing of tea plants into the beverage relied on the location, on the harvesting process, and on the tools available. Once sold, consumers who participated in the proliferation of tea and tea culture during this period included Buddhist monks, elites as well as non-elites, and foreigners. This idea of tea culture was formed through literature and art, including treatises, poetry, and paintings by Tang literati. Finally, tea would not have become so popular during this period without the recognition of its health benefits.

The Tang Dynasty of China

China's Tang dynasty spanned from 618 to 907 ce and has often been characterised as a "Golden Age" within Chinese society, involving innovations in the political, cultural, and economic spheres that were fundamental to the formation of China's lasting national identity.[57] China's territory extended over the lands between "the Pamir Mountains of Central Asia in the west to the Korean Peninsula in the east, and from Manchuria in the north to Vietnam in the south".[58] The Tang emperors ruled over a nation of around fifty million citizens, who enriched the dynasty through taxes and the production of goods that could be traded in cosmopolitan centres such as the capital of Chang'an.[59] This network flourished with the support of the newly built Imperial Grand Canal that connected the Yangtze and Yellow rivers, thereby bridging the northern and southern regions of China and increasing the flow of commodities and ideas between these two regions, such as tea.[60] Over the Tang's three hundred years of unification many modern staples of Chinese identity arose, including the popularisation of tea drinking and the establishment of a tea culture.[61]

This paper will begin with the production process of tea as it would have been during the Tang dynasty in China. The geographical locations in which tea is grown depend on various factors such as the climate and the condition of the soil. The harvesting of tea plants is also an important feature of tea culture in Tang China. Finally, this process of tea production also depends on acquiring the proper tools with which the tea is prepared for consumption.

Geographical Factors for Cultivating Tea

A key element in the historical locations for tea cultivation is climate, which is influenced by elevation. The *Ilex cornuta* tea shrub grows on slopes, hills, or plains with elevations ranging from 150 to 1900 metres.[62] The idea of tea leaves being of better quality when harvested from higher altitudes is enduring in Chinese culture.[63] Han E, a Tang writer, claims in *A Compendium of Essentials for All Seasons* "that the best place to plant tea shrubs is in the rich and loose soil on mountain slopes" under shade.[64] Elevation impacts the chemical structure of tea, where "tea produced at higher altitudes tends to possess a lower phenol-ammonia ratio," though the cooler temperatures in these locations

[57] Xia Gao et al., "The Sage of Tea and the Inherited Metabolic Diseases," *Alternative Therapies in Health & Medicine* (Eagan, Minnesota) 30, no. 3 (2024): 167.
[58] Victor H. Mair and Erling Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," in *The True History of Tea*, 1st ed (Thames & Hudson, Limited, 2009), 41, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/11gmf90/alma992022719305151.
[59] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 40–41.
[60] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 40.
[61] Gao et al., "The Sage of Tea and the Inherited Metabolic Diseases," 167.
[62] Wenxin Gao et al., "Ilex Cornuta: A Review of Botany, Quality Control, Phytochemistry, and Multimodal Pharmacological Actions," *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 355 (January 2026): 7.
[63] Miao Wang et al., "Effects of Temperature and Light on Quality-Related Metabolites in Tea [Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze] Leaves," *Food Research International* 161, no. Complete (2022): 2, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/p0p4np/cdi_webofscience_primary_000870016000003CitationCount.
[64] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 51.

also affect how compounds are synthesised to create other nutrients.[65] These climatic factors, such as "light, temperature, humidity, [and] rainfall" do influence the flavour and scent of tea produced from plants.[66] In tea made from the *Camellia sinensis* shrub, temperature and light level are related to compounds that effect taste such as catechins and the amino acid l-theanine, where the increase of l-theanine in tea correlates to the decrease of light intensity during plant growth.[67] Greater levels of amino acids like l-theanine compared to polyphenols within plants that are grown at high elevations results in teas that are less bitter and sharp.[68] The relation between geographical factors and the production of different types of teas is essential for understanding the history of tea cultivation in China.

Another crucial aspect of tea plant cultivation is the quality of the soil. Plants absorb minerals from soil, and if the soil is deficient then the chemical components of tea will be affected.[69] In *Camellia sinensis* shrubs, amino acids such as l-theanine are significantly decreased in nutrient deficient soil, having "only 11.4% of that in the control group".[70] Again, without the umami and sweetness from these amino acids, the bitterness of the polyphenols would be much stronger.[71] Nutrient deficiency in soil also results in lower caffeine and aroma levels, both of which can impact the experience of the consumer.[72] As tea grew more popular in Tang China, farmers and officials would have noticed the differences in production types and adjusted to where they believed they could cultivate the highest standard.

The historical locations of tea plant cultivate has also been dependent on the availability of land. Evergreen tea trees and shrubs such as the *Ilex cornuta* and the *Camellia sinensis* are adaptable to many climates and terrains. They have been cultivated in warmer subtropical climates with higher humidity as well as in the "transition zones between temperate and subtropical zones," and they are able to grow on flat plains as well as uneven or steep mountains.[73] Poems from the Tang dynasty associated tea with mountainous regions. In Grand councillor Li Deyu's poem "A Friend Sends a Gift of Tea" he describes his experience drinking tea that was grown at the southern Jiuhua Mountain.[74] Lu Tong also writes a poem commenting on the contrasting nature of "the idyllic mountains where the leaves are grown and the cities where so much of the drink is consumed".[75] One factor in considering the diversity of geographical cultivation zones of tea is the historical conservation of lowlands as farmland in China.[76] Although tea was gaining cultural significance during the Tang dynasty, food production would have continued to be a priority, thus relegating tea shrubs to other locations less suitable for farming. Nevertheless, the *Classic of Tea* by Lu Yu during the Tang dynasty describes how areas dedicated to the production of tea "expanded to many parts of China south of the Qinling Mountains and Huai River," resulting in an overall total of forty-two official prefectures managing tea

[65] Yufeng Peng et al., "Where Is Tea Grown in the World: A Robust Mapping Framework for Agroforestry Crop with Knowledge Graph and Sentinels Images," *Remote Sensing of Environment* 303, no. Complete (2024): 12, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/p0p4np/cdi_webofscience_primary_001177806100001CitationCount.
[66] Wang et al., "Effects of Temperature and Light on Quality-Related Metabolites in Tea [Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze] Leaves," 2.
[67] Wang et al., "Effects of Temperature and Light on Quality-Related Metabolites in Tea [Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze] Leaves," 2.
[68] Wang et al., "Effects of Temperature and Light on Quality-Related Metabolites in Tea [Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze] Leaves," 5.
[69] Bo Zhou et al., "Soil Nutrient Deficiency Decreases the Postharvest Quality-Related Metabolite Contents of Tea (Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze) Leaves," *Food Chemistry* 377, no. Complete (2022): 2, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/p0p4np/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_2618909366.
[70] Zhou et al., "Soil Nutrient Deficiency Decreases the Postharvest Quality-Related Metabolite Contents of Tea (Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze) Leaves," 5.
[71] Wang et al., "Effects of Temperature and Light on Quality-Related Metabolites in Tea [Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze] Leaves," 1.
[72] Zhou et al., "Soil Nutrient Deficiency Decreases the Postharvest Quality-Related Metabolite Contents of Tea (Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze) Leaves," 6.
[73] Peng et al., "Where Is Tea Grown in the World," 10–11.
[74] Ronald Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," in *Scribes of Gastronomy: Representations of Food and Drink in Imperial Chinese Literature*, by Siufu Tang, ed. Isaac Yue (Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 71, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/14rq5fl/cdi_walterdegruyter_books_10_1515_9789888180967_006.
[75] Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," 72.
[76] Peng et al., "Where Is Tea Grown in the World," 11.

production in Tang China.[77] These areas are notable for their acidic soils and climatic conditions that made them centres of tea production during this period.[78]

Harvesting Tea Plants

The process of harvesting tea leaves has a long history in China and impacts the quality of the tea produced. Once grown, the leaves of the *Ilex cornuta* are dried and processed into kuding tea which has been used to promote physical and mental health in China for more than 2000 years.[79] When using a simple harvesting process, the quality of the fresh tea leaves from the *Camellia sinensis* shrub immediately prior to the harvesting stage "may be the dominant factor influencing tea taste and aroma" as this is the phase when the levels of catechins and amino acids are most differentiated.[80] To harvest high quality tea would require the services of trained workers, though mass produced teas would have likely managed with inferior methods. Additionally, two common methods of propagating the *Ilex cornuta* is asexual reproduction through parts of the plant falling or being cut off and regrowing into their own shrub, or for its seeds to be harvested following the shrub's maturation.[81] The canopies on and above these shrubs need to be regularly pruned to ensure that proper light levels are maintained for the propagation of new buds.[82] Manual harvesting and maintenance of tea plants increased during Tang China. By the year 785, a tea cultivation zone on Guzhu Mountain required the services of 30,000 corvée labourers to harvest the leaves.[83]

Furthermore, these tea plants are distinct for their potential yearly yields. Evergreen shrubs such as the *Ilex cornuta* and the *Camellia sinensis* "undergo multiple rounds of new shoots during spring, summer, and fall".[84] Like most tea plants, these shrubs have long lifespans spanning multiple millennia "and reach the peak production period after [having been] planted for 7–10 years".[85] These plants can also be harvested four, five, or even six times each year.[86] As tea became more profitable in Tang China, this long lasting plant would be an efficient source of income. In one of Lu Tong's poems from Tang China, he notes that although he has been sent a gift of tea by an official of the court, the tea itself was harvested by "commoners toiling on mountain slopes" whose contributions should not be understated.[87] The process of harvesting tea in China during the Tang dynasty would have demanded larger amounts of manual labour as it became more culturally significant.

Production of Tools for Tea Preparation

The cultivation of tea plants was not the only component in the production of tea in Tang China. Manufacturing tools both culinary and culturally necessary for the preparation and storing of tea was equally important in Tang society. In early Chinese tea production, the processing techniques after harvesting resulted in "big-leaved tea, sliced tea, [or] blocky tea," and only much later did loose leaf teas become common.[88] These styles of tea would have been much easier to store and would allow more tea to be pack in small areas compared to loose leaf teas. Brick tea, also called cake or block tea, and ball tea were the two main shapes of tea in the Tang dynasty, and needed to be prepared for

[77] Zhiyang Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," *International Journal of Business Anthropology* (Ocean Ridge, United States) 14, no. 2 (2024): 66.
[78] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 67.
[79] Gao et al., "Ilex Cornuta," 3.
[80] Wang et al., "Effects of Temperature and Light on Quality-Related Metabolites in Tea [Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze] Leaves," 11–12.
[81] Gao et al., "Ilex Cornuta," 7.
[82] Peng et al., "Where Is Tea Grown in the World," 4; James A. Benn, "Tea as a Religious and Cultural Commodity in Traditional China," in *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History* (University of Hawai□i press, 2015), 6, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/11gmf90/alma9948385693505156.
[83] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 54.
[84] Peng et al., "Where Is Tea Grown in the World," 4.
[85] Zhou et al., "Soil Nutrient Deficiency Decreases the Postharvest Quality-Related Metabolite Contents of Tea (Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze) Leaves," 1–2.
[86] Zhou et al., "Soil Nutrient Deficiency Decreases the Postharvest Quality-Related Metabolite Contents of Tea (Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze) Leaves," 2; Peng et al., "Where Is Tea Grown in the World," 4.
[87] Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," 74.
[88] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 64.

drinking by grinding and boiling the tea.[89] Black teas were often traded in bricks and they were formed using about "3-5 buds per leaf and mixed with stems of a tea tree".[90] Other less common methods of storing tea during the Tang dynasty are known from Lu Yu's *Classic of Tea*, such as coarse tea, loose tea, and powder tea, which along with brick tea could involve "baking, roasting, steaming and stir-frying" before consumption.[91] Many of these preparation methods also require repeated infusions of tea into the water before it is finished, with varying ratios of tea to water, depending on preferred taste and on the type of tea.[92] There were many methods for preparing tea that were known and utilised in Tang China, each requiring specific utensils to make the process more convenient and elegant.

Tea utensils could be simple or lavish, depending on who owned or consumed the tea. Lu Yu lists more than twenty tools for making and drinking tea, such as stoves, towels, spoons, plates, and containers.[93] Tea utensils made of precious metals, glass, and fine porcelain from the reign of Tang Emperor Xizong were uncovered from the Famen Buddhist Temple in modern Shaanxi, which was buried in the year 874 ce.[94] As described by Lu Yu, these utensils "reflect the process of tea grinding, boiling, dividing and drinking tea" as well as the significance of this procedure as a part of Tang culture.[95] The storage baskets have "openwork designs" and feet to raise it above surfaces to keep the tea bricks inside fresh and prevent mould.[96] In this cache there were also small sifting boxes with fitted wheel-grinders that allowed tea bricks to be crush while enabling the particles to move through a sieve to a lower compartment.[97] Measuring spoons and matching sets of plates were also among the tea utensils from Famen Temple.[98] The fabrication of tools was an essential feature of Tang tea production, as their usage was intimately connected to the preparation and consumption of tea.

Tang China required many workshops to provide these utensils. In the south, there was a large kiln in Changsha city called Tongguan Kiln that was established early in the Tang China and continued to be used until the Five Dynasties period, after the Tang dynasty's collapse.[99] Many porcelain utensils from this kiln were intended for tea preparation, as indicated by inscriptions on these tools that relate to promoting tea and certain teahouses, such as Zhangjia Teahouse".[100] Additionally, the Jian Kiln from the southern province of Fujian began production during the Tang dynasty and continued until its closing during the Yuan dynasty.[101] Throughout its manufacturing period, tea bowls and utensils from the Jian Kiln were known "for [their] amazing black glaze colour" and distinct patterns from the iron-rich glaze.[102] This glaze produces "fine radical fur-like strips" which results in the tea appearing as though it is sparkling.[103] In Tang workshops, some techniques were kept secret by their producers and their creation methods have since been lost from living memory, such as Tang celadon porcelain tea bowls from Famen Temple which were

[89] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 66.
[90] Zhiyang Liu, "Role of Brick Tea Trade in the Formation of the Unitary Multi-Ethnic Country of China," *International Journal of Business Anthropology* (Ocean Ridge, United States) 13, no. 2 (2023): 33.
[91] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 66.
[92] Jacky Rigaux and Charles Rigaux, "Le sens d'un éveil de la Chine aux vins de terroir," *Territoires du vin*, no. 13 (December 2021): 20–21, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/p0p4np/cdi_crossref_primary_10_58335_territoiresduvin_2175.
[93] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 66; Rigaux and Rigaux, "Le sens d'un éveil de la Chine aux vins de terroir," 9; Jerry C. Y. Liu, "Between Classical and Popular: The Book of Tea and the Popularization of Tea-Drinking Culture in the Tang China," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 44, no. 1 (2011): 119.
[94] Patricia Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred: The Famen Tea Treasures," *Tang Studies* 18, no. 1 (2000): 61–62; Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 66.
[95] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 66.
[96] Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 64–65.
[97] Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 65–66.
[98] Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 66–67.
[99] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 66.
[100] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 66.
[101] Shiqian Tao et al., "Morphological and Structural Analysis of Iron-rich Porcelains Excavated from the Jian Kiln Site of Song Dynasty," *Journal of Microscopy* 292, no. 1 (2023): 4.
[102] Tao et al., "Morphological and Structural Analysis of Iron-rich Porcelains Excavated from the Jian Kiln Site of Song Dynasty," 4.
[103] Tao et al., "Morphological and Structural Analysis of Iron-rich Porcelains Excavated from the Jian Kiln Site of Song Dynasty," 4.

known for pure glazes, thin walls, and simple adornments.[104] In Tang China, workshops manufacturing utensils for preparing and consuming tea were fundamental to the production of tea and tea culture.

Consumers

During China's Tang dynasty the consumption of tea grew more popular in religious circles and became adopted by multiple social classes. Visiting foreigners were also becoming active participants in the movement of Chinese tea during this period.

Chinese Buddhist Monks

One major consumer and promoter of tea culture in Tang China were Buddhist monks. Buddhists consumed large amounts of tea while performing their duties such as meditation, which required long hours of self-reflection.[105] Tea helped monks stay alert and reduced hunger pains when fasting.[106] Zen Buddhists of Lingyan Temple on Mount Tai were noted by Tang Imperial censor Feng Yan as being permitted to drink tea during the night while they were fasting.[107] When Tang writer Lu Yu was young, he was brought into the care of a Buddhist monastery where he was raised and trained.[108] Under these circumstances, Lu Yu learned a great deal about the cultivation, preparation, and art of drinking tea, which he detailed in his *Classic of Tea*.[109] A cache of tools that were sealed within the crypt at Famen Temple during the Tang dynasty matched those listed by Lu Yu for the preparation of tea.[110] Many of these utensils were donated by the Tang Imperial family, as evidenced by the inscriptions dating to the reigns of Empress Wu, Emperor Yizong, and Emperor Xizong.[111] The motifs present on these tools show that they were made with Buddhists in mind. Three repeating Buddhist motifs are the lotus flower, which represents the Buddha and spiritual purity, geese in flight, which "represent the release of the soul," and the *cintāmani*, a flaming jewel that was believed to grant wishes.[112] Buddhist monks were so entwined with the consumption of tea in the imagination of Tang citizens that their spiritual beliefs were incorporated into the designs of tea utensils.

Some Buddhist monasteries were also notable for their cultivation of tea. Some of the teas these monasteries produced and processed were "famous and sought-after" by other drinkers.[113] Liu Yuxi's poem entitled the "Song of sampling tea at the monastery of Western Mountain" reveals that tea was grown by monks at a monastery located on Guzhu Mountain.[114] In Tang China, monasteries on mountains frequently possessed small patches dedicated to rare teas, since there was a common belief that tea would be damaged when transported away from its original habitat.[115] Nevertheless, when monks travelled on pilgrimages they spread their techniques and tea varieties to other Buddhists.[116] Buddhist monks consuming tea were active not only in the preparation of tea bricks, but also in the cultivation of the plant itself.

Buddhist monks during the Tang Dynasty were also known for their poetry which included references to their appreciation of tea culture. Poems from the monk-poet Jiaoran merge the art of tea drinking with the refinement and

[104] Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 70.
[105] Rigaux and Rigaux, "Le sens d'un éveil de la Chine aux vins de terroir," 7; Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," 69; Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 63; Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 42.
[106] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 65.
[107] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 65; Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 43.
[108] Gao et al., "The Sage of Tea and the Inherited Metabolic Diseases," 167; Rigaux and Rigaux, "Le sens d'un éveil de la Chine aux vins de terroir," 7; Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 65.
[109] Rigaux and Rigaux, "Le sens d'un éveil de la Chine aux vins de terroir," 7–8.
[110] Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 61.
[111] Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 62–63.
[112] Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 64.
[113] Benn, "Tea as a Religious and Cultural Commodity in Traditional China," 8.
[114] James A. Benn, "Tea Poetry in Tang China," in *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History* (University of Hawai?i press, 2015), 82–83, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/11gmf90/alma9948385693505156.
[115] Benn, "Tea Poetry in Tang China," 83–84.
[116] Benn, "Tea as a Religious and Cultural Commodity in Traditional China," 8.

fundamental truth of Buddhism and its immortal followers.[117] Tea and Buddhist monasteries were deeply associated in the imagination of Tang citizens, such that poems by city dwellers would "[appreciate tea] as a reminder of the purer and simple life that is lived in mountain seclusion".[118] In poems about tea by officials such as Li Deyu, Liu Yuxi, and Huang Tao, Buddhist monks appear as drinking companions.[119] Poetry associating the act of drinking tea with Buddhist monks demonstrates that their high consumption of tea was well known to both Buddhists and non-Buddhists.

Tang Elites and Non-Elites

Tea was available to both elites and non-elites during the Tang dynasty. During this period, tea was gathered in provinces and then "offered as tribute to the emperor each spring".[120] Social fashions often imitated the actions of the upper class, who in turn follow the emperor, which created an environment wherein drinking tea was the practice of a sophisticated society.[121] A major factor in tea's emergence as a model of sophistication was Lu Yu's *Classic of Tea* which merged tea drinking with the "aesthetic, moral, and philosophical traits" appreciated in Confucianism.[122] By relating tea culture to Confucian ideals, Lu Yu expanded the sphere of elite tea drinkers from Buddhists to all of the officials and literati of Tang society. Furthermore, this development of elite tea culture was also encouraged by Tang art. In a painting by Yan Liben from the reign of Tang Emperor Taizong, he depicts the Yingzhou scholars playing chess, admiring art, and boiling tea.[123] These scholars were well-known literati personally chosen by Emperor Taizong to teach in palaces.[124] This painting demonstrates that tea consumption was tied to the refined reputation of elite literati society in the Tang dynasty. As this reputation grew, tea culture spread beyond the south where it was traditionally cultivated, and into the north of China.[125] This is notable since the north did not previously have a high opinion of tea nor its consumers.[126] This diffusion from south to north was facilitated through the recent completion of the Imperial Grand Canal, which allowed for the two regions to integrate and trade goods and ideas more easily.[127] Through the efforts of writers, poets, painters, and other literati, tea drinking became a feature of artistic culture.

Tea drinking became widespread for many social classes in the Tang dynasty. During this period, tea became a commodity that ordinary people could purchase, as noted in Bai Juyi's "Lute Verse" which comments on the large scale production of tea and the long distances consumers would travel to acquire quality tea.[128] At Sanyuejie Market, local villagers have been involved in "the collection, cultivation and trade of medicinal plants," including those used in teas, since the market first opened in the Tang dynasty.[129] Before this period, tea plants were used by non-elites in medicine or as a type of bitter soup.[130] However, Lu Yu promoted tea not as a cheap soup, but as a sophisticated drink that was "a symbol for people who maintained a simple, plain, and frugal life" which resonated with non-elites.[131] In the ninth chapter of his *Classic of Tea,* Lu Yu provided alternatives or omissions for certain tools or steps so that non-elites could also participate in the enjoyment of tea drinking.[132] In a cemetery at Gongyi city, Sima Jin and his

[117] Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," 70–71.
[118] Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," 71.
[119] Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," 71–72; Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 65–66.
[120] Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," 73.
[121] Jianping Guan, "On Tea Bowl from Jianzhan to Tenmoku: Material Culture and Intangible Culture in Cultural Diffusion," *Conservation Science in Cultural Heritage* 14, no. 2 (2014): 43–44.
[122] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 120–21.
[123] Guan, "On Tea Bowl from Jianzhan to Tenmoku," 44.
[124] Guan, "On Tea Bowl from Jianzhan to Tenmoku," 44.
[125] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 65.
[126] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 65; Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 117.
[127] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 40.
[128] Liu, "Role of Brick Tea Trade in the Formation of the Unitary Multi-Ethnic Country of China," 34; Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 51.
[129] Lingling Zhang et al., "Plants for Health: An Ethnobotanical 25-Year Repeat Survey of Traditional Medicine Sold in a Major Marketplace in North-West Yunnan, China," *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 224, no. Complete (2018): 120.
[130] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 117; Benn, "Tea as a Religious and Cultural Commodity in Traditional China," 9.
[131] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 121.
[132] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 124.

wife were buried in a four-by-four metres tomb, typical of the lower class in Tang China, alongside many tea utensils used as burial goods.[133] Non-elites also participated in the tea culture fashioned by Lu Yu. The Tang scholar Feng Yan noted that commoners everywhere were preparing and drinking tea, and that tea shops were flourishing in the cities and capital.[134] Tea drinking was so pervasive in Tang China that a tax was put on the product in 783, a decision that was debated by various officials over the years such as Li Jue in 821, who argued that tea was "a necessity [like] grain and salt".[135] The use and consumption of tea by non-elites began as a medicine or a soup, but it was during the Tang dynasty that the art of tea drinking was adopted by not only elites, but also non-elites.

Foreigners

The spread of tea and tea culture aided in the economic and diplomatic pursuits of Tang China through its usage as a product for trade with foreigners. Japan was a consumer of Chinese tea during the Tang dynasty. One avenue through which Tang tea was transported to Japan was through utensils used in Buddhist tea rituals, which later developed into Japan's Zen Buddhist tea ceremony.[136] Two Japanese Buddhist monks, Saichō and Kūkai, travelled to China in 804 to obtain Buddhist texts and brought back knowledge of tea.[137] When Saichō returned to Japan he planted tea seeds at Hiei Shrine, marking the first known instance of tea cultivation in Japan.[138] The interaction of Japanese Buddhist monks with Chinese Buddhist monks aided in the spread of tea to Japan. Additionally, the trade of materials and ideas between Japan and China was so intense during this period that thereafter the Japanese called Chinese imports *Tang*.[139] Japan was a consumer of Chinese tea and a participant in the formation of tea culture during the Tang dynasty.

On the northern frontier, ethnic groups traded for tea with China during the Tang dynasty. The compact and mould-resistant nature of brick tea made it the chosen style for trading with ethnic minorities and Russians to the north of China, making it a tool of diplomacy and unity in East Asia.[140] Historical records from Tang China state that tea and silk were traded to the Uyghur Khanate in exchange for horses.[141] Trade between Tang China and northern ethnic groups contributed to the growth of the dynasty's herds from 5,000 to 760,000.[142] Among the Tang Chinese hubs of exchange was Sanyuejie Market, which traded not only with northern minority ethnic groups, but also with merchants travelling between China and its neighbours such as India, Nepal, and Myanmar.[143] During this period it was considered unusual for northern ethnic groups to appreciate tea culture, as seen in records by Imperial censor Feng Yan about "[h]ow strange it is!".[144] This suggests that other northern nomadic groups were not yet participating in this tea trade with China, though they could still be acquiring tea through raids or by trading with groups without the involvement of the Tang government.

Literature and Art

'Culture' or *wenhua* in Confucian society was considered "the carrier or instrument of human morality serving to carry out the civilizing function of the *Tao* (the way that the universe functions)".[145] In Tang China, tea culture as a characteristic of an ordered and moral civilisation was demonstrated through the literature and art of the period.

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[133] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 66.
[134] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 124–25.
[135] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 126.
[136] Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 63; Karetzky, "Imperial Splendor in the Service of the Sacred," 72.
[137] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 43–44.
[138] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 44.
[139] Guan, "On Tea Bowl from Jianzhan to Tenmoku," 47.
[140] Liu, "Role of Brick Tea Trade in the Formation of the Unitary Multi-Ethnic Country of China," 33; Liu, "Role of Brick Tea Trade in the Formation of the Unitary Multi-Ethnic Country of China," 42.
[141] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 67; Liu, "Role of Brick Tea Trade in the Formation of the Unitary Multi-Ethnic Country of China," 34; Victor H. Mair and Erling Hoh, "Buying Peace with the Celestial Beverage: The Tea and Horse Trade," in *The True History of Tea*, 1st ed (Thames & Hudson, Limited, 2009), 73, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/11gmf90/alma992022719305151.
[142] Mair and Hoh, "Buying Peace with the Celestial Beverage," 72.
[143] Zhang et al., "Plants for Health," 120.
[144] Liu, "Role of Brick Tea Trade in the Formation of the Unitary Multi-Ethnic Country of China," 35.
[145] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 120.

Documents

Informative treatises, medical documents, and narratives contributing to the development of tea culture were written in Tang China. Lu Yu's *Classic of Tea* was an infamous treatise that informed readers about the proper way to prepare, drink, and appreciate tea. Lu Yu used terms that associated tea with moral and gentlemanly behaviour, such as how "it suits best those who are of a refined disposition and possess the virtue of frugality".[146] Tea drinkers, both elite and non-elite, admired Lu Yu to such an extent that he became known as the Sage, or God, of Tea, and many portraits and clay figurines of him were manufactured for centuries after the publication of his treatise.[147] Through his presentation of tea drinking as a refined art, Lu Yu promoted not only the admiration of tea culture, but also the veneration of his own person. Furthermore, Lu Yu claimed that tea tasting was inherited from the mythical Shennong who tried many herbs and discovered tea to be the best for combatting poison.[148] He also presented a collection of other documents where tea was significant as an offering in Confucian classics and its status as a "divine drink for immortals and saints".[149] By connecting tea to the ancient past, Lu Yu slotted the plant into China's heritage, which would have made it more acceptable to northern traditionalists who were initially reluctant to adopt a southern beverage. Through the ritualization of tea for literati and popular crowds, the *Classic of Tea* "provide[d] moral, civilizing, aesthetic, and philosophical connotations" that turned tea drinking into a social custom in Tang China.[150]

Medical records and treatises referencing tea dating to the Tang Dynasty show that tea was culturally significant for its healing ability. In the *Materia Medica of Curative Foodstuff*, tea is one of the foods that was known to have medicative properties, such as aiding with digestion and preventing flatulence.[151] This work also warns readers to use tea bricks while they are fresh since bricks that are very old will cause flatulence, and not to be fooled by merchants selling old teas by making them appear fresher by adding random fresh plant material.[152] When consumed properly, tea helped to reduce embarrassment and maintain a refined atmosphere. Imperial censor Feng Yan praises tea in *The Compendium of Materia Medica* for its ability to invigorate people when they are tired and refresh the body.[153] The rejuvenation properties of tea meant that the drink was significant for its ability to civilise people and ensure that they were ready to carry out their duties without losing concentration. During the Tang dynasty Su Jing's *Newly Revised Materia Medica* became China's "first state-sponsored pharmacopeia" and it promoted the consumption of tea to provide relief for those with boils, sores, or phlegm.[154] As a medical record legitimised by the state, tea would have been recognised at the highest levels as a beneficial and virtuous herb acceptable for usage by Chinese society. In addition, while not officially recognised as a medical treatise, Su Yi's *Sixteen Types of Hot Water for Tea* advises tea shops and other tea drinkers on the proper way of boiling and storing tea to ensure it does not become "dangerous".[155] Documents promoting the medical properties of tea became more popular in Tang China and helped form the idea of a refined and refreshing tea culture that ensured that civilisation continued to function.

Entertaining narratives from the Tang dynasty also included references to and discussions on tea. An allegorical narrative from around the year 800 illustrates a debate between Mr. Tea and Mr. Alcohol as to which drink requires more moderation.[156] Mr. Tea argues that he is superior for his esteem as a healing herb and as a "costly gift"

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[146] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 121.

[147] James A. Benn, "Buddhism and Tea during the Tang Dynasty," in *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History* (University of Hawai□i press, 2015), 43, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/11gmf90/alma9948385693505156; Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 128.

[148] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 115.

[149] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 121.

[150] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 127–28.

[151] Benn, "Tea as a Religious and Cultural Commodity in Traditional China," 7.

[152] Benn, "Tea as a Religious and Cultural Commodity in Traditional China," 7.

[153] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 65.

[154] James A. Benn, "The Early History of Tea: Myth and Reality," in *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History* (University of Hawai□i press, 2015), 24, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/11gmf90/alma9948385693505156.

[155] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 56.

[156] Stacey Pierson, "Visual, Material and Textual Cultures of Food and Drink in China, 200 BCE-1900 CE," in *Visual, Material and Textual Cultures of Food and Drink in China, 200 BCE-1900 CE* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2022), 4, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/p0p4np/cdi_askewsholts_vlebooks_9781527581975.

that is exchanged among nobility.[157] Mr. Tea also brags about his economic value, how merchants travel long distances to buy tea and return home rich from its resale, and his religious value as tool for Buddhist monks and an offering to bodhisattvas.[158] Alternatively, Mr. Alcohol claims that drinking tea "cause[s] bloating and other health problems when taken to excess".[159] This narrative reveals how people during the Tang dynasty viewed and discussed tea. The debate between these two beverages acts as a commentary on the changing social values and the rapid rise of tea culture during this period.

Poetry

As previously noted, Tang poetry relating to tea often drew on Buddhist concepts of the natural world, even if the poets themselves were not monks. Du Mu's poem "Inscription for the Zen Temple" illustrates the connection between tea and nature.[160] Both the steam of boiled tea and the flowers falling from the trees are ephemeral pieces of the natural world that can only be appreciated in the moment. The poem "Joy at seeing tea growing in the garden" by Wei Yingwu also comments on the "pure nature" of tea, reflecting how the concept of a "pure buddha nature" was extended to plants as well as sentient beings during the Tang dynasty.[161] Additionally, the locations and the nutrients involved in the cultivation of tea were also imagined as becoming more mystical when used within the production of tea. The belief of tea possessing "supernatural properties" due to being cultivated in mountainous "numinous and otherworldly setting[s]" are outlined by Li Bai in the preface of one of his tea poems.[162] Alternatively, Li Hua concentrates on the beneficial supernatural qualities within the spring water available at the location of his poem, "Monastery of Cloud Mother Springs," that was used in the tea.[163] In Tang Chinese poetry, tea and its production process were used as analogies for the natural world as it was understood within Buddhist thought.

Poets used tea to comment on social issues during the Tang dynasty. Yuan Gao criticises the heavy burden of corvée labour on commoners in his poem "Tea Mountain" based on the actual cultivation of tea at Guzhu Mountain.[164] Due to the massive labour requirement of imperial gardens, many "people were forced to neglect their own fields" while local officials lazed in luxury.[165] The workers were also unable to appreciate the product of their labour, as it would be sent to the emperor as tribute for the Grave Sweeping Festival each year.[166] Tea poetry was used in the Tang dynasty to reveal the hypocrisy of labour systems that demanded more than what commoners could safely offer. Another poem which highlights the issue of labour in Tang China is Lu Tong's "Written with a Rapid Brush, Thanking Remonstrator Mend for Sending New Tea." Lu Tong narrates the circuit of the tea "from the mountains, where it grew, to the capital and then back again to Lu Tong's rustic dwelling in the hills".[167] He decides that the celestial realm of the imperial court and palace is unable to properly appreciate the tea and its cultivation because a mountainous setting is required for proper reflection, and he questions if "officers of the imperial court really have any commiseration for the labouring masses, from whose toil they benefit".[168] Imperial officers are unable to reflect on the tea nor the struggles of labourers because they are stuck within the imperial celestial realm and remain ignorant of the otherworldly energy in the mountains. Du Mu also recognises the social difficulties involving wealth in the ninth century in his poem "Commander Shang Li Discusses River Bandits." He describes how thieves that stole tea from rivers or towns had to climb mountains to sell the product to ensure they would not be caught.[169] By ascending the mountain, the thieves "became ordinary people after obtaining tea" since they could not be differentiated from the tea farmers.[170] Du Mu's poem illustrates that when people are given ways to provide for

[157] Benn, "Buddhism and Tea during the Tang Dynasty," 45.
[158] Benn, "Buddhism and Tea during the Tang Dynasty," 48–49.
[159] Benn, "Buddhism and Tea during the Tang Dynasty," 51.
[160] Liu, "The Spread and Changes of Tea and Tea Drinking Customs in Minority Areas of North and the Tibetan Plateau in China," 65.
[161] Benn, "Tea Poetry in Tang China," 76.
[162] Benn, "Tea Poetry in Tang China," 79.
[163] Benn, "Tea Poetry in Tang China," 79–80.
[164] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 54.
[165] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 54.
[166] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 55.
[167] Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," 73.
[168] Egan, "The Interplay of Social and Literary History," 74.
[169] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 55.
[170] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 56.

themselves then they will become ordinary people instead of criminals. Poets used tea culture as a setting for social critiques during the Tang dynasty.

Paintings

The civilising nature of tea culture is also apparent in paintings from the Tang dynasty. Artworks involving depictions of tea drinking became popular after the publication of Lu Yu's *Classic of Tea.*[171] Chinese art shows how food and drink such as tea were important in elite activities.[172] The preparation and consumption of tea in Tang China was understood as a cultural activity like that of playing chess, composing literary works, and viewing paintings, as pictured in Yan Liben's artwork of Yingzhou scholars.[173] Another painting from this period entitled *A Music Party in the Tang Palace* depicts palace maids having a banquet with tea, wine, conversation, and music.[174] Paintings also show that tea culture promoted deeper conversations and philosophical interest in the common people, such as is seen in a Song replica of Yan Liben's *Tea Contests* which depicts these activities occurring in a market street.[175] The actions depicted in these paintings alongside the consumption of tea are representative of the Tang image of a harmonious civilisation.

Health Benefits

The health benefits of consuming tea in its plant or liquid form have long been recognised in traditional Chinese medicine. In the *Bencao Shiyi* pharmacological text by Chen Cangqi, the medicinal benefits of tea leaves from the *Ilex cornuta* are outlined for their ability to strengthen the liver, kidneys, and limbs.[176] This plant has been found to contain metabolic compounds that produce "antioxidant […], anti-inflammatory […], antibacterial and anticancer effects".[177] When processed into kuding tea, this drink aids in strengthening the immune system and protecting against metabolic diseases.[178] In teas made from the *Camellia sinensis* shrub, metabolites called catechins are noted for their anticancer properties and ability to combat cardiovascular disease.[179] Lu Yu may have had an inherited metabolic disease that was moderated by his adherence to a vegetarian Buddhist diet.[180] The Buddhist appreciation of tea drinking would have also been a factor in controlling the effects of this disease. The recognition of tea's health benefits during the Tang dynasty was fundamental for its long-term survival in Chinese culture.

Another helpful metabolic found in most teas is the amino acid l-theanine which "improve[s] sleep quality, decrease[s] anxiety, and repair[s] brain damage".[181] Metabolites such as catechins and l-theanine found in green tea made from *Camellia sinensis* are also notable for their beneficial effects on cognitive functions.[182] Adults who regularly consume green tea are found to have a reduced level of depression than those who do not drink tea, which in turn improves cognitive functions such as memory retention and sleep quality.[183] Yellow tea made from *Camellia sinensis* was also discovered during the Tang dynasty, possessing the same metabolic benefits as green tea but with "a fresher and mellower taste".[184] Yellow tea also contains greater "anti-bactericidal and gastrointestinal protecting effects".[185]

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[171] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 128.
[172] Pierson, "Visual, Material and Textual Cultures of Food and Drink in China, 200 BCE-1900 CE," 5.
[173] Guan, "On Tea Bowl from Jianzhan to Tenmoku," 44.
[174] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 122.
[175] Liu, "Between Classical and Popular," 125.
[176] Gao et al., "Ilex Cornuta," 3.
[177] Gao et al., "Ilex Cornuta," 3.
[178] Gao et al., "Ilex Cornuta," 7.
[179] Wang et al., "Effects of Temperature and Light on Quality-Related Metabolites in Tea [Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze] Leaves," 1; Chen Wei et al., "Does Frequent Tea Consumption Provide Any Benefit to Cognitive Function in Older Adults? Evidence from a National Survey from China in 2018," *Frontiers in Public Health* 11 (November 2023): 7, https://ocul-wlu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_WLU/p0p4np/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_289569970.
[180] Gao et al., "The Sage of Tea and the Inherited Metabolic Diseases," 168.
[181] Wang et al., "Effects of Temperature and Light on Quality-Related Metabolites in Tea [Camellia Sinensis (L.) Kuntze] Leaves," 1.
[182] Wei et al., "Does Frequent Tea Consumption Provide Any Benefit to Cognitive Function in Older Adults?," 2.
[183] Wei et al., "Does Frequent Tea Consumption Provide Any Benefit to Cognitive Function in Older Adults?," 7; Wei et al., "Does Frequent Tea Consumption Provide Any Benefit to Cognitive Function in Older Adults?," 2.
[184] Jingyi Xu et al., "Yellow Tea (Camellia Sinensis L.), a Promising Chinese Tea: Processing, Chemical Constituents and Health Benefits," *Food Research International* 107, no. Complete (2018): 567.
[185] Xu et al., "Yellow Tea (Camellia Sinensis L.), a Promising Chinese Tea," 567.

Metabolites within tea aid in preserving the cognitive health and appreciation of life, which was a major element of proper tea consumption to many Tang literati.

Tea provides essential nutrients and vitamins, many of which may be deficient in vegetarian diets.[186] It contains "phenolics, amino acids, caffeine, and other bioactive chemical compounds" that help strengthen and refresh the body.[187] The process of boiling water for tea would also ensure that the bacteria within the water would be destroyed and thus reduce outbreaks of disease.[188] Decreasing the spread of disease through the sanitation of water may have aided in the growth of Tang cities.[189] The consumption of tea aided not only in one's individual wellbeing, but also in the preservation of the collective health of Tang society.

Summary

During the Tang dynasty, tea penetrated society and left an irreversible mark on China's cultural identity. The production of tea influenced the geographical structure of China's territory and resulted in high labour requirements both in the harvesting of tea and the manufacturing of utensils. Many groups grew to appreciate tea drinking and the culture associated with this activity, beginning with Chinese Buddhist monks, and expanding to citizens of all backgrounds, as well as foreigners from north and east of China. Innovations in how tea was imagined as a feature of a sophisticated and civilised culture were influenced by the abundance of documents, narratives, poetry, and paintings illustrating tea throughout Tang China. The health benefits provided by tea were acknowledged early in the history of Chinese society, and many of these ancient pharmacological beliefs have been verified by current scholars. To understand the significance of China's tea culture in later periods, the recognition of its popularisation within Tang China is fundamental.

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[186] Liu, "Role of Brick Tea Trade in the Formation of the Unitary Multi-Ethnic Country of China," 38.
[187] Peng et al., "Where Is Tea Grown in the World," 2.
[188] Liu, "Role of Brick Tea Trade in the Formation of the Unitary Multi-Ethnic Country of China," 38.
[189] Mair and Hoh, "Go Have Some Tea! The Tang Dynasty," 41.

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The HIV/AIDS epidemic, which killed over 100,000 Americans in the 1980s, was, in the words of the National Research Council, "more than a devastating disease, it is freighted with profound social and cultural meaning."[190] With the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 and the success of the New Right, which had been growing as a movement since the 1960s, discourses of morality and traditional family values became increasingly influential in American political life. The strategies employed by the radical right since the Great Depression had begun to yield significant political power, allowing the New Right to shape national debates over culture and social policy. In 1982, the United States Centers for Disease Control (CDC) officially coined the term AIDS, marking the emergence of a public health crisis that would quickly become entangled in these broader ideological struggles.[191]

Rather than being treated solely as a medical issue, the AIDS crisis quickly became a site of political and moral tension, particularly because in its early years the disease was most common among homosexual men. For many figures within the New Right, the epidemic was interpreted not as a public health emergency, but as evidence of moral and social decline. As Pat Buchanan, who later joined the Reagan administration as the White House Communications Director, suggested, the crisis could be understood as a form of "retribution" for "the poor homosexuals [who] have declared war on nature."[192] While there are thousands of sources about the AIDS epidemic in the United States, this paper focuses specifically on how the New Right constructed homosexuality as a moral threat through its responses to the crisis. To do so, it analyzes the *Moral Majority Report*'s response to AIDS from July 1983, Phyllis Schlafly's proposed program to combat the epidemic, the case of Ryan White, legislative efforts led by Jesse Helms to restrict federal AIDS funding, and Reagan's first major public address on AIDS in 1987. By analyzing these sources, it becomes clear that during the AIDS crisis in the United States, the New Right used the epidemic to frame homosexuality as a moral and social threat, employing religious language, appeals to family values, and narratives of national decline, all of which reflect broader radical right strategies for mobilizing political support.

Before turning to the primary sources, it is important to establish an understanding of the New Right and the strategies it employed to mobilize political support. Following the predominantly progressive decades of the 1960s and 1970s, with the civil rights movement, the rise of feminism, the legalization of abortion, and even the gay rights movement, conservative Americans began to perceive this activism as hostile towards traditional values and social norms.[193] It was in this context that the New Right began to take shape as a grassroots movement that sought to reassert what they saw as the moral foundations of American society. Drawing on earlier conservative traditions, the movement combined "anti-communism, moral traditionalism, and the virtues of the free market," in an effort to mobilize groups such as the religious right and previously less politically active Americans.[194] Historians of the American radical right have emphasized that the movement's success was rooted not only in its political organization but also in its ability to frame social and cultural issues in ways that mobilized public concern. In *Enemies of the State*, D.J. Mulloy argues that a key strategy of the radical right since the 1930s has been constructing internal enemies, or groups portrayed as threats to moral and social order, just as Senator Joseph McCarthy did with communists during the 1950s.[195] During the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the New Right used these strategies to present it as evidence of moral decay, positioning gay men as internal enemies and threats to American life.[196] At the same time, the movement also relied on coded language, also called "dog-whistle politics," by referencing ideas like

[190] National Research Council, Committee on AIDS Research and the Behavioral, Social, *The Social Impact of AIDS in the United States* (National Academy Press, 1993), 4.
[191] Kevin De Cock, *Dispatches from the AIDS Pandemic: A Public Health Story* (Oxford University Press, 2023), 79.
[192] Pat Buchanan, "Pat Buchanan's Greatest Hits," *The Washington Post*, 4 February 1987.
[193] Catherine A. Lugg, "The Religious Right and Public Education: The Paranoid Politics of Homophobia," *Educational Policy* Vol. 12, No. 3 (1998), 268.
[194] D.J. Mulloy, *Enemies of the State: The Radical Right in America from FDR to Trump* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 90.
[195] Mulloy, *Enemies of the State*, 46-7.
[196] National Research Council, *The Social Impact of AIDS*, 132.

"traditional family values" and the protection of children to mobilize support. These rhetorical strategies are clearly evident in contemporary responses to the AIDS crisis, particularly in publications such as the *Moral Majority Report*.

The Moral Majority was a political organization founded in 1979 by Jerry Falwell and other leaders within the New Right who "aimed to mobilize… Americans against 'humanism.'"[197] The organization attracted members from all different faiths, and within months it claimed to have grown to "four hundred thousand members, raised $1.5 million, and registered close to three million new voters."[198] The Moral Majority had a significant following, and their power was extended through their monthly *Moral Majority Report,* which helped them to spread and stress their ideals of morality and traditional family values.[199]

The July 1983 issue of the *Moral Majority Report* framed the AIDS crisis as a fundamentally moral and religious issue, presenting homosexuality as a part of a broader pattern of social decline and threat to the American family rather than a public health concern. The front cover of the issue makes this clear as it features a picture of a young, white, presumably Christian family all wearing face masks with the title "AIDS" above them and the caption "Homosexual Diseases Threaten American Families," below them.[200] This image starts the article off by presenting the danger of the epidemic, not to the homosexual community, but to the "traditional family," which is seen as vulnerable. The accompanying article by Dr. Ronald S. Godwin, which would have served as an early introduction to the disease for many readers, reinforces this perspective. At a time when AIDS was still widely referred to as the "gay plague" and had not yet received extensive attention from the public, Godwin presents a series of so-called "facts" about the epidemic before turning to what he describes as the "politics of a plague." However, even within the "factual" sections, his language reflects the ideological priorities of the New Right. When discussing gay men, Godwin uses highly judgmental and vulgar language to emphasize that the disease is "primarily spread by homosexual contact," stating that "the more promiscuous the homosexual, the greater his risk. The bloodier the homosexual act, the greater the risk."[201] This language serves to stigmatize homosexuality, portraying it as both dangerous and deviant. In contrast, the report adopts a very different tone when addressing hemophiliacs, describing them as "vulnerable" and "defenceless," against the disease, and emphasizing the "tragic" nature of their exposure to it through blood transfusions.[202] This contrast is significant, as it frames AIDS not simply as a medical condition, but as a moral issue in which some victims are blamed for their illness compared to others who were constructed as innocent sufferers.

Figure One: Image from the front page of the July 1983 edition of the *Moral Majority Report*.

The use of morality and traditional family values extends even further in the report through its portrayal of homosexuality as both morally wrong and socially threatening. To show that the opposition to homosexuality is "reasonable" and not discriminatory, Godwin claims that there are "millions of Americans who do not hate homosexuals," but who still believe, on religious grounds, that "homosexuality is morally wrong."[203] The distinction here is significant, as it presents his prejudice as a moral concern rooted in religion rather than in hate. At the same time, Godwin emphasizes the need to protect "young children and hemophiliacs," as vulnerable and innocent victims to justify restrictions on homosexual behaviour.[204] The article ends by stating that "homosexuals and their practices can threaten [people's] lives, [people's] families, and [people's] children," while criticizing this "tiny minority" for allegedly demanding social acceptance and special privileges.[205] Throughout the report, Godwin uses hateful language toward homosexuals, although he is discussing a disease ravaging the gay community and killing

[197] Mulloy, *Enemies of the State*, 101-2.
[198] Mulloy, *Enemies of the State*, 102.
[199] Mulloy, *Enemies of the State*, 102-3.
[200] Ronald S. Godwin, "AIDS: A Moral and Political Time Bomb," *Moral Majority Report* (July 1983), 1.
[201] Godwin, "AIDS," July 1983, 2.
[202] Godwin, "AIDS," July 1983, 2.
[203] Godwin, "AIDS," July 1983, 3.
[204] Godwin, "AIDS," July 1983, 3.
[205] Godwin, "AIDS," July 1983, 3.

thousands of people. He also repeatedly emphasized the threat to children and the traditional family, even repeating the image of a child wearing a mask, showing the extent to which the AIDS crisis was used to spread fear and hate to those most affected by the disease.[206] Rather than attempting to rally support for the gay community to help them in a time of need, the report reflects broader New Right ideologies and practices that framed marginalized groups as sources of social and moral decline to mobilize political support.

The Moral Majority's response to the AIDS crisis effectively sets the scene for the role of New Right ideology in relation to the epidemic. This is also evident in the responses to the crisis by other New Right figures during this period, such as Phyllis Schlafly. A major figure in the growth of the New Right during the 1970s and the organizer of the STOP ERA campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment, Schlafly was an important figure in spreading New Right ideology despite never holding an elected public office position.[207] She did, however, have a significant following as she mobilized grassroots movements, brought together right-wing women, and wrote the monthly *Phyllis Schlafly Report*.[208] Along with her anti-feminism, she was also a large part of fighting against equal rights for the gay community and used the AIDS epidemic as a way to target and condemn homosexuality.[209] Schlafly constructed the gay community as promiscuous by claiming that "homosexuals with AIDS had an average of 1,100 sexual partners," and built them up as an internal threat by arguing that the gay community wanted homosexuality to be taught in schools as an "alternative normal lifestyle."[210] These ideas are further evident in her *Program to Battle AIDS* from May 1987, which would have been seen by many people, and despite the fact that most of the goals and legislation she wanted passed never came to be, it provides important evidence for what the New Right thought about the AIDS epidemic.

Schlafly begins the program by complaining that people "are already painfully aware of AIDS," and rather than shoving it down people's throats through spending thousands of taxpayers' money into "AIDS awareness," they should decide what to do about it.[211] Similar to Godwin in the *Moral Majority Report* article, Schlafly calls the "AIDS awareness" program in Illinois out by targeting its vulgarity, stating that "the lyrics and the dialogue are not suitable for family reading," when discussing a song titled "The Condom Rag" and a series of skits titled "Street Talk."[212] In this way, figures in the New Right try to vulgarize the AIDS epidemic by framing discussions of condoms and other forms of prevention as morally inappropriate, dismissing public health strategies that could help limit the spread of AIDS.

Schlafly continues by laying out eleven points of suggestion to "care for those who have the disease, and [attain] protection for the uninfected against the infected."[213] Some of these points include: making AIDS a reportable condition, legislation making blood tests required before attaining a marriage license so that women do not get AIDS from their husbands, mandatory testing for all hospital patients to make sure they do not have AIDS, and making it a crime to transmit AIDS to another person.[214] While some of these ideas appear to address legitimate public health concerns, and she even suggests that hospices be established for AIDS victims, it is her language that expresses the New Right ideology and creates fear around homosexuality and drug users.[215] For example, Schlafly argues that it should be a crime for people who have engaged in "high-risk behavior," including "homosexual acts, prostitution, or intravenous drug use," to donate blood, semen, or organs.[216] By grouping homosexuality alongside prostitution and drug use, Schlafly constructs it as inherently dangerous and socially deviant. This reinforces the New Right idea that certain groups are responsible for the spread of AIDS, positioning them as threats to public safety rather than as people in need of care. In this way, Schlafly's rhetoric mirrors that of the Moral Majority by using the AIDS crisis to stigmatize the gay community and justify increased social and political control over them.

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[206] Godwin, "AIDS," July 1983, 3.
[207] Mulloy, *Enemies of the State*, 95-96.
[208] Mulloy, *Enemies of the State*, 96-97.
[209] Marcus M. Witcher, "AIDS, the New Right, and Reagan's Response," in *Getting right with Reagan: the Struggle for True Conservatism, 1980-2016* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019), 65.
[210] Witcher, "AIDS, the New Right, and Reagan's Response," 65.
[211] Phyllis Schlafly, "Program to Battle AIDS," 7 May 1987, Phyllis Schlafly Report Column.
[212] Schlafly, Program, 7 May 1987.
[213] Schlafly, Program, 7 May 1987.
[214] Schlafly, Program, 7 May 1987.
[215] Schlafly, Program, 7 May 1987.
[216] Schlafly, Program, 7 May 1987.

Even cases such as Ryan White were absorbed into the New Right's narrative about homosexuality and moral threat. In the mid-to-late 1980s, White became a highly visible figure in the AIDS crisis after contracting the disease as a child through a contaminated blood transfusion.[217] As a hemophiliac, his case quickly attracted public attention, yet it was also shaped by widespread fear and misinformation about the disease. Due to the growing hysteria surrounding AIDS, White was "barred from attending his middle school," as "local parents and school administrators" sought to exclude him from area schools.[218] Media coverage further reveals the extent of the stigma, with reports noting that his sister was "tormented by kids who claim they know the 'truth' about how Ryan got AIDS," subjecting him to homophobic slurs and assuming he is gay simply because of the disease.[219] While White's case challenged the idea that AIDS affected only gay men and drug users, it did not escape the broader cultural association between the disease and homosexuality.[220] Instead, the intense public attention surrounding his case became entangled in ongoing political debates about the epidemic. For some figures within the New Right, including longtime North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, the visibility of Ryan White was not simply a matter of public sympathy but part of a broader effort to generate support for AIDS victims and the gay community.[221] Helms strongly opposed Bill S.2240, also known as the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act of 1990, and made it a point that he believed White and his family were being "used by gay activists" to win sympathy and "feed the appetite of a movement which is not going to be satisfied until the moral and social fabric of this Nation has been irreparably changed."[222] In this way, even an "innocent" victim could be incorporated into existing ideological frameworks, reinforcing the association between AIDS, moral decline, and social threat.

The response of Jesse Helms to the AIDS crisis represents one of the clearest examples of how New Right ideology was translated into federal policy. In fact, Helms' entire career as a politician closely reflects the core ideological principles of the New Right; as Robert Hunt Ferguson notes, he "won elections by touting his anticommunist, anti-liberal, pro-family, and eventually anti-gay rights track record."[223] As a North Carolina senator, Helms was the "champion" of social conservatives, "trying to defend their… families and communities."[224] Throughout his time as a reporter as well as his 30-year period as a senator, Helms was considered a leader within the radical right, as he picked on different groups (such as communists, African Americans, and later homosexuals) to construct them as internal enemies and threats to the traditional American family.[225] In his position as executive vice president of news operations at WRAL-TV in Raleigh, North Carolina, Helms became known for sharing his political views and aiding in the opposition against the civil rights movement.[226] For example, in one television interview from 1963, Helms stated: "The Negro cannot count forever on the kind of restraint that has thus far left him free to clog the streets, disrupt traffic and commerce and interfere with other men's rights."[227] Before he even began targeting the gay community, Helms went against a lot of controversial conservative issues, opposing policies such as "food stamp legislation, federal money for abortion, and the National Endowment for the Arts." He even tried to "block efforts at making Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday a national holiday."[228] As Ferguson explains, by the 1980s, Helms switched his target to homosexuals who became his new scapegoat in spreading "antigay hysteria."[229]

This pattern of identifying and targeting different perceived threats to American society carried over directly into Helms' response to the AIDS epidemic, where homosexuals became his target. Like Phyllis Schlafly, Helms used emotionally charged language to frame the AIDS crisis in ways that emphasized moral danger and social threat. As we have seen, the AIDS epidemic was dismissed by many in the early 1980s as something that only

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[217] Paul M. Renfro, *The Life and Death of Ryan White: AIDS and Inequality in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2024), 2.
[218] Renfro, *The Life and Death of Ryan White*, 2-3.
[219] Ron Miller, "'Ryan White' attests to courage of AIDS victim," *The Pittsburgh Press* 15 January 1989, 217.
[220] Renfro, *The Life and Death of Ryan White*, 3.
[221] Robert Hunt Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse in Congress: Grassroots Maternalism and the Cultural Politics of the AIDS Crisis in North Carolina," *The Journal of Southern History* Vol. 83, No. 1 (2017): 108.
[222] Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse," 109.
[223] Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse," 120.
[224] Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse," 120.
[225] Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse," 118, 125.
[226] Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse," 118.
[227] Kevin Sack, "The Quotations of Chairman Helms: Race, God, AIDS, and More," *The New York Times*, 26 August 2001, 5.
[228] Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse," 120-1.
[229] Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse," 118.

affected gay men,[230] yet this contributed to a lot of hysteria surrounding transmission of the disease and thus resulted in increased discrimination against homosexuals and AIDS patients.[231] Helms' antihomosexual stance became a "focal point" in his political career just as the epidemic became a national health crisis in the late 1980s when he gained enough support to reverse an "ordinance that prohibited insurance companies from denying coverage to AIDS patients."[232] For the rest of the decade and into the 1990s, he used his position in the Senate to oppose multiple AIDS-related bills and funding measures, as he did with the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act of 1990.

Starting in 1987, Senator Helms began to introduce a series of bill amendments, including S.Amdt.963 to H.R.3058, which was meant to:

> Prohibit the use of any funds provided under this Act to the Centers for Disease Control from being used to provide AIDS education, information, or prevention materials and activities that promote, encourage, and condone homosexual sexual activities or the intravenous use of illegal drugs.[233]

The language of this amendment, agreed upon in the Senate by a vote of 94-2, reveals the extent to which Helms framed the AIDS crisis through a moral and ideological lens. By prohibiting funding for any materials that "promote, encourage, and condone homosexual sexual activities," Helms made public health education into a form of moral approval.[234] In other words, in support of morality and traditional family values, Helms turned providing information about safe sex and disease prevention into a dangerous act that legitimized homosexuality and promoted it to children. These ideas reflect broader New Right tendencies to conflate public health measures with moral approval. Additionally, by grouping homosexuality with intravenous drug use, the amendment reinforces the idea that certain groups were responsible for the spread of AIDS and therefore posed a threat to society. Helms translated the moral rhetoric in the *Moral Majority Report* and the writings of Phyllis Schlafly into policy, demonstrating how New Right ideology shaped not only public discourse and opinion but also the government's response to the epidemic.

Helms' efforts to shape AIDS policy through moral ideology did not end with restrictions on education funding, but extended into further proposals that prioritized moral condemnation over practical public health measures. On April 27, 1988, Helms proposed a ban on providing clean needles to drug addicts as he believed it would "encourage and condone sodomy."[235] In this proposed amendment, Helms argued that while he sympathized with anyone who has a terminal disease, "however he or she gets it, but there is not one case of AIDS on record in this country… that did not have its origin in sodomy."[236] As he did with sex education, Helms attempted to reframe a widely recognized method of disease prevention as a form of moral approval. By positioning both homosexuality and drug use as moral failings rather than public health issues, Helms reinforced the idea that certain groups were responsible for the spread of AIDS and, therefore, undeserving of state support. It is worth noting that Helms' rhetoric did not go unchallenged, as AIDS activists responded to his attacks on the gay community by placing a giant condom over his house with the message, "A condom to stop insane politics. Helms is

[230] Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse," 126-7.
[231] National Research Council, *The Social Impact of AIDS*, 130-1.
[232] Ferguson, "Mothers Against Jesse," 128.
[233] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Amendment 963 to H.R. 3058*, 100th Cong., 1st sess., 1987.
[234] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Amendment 963 to H.R. 3058*, 100th Cong., 1st sess., 1987.
[235] Steve Gerstel, "The Senate rejected a ban on providing clean needles…," *United Press International*, 27 April 1988.
[236] Jesse Helms, "Jesse Helms AIDS Bill Biblical," 27 April 1988, video clip, C-SPAN.

deadlier than a virus."[237] This act of protest highlights the extent to which Helms' policies and ideas were harmful to the gay community and the response to the AIDS epidemic.

While Jesse Helms provides one of the clearest examples of how New Right ideology shaped AIDS policy through direct legislative action, similar ideas were present at the highest level of government. In contrast to Helms' outspoken approach, Ronald Reagan's response to the AIDS crisis was marked by silence and delay, reflecting the broader political climate of the time. By 1983, most Americans had become aware of AIDS, whether through public health campaigns and media coverage or through the moral panic and hysteria promoted by organizations like the Moral Majority and figures like Phyllis Schlafly. Despite this growing awareness, Reagan did not publicly address the epidemic until 1987, by which point thousands of Americans had already died.[238] This lack of attention was reinforced by the White House's dismissive tone regarding this issue. Reagan's press secretary, Larry Speakes, was repeatedly asked about AIDS and often responded with deflection and homophobic humour. For example, in one exchange from late 1982, after being asked whether he was aware that the Centers for Disease Control had identified AIDS as an epidemic and that it was being referred to as a "gay plague," Speakes responded, "I don't have it, do you?"[239] Such responses not only diminished the severity of the crisis but also reinforced its association with homosexuality and made it seem like a joke rather than an urgent public health concern. By June 1983, Speakes noted that Reagan had been "briefed on the AIDS situation… and ordered that higher priority be given to research on it," yet this acknowledgement was undercut by the continued dismissive tone within the administration.[240] When asked whether Reagan had any suggestions on whether gay men should alter their behaviour, the response was met with laughter, reinforcing the perception that AIDS was not being treated with the seriousness it demanded. Given Reagan's position as president, a more direct and empathetic response could have helped to reduce public fear and misinformation. Instead, his silence allowed existing narratives of hysteria and moral judgment to grow.[241]

The death of Rock Hudson in 1985 marked a major shift in public attention to the AIDS crisis. Hudson, a major Hollywood star known for his "long career playing romantic leads in numerous movies and television shows," was widely viewed as an "all-American" masculine figure and was also a personal friend of Ronald Reagan.[242] As a result of his fame, Hudson's diagnosis brought unprecedented public attention and visibility to the epidemic, with NBC alone broadcasting over 200 stories on AIDS between July and December 1985 (or 3 times as many stories as they had in the time between 1980 and 1984).[243] His illness challenged the idea that AIDS was confined to marginalized groups, making it clear that the disease could affect anyone. This surge in publicity prompted Reagan to break his silence, even if it was only briefly. Shortly before Hudson's death, when asked whether "children with AIDS should be allowed to attend school," Reagan responded that, although he understood concerns on both sides of the argument, "his own medical experts stated that children infected with AIDS posed no threat to other children in school."[244] While this statement signalled a shift toward acknowledging the issue, he was only really addressing a narrow question rather than confronting the epidemic itself and the deaths of thousands of Americans. Despite the increased visibility of the crisis following Hudson's death,

Figure Two: Image of the condom put over Sen. Jesse Helms' house in September 1991 by AIDS activism group ACT UP.

[237] Peter Staley, "TAG Helms: when ACT UP put a Giant Condom over Sen. Jesse Helms's House," 17 July 2014, video clip.
[238] De Cock, *Dispatches from the AIDS Pandemic,* 329.
[239] Witcher, "AIDS, the New Right, and Reagan's Response," 66.
[240] Witcher, "AIDS, the New Right, and Reagan's Response," 66.
[241] Witcher, "AIDS, the New Right, and Reagan's Response," 67.
[242] Lugg, "The Religious Right and Public Education," 272.
[243] Lugg, "The Religious Right and Public Education," 272.
[244] Witcher, "AIDS, the New Right, and Reagan's Response," 67.

Reagan continued to avoid addressing AIDS as a national emergency, and it was not until 1987 that he delivered his first major public address on the issue.[245]

On May 31, 1987, Reagan made his first major speech addressing the AIDS epidemic at the American Foundation for AIDS Research Awards Dinner. At first glance, this speech appears to mark a significant shift away from the moralizing and stigmatizing rhetoric used by other New Right figures. In the speech, Reagan emphasizes compassion and attempts to reframe the epidemic as a national crisis rather than a problem confined to specific groups, stating that "AIDS affects all of us."[246] He also directly addresses the discrimination AIDS victims were facing, arguing that Americans must oppose it and "prevent the persecution, through ignorance or malice, of our fellow citizens."[247]

A closer reading of the speech, however, shows evidence of the same New Right rhetoric, particularly the distinction between "innocent" victims and those implicitly responsible for the spread of the disease. Throughout the speech, Reagan does not explicitly mention gay men as victims at any point, avoiding confrontation with the homophobia and stigma prevalent in AIDS discourse throughout the early 1980s. Instead, he frames the crisis in terms of individual responsibility, by saying things like "the only thing that can halt the spread of AIDS right now is a change in the behavior of those Americans who are at risk."[248] This language is reminiscent of Helms' ideas of moral failings causing the spread of AIDS rather than public health or structural failings. While Reagan avoids detailing the "gruesome facts" of the epidemic, he repeatedly emphasizes the suffering of "innocent, unknowing people," an example of the same moral hierarchy seen in New Right ideology.[249]
Furthermore, in his discussion of AIDS education, Reagan insists that it "will not be value-neutral," arguing that "how we behave sexually is one of those decisions."[250] In doing so, he essentially links AIDS to morality, self-control, and sexual behaviour, implicitly framing AIDS as a consequence of "drug abuse and sexual promiscuity."[251] In this way, Reagan's speech does not fully depart from earlier New Right approaches. Instead, it draws on elements of their rhetoric and language, demonstrating how this ideology reached the federal government.

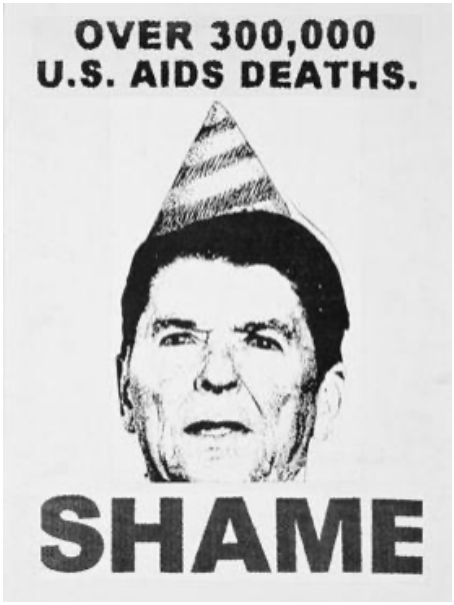

Figure Three: ACT-UP poster blaming Reagan for AIDS deaths

In 1987, the same year that Ronald Reagan gave that speech, White House Communications Director Pat Buchanan wrote:

> There is one, only one, cause of the AIDS crisis–the willful refusal of homosexuals to cease indulging in the immoral, unnatural, unsanitary, unhealthy, and suicidal practice of anal intercourse, which is the primary means by which the AIDS virus is being spread through the "gay" community, and thence, into the needles of IV drug abusers, the transfusions of hemophiliacs, and the bloodstreams of unsuspecting health workers, prostitutes, lovers, wives, children.[252]

In reflecting on a range of primary sources from the New Right, including political speeches, policy proposals, activist publications, and media coverage, this quote by Buchanan seems to sum up all of their ideas. Across these sources, AIDS was not primarily understood as a medical crisis, but as a moral one, rooted in the perceived deviance of homosexuality and framed as a threat to the broader social order. Whether through the ideas of the Moral Majority, the proposals of Phyllis Schlafly, the legislation of Jesse Helms, or

[245] Witcher, "AIDS, the New Right, and Reagan's Response," 70.
[246] Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the American Foundation for AIDS Research Awards Dinner," 31 May 1987, speech transcript, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum.
[247] Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the American Foundation for AIDS Research Awards Dinner," 31 May 1987.
[248] Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the American Foundation for AIDS Research Awards Dinner," 31 May 1987.
[249] Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the American Foundation for AIDS Research Awards Dinner," 31 May 1987.
[250] Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the American Foundation for AIDS Research Awards Dinner," 31 May 1987.
[251] Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the American Foundation for AIDS Research Awards Dinner," 31 May 1987.
[252] Pat Buchanan "AIDS and moral bankruptcy," *New York Post*, 2 December 1987, 23.

the silence and later the address of Reagan himself, the epidemic was consistently interpreted to emphasize morality, personal responsibility, and the protection of the "traditional" American family.

Through this analysis, it becomes clear that New Right rhetoric about the AIDS epidemic was very consistent and adaptable to fit different contexts while keeping the same core ideas. In the *Moral Majority Report*, this appeared as overt religious condemnation; in Phyllis Schlafly's proposal, it took the form of policies that blurred the line between public health and moral judgment; and in Jesse Helms' amendments, it became legislation that restricted education and prevention efforts. Even in the cases that might have disrupted this narrative, such as Ryan White, the association between AIDS and homosexuality persisted, showing how deeply ingrained this rhetoric was in public discourse. By the time Ronald Reagan finally addressed AIDS in 1987, the tone had softened. However, the underlying message had not, as he still emphasized morality, personal behaviour, and a distinction between those "innocent" victims of AIDS and those "drug abusers" and "sexually promiscuous." This reflects a broader pattern within the radical right, where constructing "internal enemies," using fear, and relying on coded language about family values had been used since the 1930s; the AIDS epidemic simply provided a new context for these ideas to take shape.

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Canadians have never forgotten their participation in the world wars. From the 1950s to the 1990s, Canadians remembered that participation in a variety of ways in a continuous debate surrounding its importance to Canadian society. Canadians never fully forgot the country's participation, nor had they dogmatically followed trends in world war memory and remembrance, though the vast debates and ways of thinking surrounding it may not seem evident in the present day. To many, Remembrance Day is an event of unceasing continuity with the past. Each year on November 11th, Canadians wear poppies, attend services at cenotaphs or local institutions, heed the two minutes of silence and thank active personnel or veterans for their service. But in what ways have Canadians interpreted the memory of the country's world war participation in the second half of the 20th century, when much of the modern narratives surrounding Canada's world wars were formed? This is not easy to answer, as Canada's world war memory evolved and divided into different narratives as the century progressed. Some of these narratives embraced the country's war efforts while others shunned them, particular narratives gained prominence while others fell from popularity, and still others interwove competing narratives to form new interpretations. No narrative of the world wars went unchanged throughout the decades, with Canadians responding to new ideas on world war memory or political or cultural developments external to the discussion on remembrance which nevertheless shaped how people understood the past. This essay focuses on newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor on Remembrance Day to identify how Canadians thought about their participation in the two devastating world wars of the 20th century. Contrary to the apparent continuity of ceremonies on November 11th, Canadian public debate on its world wars through the decades proved much more flexible and diverse in thought and opinion than has been commonly ascribed.

In the Great War, Canada contributed vast resources and sustained around 61,000 dead. Although victorious, the country was changed dramatically with ideas of Canadian nationhood and societal cohesion radically altered. November 11th, 1918, was a victory to Canadians, and when the suggestion of an Armistice Day arose in April 1919 the day became a perpetual memorial to the war's conclusion when passed into law in 1921.[1] In 1931, a motion was passed to separate the day's observance from Thanksgiving and another changed the event's name from Armistice Day to Remembrance Day.[2] It was during the interwar period that Canadians constructed their memory of the Great War as a triumphal event, one that rejected its horrors for the narrative that Canadians had built a nation out of battles like Vimy through their fight for civilisation and justice.[3] Far from solemn or apathetic about the war, Canadians celebrated their victory.[4] Postwar writers described Canada's participation during the Great War using Victorian High Diction which stressed traditional conceptions of honour and glory, further infusing their rhetoric with religious themes which portrayed the Entente cause as a righteous crusade in which soldiers could redeem themselves through sacrifice.[5] In this framework, the Canadian man who fought in the trenches was held in higher regard than all others, creating a social hierarchy based around voluntary participation in the war even if such marks of social distinction did not translate to real socioeconomic advancement.[6] Most important however was how Canada's Great War was interpreted in a wider national narrative. The belief came to be in society that Canada's soldiers represented the country overseas and forged its national identity in the trenches, setting the nation apart from others through their actions and creating a sense of national pride that postwar writers believed could bind the disparate peoples of Canada together under one national force.[7] This is the traditional conception of the Great War myth in Canadian memory. However, in 1939 Canada would once again find itself in a state of total war. Though not as bloody for Canada with around 40,000 deaths sustained, it made great commitments overseas and at home for

[1] Jonathan Vance, *Death so Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 211.
[2] Vance, *Death so Noble*, 213.
[3] Vance *Death So Noble*, 11.
[4] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 12-13
[5] Vance, *Death So Noble*,35-36, 89-90.
[6] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 111-112.
[7] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 136, 226-227.

the effort to defeat the Axis in the Second World War. Canadians now had two experiences with world war, and it is how Canadians remembered their country's contribution in these conflicts as well as what these ideas meant for Canadians for the rest of the century that will be examined.

Historians agree that during the 1950s and into the early 1960s, Second World War remembrance heavily borrowed from the narrative and symbology of the Great War but disagree on whether this contributed to a lack of remembrance for the Second. Jonathan Vance and David Ross Alexander argue that the symbols and High Diction of the Great War were sufficient for Canadians because the unquestionably virtuous cause of the Second World War and the booming postwar economy meant that Canadians did not need to explain their actions and could look to a brighter future.[8] Tim Cook argues that the Second World War lost its potential to galvanize Canadian identity while the noble Great War narrative remained dominant.[9] Thomas Littlewood disagrees with the notion that the Second World War faded from memory, arguing that it was prominent in Remembrance Day Ceremonies but with citizens finding that established ways of commemoration were suitable enough.[10] In short, historians agree that the world wars were celebrated in the same ways, but whether this resulted in less remembrance of the Second World War remains contentious.

The impact of the anti-war movements of the 1960s and 1970s on Canadians' memories are debated. Cook and John English contend that Vietnam-era anti-war movements emphasised the horrors and political divisiveness of war, clashing with veterans over Remembrance Day and causing the Second World War to fade from public memory.[11] On the other hand, Cook views the Great War as maintaining prominence through the narrative that the war was a senseless slaughter.[12] Similarly, Ryan Flavelle recounts how the 1960s saw emerge the notion that the Great War featured incompetent leaders directing men to their deaths, lingering in public memory through grim stories like that of the Second Battle of Ypres.[13] Certain war narratives however, appear to have remained unscathed. Robert Teigrob argues that the English-Canadian literature tends more towards the side of glorification of the nation and its soldiers and that soldiering is crucial to Canada's identity.[14] Flavelle notes how narratives of suffering during the Great War were also used to promote Canada's citizen soldiers through demonstrations of their toughness and ingenuity.[15] Overall, some historians argue that antiwar movements transformed the memory of the world wars while others see them retaining certain narratives from traditional remembrance.

Historians argue that the redefinition of Canada as a multicultural society in the 1980s prompted a focus on the sociocultural problems of Canada's world war memory while the wars continued to recede from memory. However, debate remains as to how much multiculturalism and negative views impacted remembrance. Cook argues that with the introduction of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, minority groups became emboldened to tell their experiences of mistreatment during and after the Second World War which challenged traditional notions that Canada fought for justice against tyranny.[16] These redress campaigns left Canadians uncertain about the purpose of their Second World War participation.[17] Cook and English see the rise of Quebec

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[8] Jonathan Vance, "An Open Door to a Better Future: The Memory of Canada's Second World War," in *Canada and the Second World War*, ed. Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechtold, and Matt Symes (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2012), 461-464, 474-475; David Ross Alexander, "A Very Fine Plan in the Memory of our Boys: Commemorating the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Second World War Dead," *Canadian Military History* 31, no. 2 (2022): 36-37.

[9] Tim Cook, *The Fight for History: 75 Years of Forgetting, Remembering and Remaking Canada's Second World War,* 1st ed. (Toronto: Penguin Books, 2021), 5, 10, 13-14; Tim Cook, "Battles of the Imagined Past: Canada's Great War and Memory," *The Canadian Historical Review* 95, no. 3 (2014): 418.

[10] Thomas M. Littlewood, "Failure to Launch: Canadian Federal Government Attempts at Memorialising the Second World War, 1945-1967," *Canadian Military* History 31, no, 1 (2022): 4-5, 18.

[11] Cook, *The Fight for History*, 5, 13; John English, "How Our Impulse to Recall War has Ebbed and Flowed Over Time," *The Battleground of Remembrance: Struggles at the Intersection of Canadian War History and Public Memory*, Fall 2015, 21.

[12] Cook, "Battles of the Imagined Past," 418.

[13] Ryan B. Flavelle, "The Second Battle of Ypres and 100 Years of Remembrance," *Canadian Military History* 24, no. 1 (2015): 234-235, 239.

[14] Robert Teigrob, *Living with War: Twentieth Century Conflict in Canadian and American History and Memory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 331-333, 335.

[15] Flavelle, "The Second Battle of Ypres," 234.

[16] Cook, *The Fight for History*, 15; Tim Cook, "Redressing Canada's Second World War Narrative," *War & Society* 39, no. 3 (2020): 225.

[17] *Ibid.*

nationalism in late 20th-century Canada as hindering uses of Canada's world wars as a unifying event in Canadian history and causing institutions like the government to chart a different understanding of the past.[18] During the world wars, some French Canadians were not wholly opposed to Canada's participation in overseas conflicts but saw them as affairs largely relating to English motives and values, and that they should be left out of it. The rifts between English and French in Canadian society caused by events like the imposition of conscription during both wars would remain divisive in discussions on Canadian history. This appears to have impacted Great War memory as well, with Zachary Abram arguing that cultural forces deliberately downplayed violent Great War narratives in favour of narratives that promoted multiculturalism and peacekeeping.[19] Similarly, English argues that the world wars had to contend with peacekeeping in Canadian war memory.[20] Terry Copp and Matt Symes believe that events such as the 1984 D-Day Anniversary failed to make lasting impressions.[21] On the other hand, historians suggest that some of the blows to Canadian world war memory were not so impactful in the 1980s. Copp and Symes relate how a renewed interest in Canada's Second World War history began in the 1980s with retired veterans beginning to network with others for the commemoration of the Necessary War.[22] Teigrob argues that Canadian military history has yet to focus on immigrant and international experiences of Canada's war effort.[23] It will be important to analyze to what extent sociocultural as well as minority issues impacted remembrance of Canada's world war efforts during the 1970s and 1980s.

Historians agree that interest in Canada's world wars surged in the 1990s, but to what extent this changed Canadian perceptions on the world wars must be examined. English argues that repeated attacks on Canada's Second World War efforts led to increased demands for the recognition of military history.[24] Copp, Symes, and Cook argue that events such as the fiftieth anniversary of D-Day, sponsored by the government and aided by veteran campaigns, caused a resurgence of the Second World War in Canadian memory.[25] Yet it remains to be seen how thoroughly Canadians retained attention on the Second World War or kept to previous narratives. Copp and Symes point to Quebec separatism continuing to challenge world war remembrance over historical political fractures such as the Conscription Crisis, while Americans' promotions of their own war experiences in the late 1990s caused many Canadians to be disgruntled by the lack of attention to their own participation in the Second World War.[26] Consequently, it will be important to see how much Canada's world war history was retained as a heroic narrative in Canada's public memory.

To answer these questions, news coverage of Remembrance Day from the 1950s to the 1990s will be analyzed for views on Canada's participation in the world wars. News coverage provides a cultural reflection of opinions and perspectives in their time, showing not just what writers believed to be true but also what they believed the public desired to hear. Remembrance Day is a central date for recollection of Canada's war experiences and so provides a date to focus on for each decade for opinion on the world wars. Relevant material has been analyzed from issues published before, on, and after Remembrance Day, including dates such as the 9th or 13th of November for when newspapers did not report on Sundays or holidays. For these purposes, *The Globe and Mail*, or the *Globe*, the *Calgary Herald*, or the *Herald*, and *The Gazette* are to be examined. These newspapers covered different geographical cultural centres in Canada, including the national Toronto-based opinion of the *Globe*, the Anglophone views of Quebec, as well as the more conservative viewpoints of Western Canada from the *Herald*. This essay will examine the coverage for Remembrance Day on the decennial anniversary of each world war,

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[18] English, "How our Impulse to Recall War," 22; Cook, *The Fight for History*, 14.

[19] Zachary Abram, "Canon Fodder: The Canadian Canon and the Erasure of Great War Narratives," in *The Great War: From Memory to History,* ed. Matt Symes, Steve Marti, Kellen Kurschinski, Alicia Robinet, and Jonathan Vance (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015), 18.

[20] English, "How our Impulse to Recall War," 22.

[21] Cook, *The Fight for History*, 15; Terry Copp and Matt Symes, "Canada's D-Day: Politics, Media, and the Fluidity of Memory," in *D-Day in History and Memory: The Normandy Landings in International Remembrance and Commemoration,* ed. Sam Edwards, John Buckley, and Michael Dolski (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2014), 140-142.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Teigrob, *Living with War*, 337-338.

[24] English, "How our Impulse to Recall War," 6.

[25] Copp and Symes, "Canada's D-Day," 146-148; Cook, *The Fight for History*, 15-16.

[26] Copp and Symes, "Canada's D-Day," 147-148; Terry Copp, "Canada's Own D-Day: A Case Study in the Construction of Memory," *The Battleground of Remembrance: Struggles at the Intersection of Canadian War History and Public Memory*, Fall 2015, 34.

that being the 5th and 8th years of each decade. This is done with the expectation that decennial anniversaries will provide more coverage and commentary on Canada's world wars as well as allowing for examination of how the anniversaries of both were viewed.

During the 1950s, writers highlighted the nobility of Canada's soldiers and veterans, the ideals of freedom and democracy for which they fought, and the bravery with which they fought for them. In 1955, the *Globe and Mail*'s article by Jim Senter covered Canada's Remembrance Day commemoration. He referred to Canadians as an unmilitary people who were able to build an unparalleled military tradition. Senter recounted the Second Battle of Ypres in 1915, portraying the Canadians as manning trenches with handkerchiefs around their faces in response to being gassed as they defeated successive waves of German forces. Ferdinand Foch was quoted as saying that the counterattack performed by Canadians was the finest act of the war.[27] Senter aimed to glorify the bravery of Canadian veterans in their war experiences. The bravery of Canadian soldiers was connected to the ideals for which they fought, something of which the individual citizen soldier was aware. *The Gazette*'s issue on November 10, 1958, chose to publish the remarks of Mayor R. Bourque of Outremont who stated that Canada's war dead "had the courage to face death and because of their courage they won the victory and we are free."[28] Bourque was reported to have said that the soldiers knew what they had done and that, as a result of their actions, their freedom, rights, ideals and courage had been inherited by the next generations.[29] In this view, the brave acts of Canada's soldiers were done knowingly for ideals of freedom and democracy which Canadians enjoy in the present. Taken altogether, reporting and editorials stressed the individual bravery of Canada's citizen soldiers who fought two world wars for Canadian values.[30]

Coverage of Canada's war memorials and cemeteries abroad featured prominently during this decade to convey that Canada's war dead were laid in peaceful lands tended to by grateful people. For Remembrance Day in 1955, *The Globe and Mail* published C.T. Sharpe's account of his pilgrimage to the Vimy Memorial and other Canadian sites in Western Europe. Sharpe depicts himself as having been disappointed by the lack of observance at the Vimy Memorial, but his disappointment was swept away by its Belgian caretaker, who presented him with a wreath and allowed him to do the official honours of laying it on the 11th. On his visit to the Queant cemetery, Sharpe was pleased to know that children from the nearby village placed bouquets of flowers on the cemetery's stone column, a tradition developed since the Great War. While Sharpe was at the Dieppe cemetery, he recorded a class of French students chatting while on a school trip until they came across the grave of a French Canadian, which caused them to go silent and cross themselves as they left. Sharpe was glad to inform Canadians that their war cemeteries overseas were being well taken care of.[31] Accounts like these conveyed to readers that Canada's war dead did not die in vain as the cemeteries and battlefields in which they resided were cared for by a thankful populace in peaceful lands. These articles suggested that Canadians were right to participate in the world wars as their efforts allowed these conditions to exist.[32]

However, the present tranquility of Europe did not mean that Canadians could stop fighting for the freedom and ideals of themselves and others. Remembrance of Canada's war dead came with calls to continue fighting and upholding the ideals of the veterans who died, some of them in response to the Cold War. In 1958, The *Herald* reported a crowd of 3,000 hearing Judge Hugh Farthing having told them that Canadians were not worthy of the men who died for them if they were willing to live in slavery. Farthing blamed the pacifism of the interwar era for the bloodshed of Canadians during the Second World War and stated that with the rise of a new evil there were now only two choices, democracy and government by murder.[33] Rev. M.W. Helston is reported to have given a more religious interpretation of the need for Canadians to continue fighting for their beliefs. Canadians had to have the

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[27] "Deeds of Valor Remembered as Canada Honors War Dead," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1955, 1-2.

[28] "Armistice Day Prelude: City Remembers War Dead," *The Gazette*, 10 November 1958, 29.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] See also Andrew Snaddon, "War Picture," *Calgary Herald*, 10 November 1958, 4; "Their Name Liveth for Evermore," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1955, 8.

[31] C.T. Sharpe, "School Children Bring Flowers: Toronto Traveller Finds Canadian War Graves in European Cemeteries Well Kept," *Globe and Mail*, 12 November 1955, 7.

[32] See also Dave McIntosh, "A Few of the Living will Remember Him: RCAF Gunner Died Trying to Rescue German," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1955, 1; "Forever Canada," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1958, 6; Lotta Dempsey, "Person to Person," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1955, 19.

[33] "Remembrance Crowd Hears Fighting Talk: Judge Farthing in Auditorium Address," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1958, 1, 6.

strength to resist the materialistic ideologies of the twentieth century if they did not want to dishonour the men who fought for what they believed to be the right way to live and committed themselves to Christ.[34] These examples demonstrate the active commemoration promoted in Canadian society which stressed looking to the past as a way of living for the present and future. Newspaper coverage during the 1950s elevated voices which called on Canadians to use Canada's war dead as examples of how to live, both in the spirit of upholding national values and to resist the forms of tyranny which they perceived as persisting in their day.[35]

The decade brought an appreciation for recent immigrants in Canada, particularly Eastern Europeans who had fought in Canada's world wars and even subsequently those who were seen as worthy of commemoration in the ongoing fight against tyranny. On Remembrance Day in 1955, the *Globe* and *The Gazette* reported on the opening of a new school in Winnipeg named after the posthumous Victoria Cross recipient Andrew Mynarski, whose parents had immigrated from Poland. The articles addressed a controversy when a school trustee rejected the name Mynarski, saying it was not fitting for the institution. This incident was said to have incited veteran and Polish organisations to accuse the school board of racial prejudice. In the end, the school was named after Mynarski, with the chairman of the Winnipeg School Board saying that it was fitting for the school to be named after a war hero.[36] Mynarski's story was promoted because of his contributions to English Canada's national narrative, which upheld death and sacrifice for largely English-Canadian values. However, promotion of immigrant stories extended beyond an emphasis on sacrificing for the country to upholding more international ideals of freedom and democracy. For example, *The Globe* published several photos with accompanying text demonstrating various Remembrance Day services held on the Sunday leading up to November 11th. Here, the newspaper chose to highlight a commemorative service performed by the Polish Veterans Association at the City Hall Cenotaph in Toronto. Rather than being only about Canada's world war participation, the article stated that "Remembrance Day has come to honor more than those who died in the two great conflicts of this century, for members of Canada's ethnic groups pay tribute to their comrades who have died fighting totalitarianism since the end of the Second World War."[37] Space was allowed for immigrants to display pride for their own freedom fighters, expanding Remembrance of the world wars to include ethnic narratives both related and unrelated to English Canada's war efforts. As a result, newspaper coverage of Remembrance Day during the 1950s chose to highlight immigrant experiences and narratives even while English Canada was united in its commemoration of its war heroes.

As Canada moved into the 1960s, newspaper coverage conveyed a sense of change in attitude towards Canada's world war participation due to growing antiwar sentiment and the desire for world peace. This is seen in a challenge of the notion that Canada's war efforts necessitated a continued fight in the present, and a questioning of why it should be so that people should still die in war. On November 11th, 1965, the *Globe* published an article describing how three separate campus groups at the University of Toronto held their own Remembrance services as they could not agree on the meaning of Remembrance Day. The article chose to focus on the Student Union for Peace Action group, whose theme focused on how little had been learned from Canada's world war participation as people continued to die in wars and be encouraged to fight on the basis of the same platitudes as before. The article noted that the university student council rejected co-sponsoring the event because of Peace Action's status as a radical group.[38] Although this article conveys the sense that Peace Action was a radical fringe in the university community, it exemplified the view held by many others. Articles and editorials arguing on the side of peace were prominent in the *Globe*, and reporting from the *Herald* depicted notions of world peace in the name of Canada's war dead being argued for alongside notions of fighting for freedom. The 1968 Remembrance Day ceremony in the Calgary Jubilee Auditorium saw the *Herald* writing about the speech given by Alberta Legion President E.C. Coley. Coley spoke of Canada's important battles from Hill 70 to campaigning in North Africa which he said brought nostalgia to veterans. With these battles in mind, Coley argued that Canadians must not worship freedom but remember the responsibility that comes with it, believing that it was now up to everyone that the freedoms for which

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[34] "Remembrance Theme: Sermon Stresses Ideals Men Died for In Wars," *Calgary Herald*, 10 November 1958, 18.

[35] See also Arthur Packman, "Remembrance and Forgetting," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1958, 6; All Canadians Remembering: Remembrance Service at Coral; Bad Weather Cancels Big Parade," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1955, 1-2. "Remembrance," *Calgary Herald,* 11 November 1958, 4.

[36] "Hero Mother Opens Winnipeg School," *The* Gazette, 11 November 1955, 2; "Mother Opens Winnipeg School Named for Hero Son Andrew Mynarski, VC," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1955, 13.

[37] "Crowds Bow in Rain During Sunday Services of Remembrance," *Globe and Mail*, 10 November 1958, 21.

[38] "Remembrance Day: University Students Go Separate Ways," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1965, 2.

Canada's men died be upheld.[39] Yet Coley's speech was notably preceded by that of Mayor Jack Leslie's, who stated that in the memory of Canada's war dead and on behalf of present and future generations "we must be united in our determination to abolish warfare from the face of the earth."[40] Noble rhetoric of Canada's war dead still remained, but it is clear that calls for world peace and the need to stop war came increasingly to be seen as the true purpose of Canada's world wars. Coverage from Canada's newspapers highlight this shift in rhetoric, with the result being that Remembrance Day's sacrifices were used as calls to action for both fighting and peace.[41]

In response to growing antiwar sentiment in the 1960s, newspapers published articles and editorials whose content stressed that Canada's world wars were necessary though not always noble struggles to obtain the peace and freedom of their time. In an editorial from the *Gazette* on November 11th, 1965, an editorialist argued that hope for peace to remain in the west was built on the sacrifices of millions of men and women, including thousands of Canadians who were laid in military cemeteries as evidence of the price paid for peace. The editorialist wished to counter the view that to honour Canada's war dead would glorify war. Instead, they argued that while Remembrance Day comes with the hope that Canada will not have to repeat its sacrifices, this should be balanced by a realistic appreciation that free countries should be guarded by more than words lest they find themselves struggling for survival in the next war.[42] The tone of editorials and articles such as these shifted from promoting Canada's active involvement in fighting tyranny. Instead, the country defended freedom and peace when it was required to as a response to notions that world war remembrance glorifies war. Additionally, this strain of remembrance portrayed soldiers less as willing agents who fought for freedom in a noble war but as people who in bloody conflicts were sacrificed, perhaps unwillingly, so that Canadians could live in peace in their day. In response to accusations of remembrance glorifying wars, this strain of remembrance slowly shifted to emphasizing necessary sacrifice of soldiers over them actively committing themselves to fighting in a good war. In short, newspaper articles arguing that Canada fought in a just war shifted their rhetoric to arguing for the necessary sacrifices of Canada's young to defend peace and Canadian values.[43]

Throughout the debate over the glorification of Canada's world war participation and the need to push for peace, Canadians continued to honour their citizen soldiers for their bravery and tenacity regardless of the meaning ascribed to the wars Canada fought or the suffering Canadians experienced. This is evident in Larry McInnis' editorial for Remembrance Day in 1968 on the First World War and Canada's involvement in it. McInnis depicted all primary belligerents in the war as warmongering and senseless, whose incompetent military leaders marched men to their deaths only for the same to happen again decades later in the Second World War. On the other hand, it was up to the non-professional soldiers of Canada, led by the citizen Arthur Currie, to demand independent command and win glorious victories through "fierce Canadian pride and stick-to-it attitudes, and extremely careful planning and practice before each battle."[44] These actions, McInnis stated, won Canada the praise of all western countries and helped to build its status as a nation.[45] Al Palmer, though more solemn regarding the acts and sacrifices of Canada's soldiers, shared a similar respect in the *Gazette*. In his view, the veterans from the Great War who gathered at Dominion Square would have been the teenagers who fought in the trenches in places like Vimy, something which he stated would not have provided many good memories. On the other hand, the majority of the veterans there would have been the adventurous heroes of the Second World War, who stormed Europe to liberate less fortunate countries. Despite Palmer's heroic tone, he acknowledged that many families would be returning home from ceremonies remembering the loneliness that comes with having lost a loved one, while many others, like Canada's prisoners of war from Hong Kong, remained physically and mentally scarred from their war experiences.[46]

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[39] "Remembrance Day," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1965, 2.

[40] Peter Vogan, "Citizens Honor War Dead," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1968, 1.

[41] For more on the growth of antiwar sentiment in the 1960s, see also "Passers-by Pay Scant Attention to Pacifists' Remembrance Vigil," *Globe and Mail*, 12 November 1965, 5; "Remembering with Honesty After Half a Century," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1968, 6; Reuben Schafer and Al Worthington, "Let's Forget Remembrance Day," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1968, 3; "Two Roads to the Cenotaph," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1965, 6.

[42] "Remembrance for Peace," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1965, 6.

[43] See also "Remembrance," *Calgary Herald*, 10 November 1965, 4; "Unified Canada Held Best Safeguard," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1965, 37.

[44] Larry McInnis, "The War That Was to End All Wars," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1968, 7.

[45] "The War That Was to End All Wars," 7.

[46] Al Palmer, "Ourtown: The Heroes," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1965, 3; Al Palmer, "Ourtown: Nov 11th," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1968, 3.

While the perspective of war as a brutal affair in which soldiers go through suffering and pain was presented in newspaper coverage, Canada's men were lauded as courageous for fighting in bloody conflicts and seen as having performed well because of their attributes as Canadian citizens. Whether Canada fought in just wars or not, there was no doubt that Canadians themselves fought well. To be brief, newspapers in the 1960s upheld the valour and hardship of Canada's citizen soldiers, acknowledging both the suffering they went through as well as the bravery with which they fought.[47]

Perceptions on how racial and ethnic minorities within English-Canadian society experienced Canada's world wars began to change as recognition for visible minorities and their rights was advocated for. Continuing from the 1950s, English Canada's European ethnic communities, notably the Polish community, continued to have the commemoration of their world war dead highlighted in coverage of Remembrance Day. The *Herald* published an article on November 12th, 1965, reporting on a reunion arranged by the Polish branch of the Legion for Andrew Mynarski's flight crew. After the article described how Mynarski received the Victoria Cross, the pilot of Mynarski's bomber was reported to have said that Mynarski was a symbol of the unrevealed glory of many men who had died in similarly heroic circumstances.[48] As can be seen, in the 1960s, a focus continued to be put on immigrant and minority experiences in Canada's world war which adhered to traditional narratives of glory and sacrifice for the nation. However, other more visible minorities began to campaign against past and present unfair treatment in the world wars and thereafter. Carol Hogg with the *Herald* reported on how Indigenous veterans from Canada's world wars still lacked the freedom and democracy for which many of them had fought and some died, stating that there was no glory for Native veterans in Canada. Hogg chose to reference Reverend John Snow, an Indigenous Minister of an Alberta United Church, who stated that Indians had volunteered their services and lives to defend Canadian citizens and the country's democracy and yet were still fighting for their basic rights in Canada.[49] Although Canada ostensibly fought for these ideals, the reporting of the fact that some in Canada continued not to have access to them marked the beginning of challenges to Canada's traditional war narratives based on minority experiences. To be brief, while English-Canadian newspaper coverage in the 1960s still promoted non-English identities, views on the participation of disadvantaged minorities began to challenge narratives that Canadians had fought to uphold national values.

As Canada observed Remembrance Day in the 1970s, the narrative that Canada's world wars consisted of meaningless suffering began to take hold as a dominant line of thinking. Those who lived through the world wars as well as modern journalists portrayed soldiers as victims in wars that were increasingly irrelevant in discourses of world peace. The *Globe* published an editorial by United Church minister J.A. Davidson on Remembrance Day, 1975, about his experiences in the Second World War. He wrote that nobody, including himself, saw themselves as having been crusading knights or having embraced militarism. They knew that Nazism was evil, but "we did not assume that Nazi evil established that on our side we were pure and good and innocent."[50] He recalled he and his comrades laughing at Allied political propaganda and being cynical towards statements made by politicians back home. Davidson stated that all that soldiers had received by the end of the war were certain benefits from a grateful government, ugly lapel buttons that few veterans wore, and a few pretty ribbons and medals. He connected his experiences to the Great War by saying that his generation understood the Great War poet Wilfred Owen's remarks about "carnage incomparable and human squander."[51] In the end, Davidson stated that, in remembering, Canadians must pray to never have another generation of veterans.[52] In his view, the Second World War, and to an extent the Great War, were both pointless ventures in Canadian history. The bad fought the worse, with good men such as himself caught up in it all and hoping that Canada did not produce any more veterans. Newspaper coverage

[47] See also See also Carol Kennedy, "Last to Die in 1918, Canadian is Honored in Village Near Mons," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1968, 19; Ron Percival, "Belgians Gave Calgarian State Funeral: War Ended Day too Late for Ben Bridgen," *Calgary Herald*, 9 November 1968, 29.
[48] "Comrades Honor VC Winner," *Calgary Herald*, 12 November 1965, 30.
[49] Carol Hogg, "Today We Are Still Fighting a Battle': Indians Remember their War Dead," *Calgary Herald*, 12 November 1968, 18.
[50] J.A. Davidson, "A Last Generation," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1975, 35.
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] *Ibid.*

of this kind stressed the meaninglessness and suffering endured during the world wars, which likewise encouraged Canadians to advocate for world peace in the current day.[53]

At the same time, views from a different group of veterans and commentators lamented the lack of appreciation for the efforts of Canadian soldiers. Readers were urged to remember Canada's accomplishments in times of war as well as highlighting the positive experiences and triumphs of Canada's soldiers. An editorial from John Marshall recalled a trip he took to Newfoundland, where he happened to come across the old airfield complex at Gander where he served during the Second World War. Marshall recounted the accomplishments of Canada through establishments such as Gander, which served as "a vital link in the free world's defence against Nazism."[54] Though he considered this a contribution worth commemorating, he stated that there was little there to celebrate, with the airfields overgrown and few sites of commemoration in the town itself, and only the war cemetery for those who died there during the war serving as a memorial. In the end, Marshall said that he left the site with a sense of reproach, both for others who had forgotten Canada's war contributions as well as himself, for he too had forgotten the site until he came across it on his trip.[55] Marshall's article was in sharp contrast to Davidson's. For him, Canada's war experiences were worth commemorating and celebrating, and Canadians should remember not just the suffering and death as evidenced by the war cemetery at Gander but their victories and accomplishments as well. In opposition to narratives from newspapers which focused on the suffering experienced during times of war to emphasize the aspiration for world peace, those very same newspapers published articles and editorials which lamented the lack of commemoration of Canada's soldiers and their accomplishments, striving to inform Canadians of their national achievements.[56]

In many cases these two narratives of the world wars as either senseless slaughters or good wars were able to coexist alongside one another or be synthesized into a view that, while difficult, Canada's world wars were not entirely pointless. This can be seen in the continuance in the 1970s of the necessary war narrative, which acknowledged the accomplishments of Canada in wartime while stressing the suffering of soldiers and the need for world peace in the context of the Cold War. For example, on November 13, 1978, Kathryn Warden of *The Herald* reported on the speech given by Captain Owen Gardner and Mayor Ross Alger for Remembrance services in Calgary. Gardner is reported to have said that families should teach their children that the sacrifice of Canada's wars was worthwhile but must ensure future peace. For him, remembrance should glorify the bonds forged by war but not war itself, arguing that "the nation was forged [at Vimy] and the price was high – it has been paid in blood."[57] The discussion of remembrance speeches concluded with Mayor Alger's words that without the efforts of Canada's servicemen, the prosperity and democratic values of the present would only be a dream.[58] This article combined both traditional noble rhetoric as well as antiwar sentiments and desires for peace in the context of 1970s Canada. Yes, Canadians had fought and died for their country and for their society's values, but at a high cost which necessitated the need for peace in the future. The opposing views of Canada's war efforts also coexisted in newspaper coverage. In the same article, Warden noted that a separate short memorial service sponsored by the United Nations Association of Calgary was held. The chaplain of the University of Calgary told listeners that in addition to remembering soldiers, civilians killed in war should also be remembered as the Second World War prepared the stage for nuclear conflict, where the main victims would be unarmed.[59] In any case, newspaper reporting was able to combine prevailing narratives of Canada's world wars, sometimes permitting their coexistence

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[53] See also Edgar Andrew Collard, "Oh Many Things...: A Voice for the Dead," *The* Gazette, 11 November 1978, 8; Bob Bowman, "Canada Flashback: November 11, 1918," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1975, 7; Gwynne Dyer, "War of 1914 Killed Old World Forever," *The* Gazette, 11 November 1978, 9; Juan Rodriguez, "A Life Lived in War's Shadow: The Price Paid by Janet Cantley," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1978, 1-2; "What's for Remembering?" *The Gazette*, 11 November 1978, 8.

[54] John Marshall, "Pilgrimage to the Past," *Globe and Mail*, 10 November 1978, 7.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] See also Charles Lynch, "For Many Who Survived War it Was an Unmatchable High," *The* Gazette, 11 November 1978, 19; Charles Lynch, "Let's Not Forget – Some Made No Apologies for War," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1978, A12; Charles Lynch, "War Books Recall Past," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1975, 59; "Poppy Seller Rebuffed, Gets Official Apology," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1978, D1; Sylvia Stead, "96 Cents for a Veteran on Remembrance Day," *Globe and Mail*, 12 November 1975, 41; *War* Dead Honored (Globe); William French, "What to do When the Kids Don't Know History," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1975, A15.

[57] Kathryn Warden, "In the Morning and at the Going Down of the Sun…" *Calgary Herald*, 13 November 1978, B1.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] Warden, "In the Morning and at the Going Down of the Sun…," B1.

alongside one another. The different narratives of the world wars and their impact on Canadian society appeared in the same spaces and influenced the views of Canadians on their world war efforts.[60]

Significantly, during the 1970s there was a lack of coverage on the experiences of ethnic and racialized minorities in English Canada and their interaction with narratives of Canada's world war participation. This could reflect a lack of attention to the concerns of these groups during this period. However, it seems more likely that the lack of overall commemoration of English Canada's soldiers and their actions during wartime resulted in less coverage of both the glory and hardships sustained by other groups amid Canada's war efforts. As will be shown, Canada's minority communities remembered the hardships they faced during the world wars, but for the time being their experiences escaped the journalistic reportage of some of Canada's newspapers.

The 1980s represented the peak of the narrative of the world wars consisting of senseless slaughters which did not accomplish much for Canada. Neither of the world wars were spared from this outlook. On November 9, 1985, Margaret Hogan wrote an editorial on the Vimy Memorial as an expression of grief. Hogan wrote of how the Vimy Battle saw the Canadian forces uniting to take the ridge at the cost of 10,660 casualties in total. The record laid out on the Vimy Memorial of the numerous soldiers drowned in mud or disfigured beyond recognition, Hogan said, were "terrible statistics of folly and brutality."[61] Hogan related how writers during the interwar period hoped to have the arches of Vimy represent the entranceway to a country where truth, knowledge, peace, and justice prevailed only for another ignorant generation of Canadians to launch themselves into another world war.[62] Though Hogan acknowledged Vimy as a feat of cooperation by Canada's armed forces, suggesting that Canada's men were still valued for their efforts, she ultimately saw these efforts as futile, leading to no justice or peace. In discourses on the Second World War, there was a similar view that it had achieved little. In the days leading up to Remembrance Day in 1985, both the *Globe* and the *Herald* published excerpts from a book on the memoirs of veterans returning from the war. Both newspapers included an excerpt from one veteran who was scared to return home, having only known the military for years. The veteran recalled having been less scared of the death he had to witness in war, "a game invented by old men for young men to play."[63] When he returned home, he dumped his uniform in the garbage and struggled to adjust to normal life. The veteran stated that he struggled to understand what Canada's war efforts were even about, finding all war to be folly, but was aided by "the conviction that some wars are less stupid than others."[64] This account was mostly representative of the rest of the published excerpts, which saw the war as a tragic folly with hardships back home. In total, much of the coverage recounting Canada's World War experiences focused on folly and slaughter, seeing them as having accomplished little.[65]

In the 1980s continuity remained amongst supporters of Canada's world war efforts as they argued that Canada had fought in bloody conflicts out of necessity to defend national values, though writers of this kind acknowledged the difficulty of trying to get Canadians to agree on the need of Canada's war participation. In an editorial in *The Herald* on November 10th, 1985, Ron Collister argued against the reported suggestions that Remembrance Day should be about world peace and less about Canada's military dead. Collister rejected this, stating that the purpose of Remembrance Day was to remind Canadians that no matter how revolting war may be, there were ideals worth fighting for. He saw young people unable to relate to Canada's world war participation but viewed this as the fault of Canada's adult population who were themselves "confused about what it [Canada's war service] really means."[66] In this case, Collister agreed that war was a horrific experience but argued that Canada's war efforts were necessary to defend national principles. However, as Collister's article was a response to another speaker and with his lamentation regarding the confusion of the meaning of Canada's wars, he was not

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[60] See also "War Art on Exhibit in Ottawa," *The* Gazette, 11 November 1978, 55.

[61] Margaret Hogan, "Vimy as a Potent Expression of Grief," *Globe and Mail*, 9 November 1985, E7.

[62] Hogan, "Vimy as a Potent Expression of Grief," E7.

[63] "Vets' Battles Began in '45," *Calgary Herald*, 10 November 1985, Herald Sunday Magazine 17; "When the Boys Came Marching Home," *Globe and Mail*, 9 November 1985, A10

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] See also Catherine Ford, "War Didn't Choose Sex of its Victims," *Calgary Herald,* 10 November 1985, B1; John Howse, "Veterans' War at Home Chronicled," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1985, D4; John Wilson, "The War to End All Wars: The World Changed Greatly in 70 Years but There are Some Wounds Time Can't Heal," *Globe and* Mail, 11 November 1988, A7; L. Anderson, "Canada's Arms Race Role Should be Remembered," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1985, A6; "Vet Recalls War as a 13-Year Old Recruit," *The Gazette*, 12 November 1985, A2.

[66] Ron Collister, "Hands Off Remembrance Day," *Calgary Herald*, 10 November 1985, A4.

representative of all Canadians in this period. In short, the perceptions of Canada's world wars as necessary and the view that the wars provided valuable lessons missed by an ignorant Canadian society persisted into the 1980s.[67]

The 1980s saw the introduction of peacekeepers as a group commemorated on Remembrance Day. However, their introduction did not seriously impact Canada's world wars as the primary focus in Canadian memory. The *Globe* reported on Remembrance Day in 1988 that peacekeepers would be honoured for the first time in official commemorations at Ottawa, describing peacekeepers as often-forgotten soldiers with few efforts having been made to honour them. The article saw peacekeepers as not having a large presence at Remembrance Day, allowed to wear their blue berets but receiving no special ceremony in Ottawa's official service organised by the Legion. The *Globe* castigated the Legion for not having including peacekeepers in the organisation of official services.[68] Though there was recognition of the lack of effort on the part of others to include peacekeepers, newspaper coverage from sources like the *Globe* highlighted the relative recentness of peacekeeper commemoration, with the conversation around peacekeepers on Remembrance Day in newspapers only beginning in 1988. All in all, peacekeeping does not seem to have had a major impact on national coverage of Remembrance Day or in the reported coverage of ceremonies.[69]

Newspapers highlighted the controversies that surrounded Remembrance Day in Quebec due to the antiwar notions of Quebec nationalism. In response, veterans and other Canadians did not stress the positives of Canada's war efforts but instead stressed Remembrance Day as a symbol of peace. On November 10th, 1988, the *Gazette* reported on the Quebec Department of Education's decision to remove Remembrance Day posters from provincial schools. The provided reasons, according to the Department, were because the posters conveyed the sense that war has positive effects by creating heroes and consolidating the nation, further criticizing the lack of recognition of the bicultural founding of Canada.[70] The *Herald* further noted in its reporting on the event that the posters could anger Quebec nationalists for their lack of attention to the debate over conscription in the world wars.[71] These ideas speak to Quebec nationalism causing a negative perception of Canada's world wars, as negative French-Canadian experiences during the world wars led to nationalists rejecting the notion that Canada's actions during the world wars were worth promoting and charging that world war commemoration emphasized an English monocultural narrative of Canada. However, the responses recorded by the *Gazette* of veterans' views on the affair did not try to promote war experiences but instead emphasized how Remembrance Day made people remember the suffering of war and the need for peace. The article published former prisoner of war Hector Miville's view that the posters did not belong in schools at all as no child should be bothered by issues of war, though it was said that few veterans agreed. George Dill argued that remembrance of Canada's wars served to remind people of their horrors so that there would be none in the future. Only Roger Laframboise attempted to justify Canada's actions in the world wars, viewing conscription as inevitable in wartime, but his views on Canada's active war participation were not recorded.[72] Overall, newspaper reporting on Remembrance Day in Quebec highlighted the controversy that surrounded Canada's world wars in the context of Quebec nationalism. Responses advocating for Remembrance Day did not focus on the world wars as positive events but saw them as cautionary histories that highlighted the suffering involved with war.

Newspapers during this time emphasized the multicultural Canadian experience during the world wars, complicating narratives that Canada fought for ideals of freedom and democracy as many minority experiences during the Second World War were decidedly negative. Prominent voices during this time were those of Japanese Canadians. Susan Delacourt of the *Globe* reported in 1985 how Japanese Canadians began around the time of

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[67] See also Andrew Mordan, "A Day for Canadians to be Thankful," *Calgary* Herald, 11 November 1985, A1-A2; "Day of Sorrow, Shame," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1988, A4; J.A. Davidson, "Peace, Freedom at Heart of Remembrance," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1985, A5; Patrick Sullivan, "War Dead Deserve Plaques, Pair Say," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1988, A18; "Remembrance and Hope," *The* Gazette, 11 November 1988, B2; Susan Braungart, "Dwindling Corps of Veterans Remembers," *Calgary Herald,* 11 November 1988, A1-A2;

[68] "Remembrance Will Include Peacekeepers," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1988, A1-A2.

[69] For more on the presence of peacekeeping in newspaper coverage, see also "Peacekeepers Also Honored," *Calgary Herald*, 12 November 1988, A2; "Thousands Gather to Honour Canada's War Dead," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1988, C7. Newspapers point to a continued lack of awareness of peacekeepers in the 1990s, see also Bob Bergen, "Peacekeepers are Forgotten Heroes," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1998, A1.

[70] Karen Seidman, "Quebec Nixes Remembrance Day School Posters," *The Gazette*, 10 November 1988, A5.

[71] "Posters Opposed in Quebec," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1988, B6.

[72] Alexander Norris, "Banned Poster Designed to Recall the Horrors of War, Veterans Insist," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1988, A3.

Remembrance Day to step up their campaign for compensation for actions done against them during the Second World War, aided by a cheque from the Toronto City Council and access to government records from the 1940s. Delacourt flatly stated that more than 20,000 Japanese Canadians had forcibly been moved to camps, with almost all of them having "lost their homes, businesses and voting rights."[73] Newspaper coverage had to reckon with acts done on behalf of the country which undermined the idea that Canada had fought for liberal values. Similar coverage was provided for the continuing impact of the world wars on Indigenous Canadians. An article from the *Herald* in 1988 reported that although they had fought for the country in the Second World War, thousands of Indigenous Canadians were still fighting for veterans' benefits. The article highlighted the case of Charlie Roasting, a veteran who watched Remembrance Day from afar as "the pride he feels for serving his country is mixed with bitterness about what he calls shabby treatment by government officials."[74] Representations of mistreatment went beyond government actions. In the *Globe*, an excerpt from the book on veterans' experiences returning home came from a Saskatchewan Indigenous veteran who remembered officers not caring for the lives of their men and throwing them into suicidal positions. After the war, the veteran reported facing continued discrimination in Canadian society at the hands of members of the public.[75] It appears true that the mistreatment of other peoples within English-Canadian society weighed heavily on Canadian memory of its world war participation, particularly regarding the Second World War. All in all, in the multicultural Canada of the 1980s, newspaper coverage illustrated the ongoing tensions between remembrance and the mistreatment of other Canadians during the world wars.[76]

However, starting in the late 1980s and following into the 1990s, a new exploration into Canada's past world war participation caused a lionization of that participation. In 1988, Tom Spear wrote in the *Herald* about his experiences of travelling to the Dieppe battlefield, having heard a few stories from his pilot father but losing interest in them in his adult years. Spear did not downplay the tragedy at Dieppe, describing the murderous conditions soldiers had to endure from gunfire coming from the cliffside while tanks foundered on the beach. However, Spear was overwhelmed by the thankfulness of Dieppe residents and the commemoration of Canada's war dead at the site. He stated that residents viewed Canada as a symbol of freedom as he was welcomed into houses and thanked personally as a Canadian. Spear's narrative suggested that he was not alone among Canadians as he was informed that both old veterans and young families from Canada arrived each August.[77] By 1995, Serge Durflinger, in a special travel article about Remembrance Day services held at Normandy, wrote that a local mayor welcomed Canadians in a speech, "Such is the appreciation still expressed in Normandy for the region's Canadian liberators."[78] As Durflinger recorded his thoughts while at Normandy, he stated that "it's difficult not to sense the sacrifices made by thousands of young Canadians on behalf of liberty."[79] The appreciation for Canada's war experiences was not limited to the Second World War. Writing for the *Globe* in 1998, Alan Freeman contrasted the reticence of Great War veterans to the jubilation of locals commemorating the Liberation of Mons in 1918. Interviewed veterans stated that there had been a reserved happiness that the war was over, with many glad that they would surely be home soon. Freeman contrasted this with the words of Maurice Padou, a child at the time of the liberation who came out to pay homage to the town's liberators, recounting that "we were very happy to see the Canadians come."[80] Additionally, Freeman cited the official history of the Great War as saying that "the 42nd Battalion's pipe band played its way into the city, and created tremendous enthusiasm."[81] Freeman conveyed the sense that veterans were unaware of their achievements and the gratitude felt by other people. Nevertheless, the article gave the sense that Canada's war accomplishments were something to be prideful of and remembered as many others were grateful for Canada's war efforts. The late 1980s and 1990s witnessed a movement which re-established Canada's war efforts as heroic and noteworthy.[82]

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[73] Susan Delacourt, "Japanese Canadians' Struggle Aided," *Globe and Mail*, 12 November 1985, A15.
[74] "Native Vets Battle for Benefits," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1988, B6.
[75] "When the Boys Come Marching Home," A10.
[76] See also Rudy Platiel, "Indian Veterans Denied Benefits," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1985, A13, A20.
[77] Tom Spear, "Dieppe Massacre Will Not be Forgotten," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1988, A5.
[78] Serge Durflinger, "Normandy Remembers Canada's Sacrifices," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1995, I1.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] Alan Freeman, "Canadian Liberators Hailed Again in Belgium," *Globe and Mail*, 12 November 1998, A23.
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] See also Alan Freeman, "Ontario Man Given Full Military Funeral," *Globe and Mail*, 10 November 1998, A15; Alan Hustak, "Cenotaph Sparks Distant Memories," *The Gazette*, 12 November 1995, A1; Bob Bergen, "Generations Tend to Battalion's

The problems of Quebec nationalism in 1990s Canada proved difficult to reconcile with English Canada's widespread commemoration of the world wars, but it was not impossible for newspaper coverage to do so. In 1998, the *Globe* and the *Gazette* reported on the separatist Société St. Jean Baptiste's first-ever Remembrance service during that year, and the society's rejection from the official commemoration in Montreal. The *Globe* portrayed the rival service as having been planned because of the society's rejection from official ceremonies as it had been too late to register, while the *Gazette* recorded Guy Bouthillier, the society's president, saying that he understood the rejection of the Society's participation because of its separatist persuasion. While the Legion's stated reason for its exclusion was because it failed to apply early enough, a spokesman also said it wanted to keep the event apolitical. However, this did not deter Bouthillier's positive stance on Canada's soldiers as he stated, "these guys, they died for liberty, for their country and for other people as well."[83] Writing on the ceremony, *The Gazette* reported that about 30 people, including two veterans, attended Bouthillier's service. According to Bouthillier, one of the veterans felt that he faced difficulty reconciling his past in the military with his belief in Quebec separatism, "but with the ceremony, he was able to reconcile both."[84] Though Remembrance Day could cause friction in the midst of Quebec nationalism in the 1990s, newspaper reporting, particularly from the *Gazette*, was able to square the difference and make remembrance of Canada's world wars appear to be an affirming exercise in Quebec politics.

Multiculturalism remained an issue in newspaper reporting of Canada's world wars around Remembrance Day, but the problems immigrants and minorities had with Canada's world war participation came alongside appeals from ethnic groups to be included in the general commemoration of Canada's war history. In a 1998 commentary article for the *Globe*, Eric Timm wrote that his parents, two German immigrants too young to serve during the Second World War, were anxious each year about Remembrance Day. He stated that although the Allies were right to stop the Hitler regime and its genocide against various ethnic, political, and social minority groups, Canadians had helped to perpetuate a caricature of Germans as all being evil Huns. This, alongside the forgetting of Allied atrocities during the war had, in Timm's eyes, made Remembrance Day partly a celebration of killing Germans. In the end, Timm hoped that Canadians could remember that German soldiers enlisted for their own reasons as well, and that their multicultural society could one day collectively mourn the "catastrophe of the world wars alongside other Canadians."[85] Timm raised important points on the remembrance of the world wars as many ethnic groups would have had to remember facing persecution by Allied hands during the world wars even if they recognised their cause to be just. that, newspapers were more likely to promote the inclusion of immigrants and minority communities in the narratives of Canada's world war heroism. In a 1995 article on November 11th, Stephen Thorne wrote about the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia's campaign to have the British Army posthumously award a Distinguished Conduct Medal to Jeremiah Jones, a Black Canadian who served at Vimy Ridge. Thorne wrote that, despite facing discrimination in the Army, "not only had he contributed to one of the greatest victories of the First World War, but the humble giant had proven a black man's worth in a white man's army."[86] Thorne concluded by quoting the British Defence Minister, who stated that a retrospective award could be distributed.[87] In this case, racism in Canada and its association with the country's world war efforts were seen as something that could be corrected after the fact. Instead of questioning the honour of Canada's military efforts, such issues could be resolved so that ethnic groups in Canada could join the commemoration of its war accomplishments. All things considered, multiculturalism in Canada posed challenges to the notions of Canada's world war efforts as noble or exemplary, but

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Memorial," *Calgary Herald*, 10 November 1995, B1; "Canada Honours War Dead: Ottawa Crowd Biggest in Years," 12 November 1998, A10; Peggy Curran, "Name Honours Fallen Airman: 'Dear Friend' Died in 1942 Bombing Raid," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1998, A3; "Real War Games Lack Glamour," *The Gazette*, 10 November 1998, F6; "Remembrances of Wars Past as Canada Salutes Veterans," *Globe and* Mail, 13 November 1995, A4.

[83] Amanda Jelowicki, "Societe St. Jean Baptiste to Hold Service," *The Gazette*, 10 November 1998, A5; "Rival Remembrance Service Set," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1998, A4.

[84] Sarah Richards, "Young and Old Gather to Remember Sacrifice," *The Gazette*, 12 November 1998, A5.

[85] Eric Timm, "Painful Remembrance: Will German Canadians Always Have to Mourn their Losses Behind Closed Doors on Nov. 11?" *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1998, A22.

[86] Stephen Thorne, "Fighting Continues for Black War Hero: Jeremiah Jones Won Acclaim but No Medals," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1995, A9.

[87] *Ibid.*

newspapers also saw ethnic experiences as something that could be re-evaluated to continue the honouring of Canada's war record.[88]

Although Canada's war efforts began to be seen in a positive light in which Canadians fought well for freedom, it was undecided what the appreciation of Canada's world wars meant for the future. Whether the world wars meant that Canada should strive towards world peace or fight for freedom as it had done in the past, both sides agreed on the desirability of increased world-war education amongst the public. An editorial in the *Globe* recounted how the men and women who sacrificed in the Great War did so to strive for a better world, and through multiple battles created a nation that would declare war on its own in 1939. However, Remembrance Day was seen not as a glorification of war but instead a way of honouring the sacrifices made in the past. The editorialist stated that Remembrance Day had changed through time so that it "has been transformed into a collective occasion to celebrate peace."[89] It was for this that the editorialist lamented the poor results from the Angus Reid Institute Remembrance Day quiz, in response to which few Canadians could answer basic questions about their country's war history. As a result, the editorialist stated that Canadians must do more to honour the past than wear a poppy once a year.[90] Similarly, an editorial from William James Booth argued that despite a bombardment of media commemorating Remembrance Day in 1995 as the 50th anniversary of the Second World War's end, such observations of remembrance rang hollow as they did not tell Canadians why they should be remembering. Though Booth stated that the acknowledgement of veterans, the objects they left behind, and the cemeteries of Canada's war dead were all aspects of commemoration, what Canadians should truly remember was what Canada's soldiers fought for, and that was "a project to build freedom and justice out of the dark night of tyranny."[91] Neil Cameron with the *Gazette* was more explicit: "political fanaticism, even in peacetime, killed far more people in this century than all of its most horrible battlefield slaughters put together; a reminder that evil has to be fought, not just denounced."[92] Both sides agreed on the importance of Canada's world wars but what this meant for the nation was not quite evident. While some argued that Canada's world wars meant that Canada should push for world peace in the present day, others believed that its world war efforts should encourage the country to continue fighting tyranny and oppression. Nevertheless, Canada's world wars were seen by all as an integral part of Canada's national narrative and something that should continue to guide the country's actions in the future.[93]

In conclusion, newspaper coverage demonstrates that Canadians were more diverse in their opinions and more willing to respond to new developments in Canada's world war remembrance than what might be assumed based on common knowledge. This diversity transcended anticipated regional differences. Neither the *Globe*, *Gazette* nor *Herald* were firmly in one camp when it came to their stances on Remembrance Day. Though it could be argued that the *Herald* was more likely on average to include articles taking a supportive position on Canada's world war participation, it had its fair share of dissenting opinion. In all three newspapers, positive and negative positions on the world wars could be found in the same issue not too far apart from each other in certain instances, demonstrating a diversity in thought across regions. Though the popularity of certain narratives changed over time, variation in opinion was not determined by region, though what did change across all newspapers will be outlined below.

Coverage during the 1950s supports the notion from Vance and Alexander that the world wars were treated identically in sentiment and symbolism, but the evidence leans towards Littlewood over Cook as the Second World War received similar attention as the First, though the Great War's special status in Canadian memory is evident. In some ways, the polarization of the Cold War made the more recent war's presence in Canadian memory

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[88] See also Natasha Vincent, "From the Caribbean to the Cold North: Almost Forgotten in the History of Canada's Contribution during World War II is the Role of West Indian Volunteers," *The Gazette*, 12 November 1998, A5.

[89] "Remembrance and Reflection: When We Forget Our History, We Forget Ourselves," *Globe and Mail*, 11 November 1998, A20.

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] William James Booth, "Remembrance Day: What We Do When We Remember," *Globe and Mail*, 10 November 1995, A21.

[92] Neil Cameron, "Remembering: World Wars Cast Long Shadows," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1998, B3.

[93] For more on the debates around the future meaning of Canada's world wars, see also Bill Brownstein, "Failing Grade, Teachers Share Blame for Our Collective Amnesia," *The Gazette*, 12 November 1998, A3; Chris Cobb, "Canadians Flunk Military History Poll," *Calgary Herald*, 10 November 1998, A1; Catherine Ford, "The Soldiers of Peace," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1995, A19; Charles Frank, "Lest We Forget – Canada is Not Immune," 11 November 1995, A20; "Let Us Remember," *The Gazette*, 11 November 1998, B2; Lisa Dempster, "Ceremonies Connect Youths with War Years," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1995, B4; Peter Menzies, "Let Us Remember These Men for What they Stood," *Calgary Herald*, 11 November 1998, A16.

even more felt. Coverage during the 1950s was often similar in opinion regarding the valour and heroism of Canada's service in the world wars, yes, but the context of the early Cold War allowed for an internationalizing of Canada's world war efforts which often brought the Second World War in alignment with Canadian immigrant experiences, contrary to Teigrob's claim that ethnic experiences were rarely represented.

The 1960s brought challenges to the traditional views of Canada's world wars as noble, but veterans as well as other commentators responded to these challenges by letting these discourses exist alongside one another while changing their own rhetoric to note the suffering that comes along with war. The antiwar movement grew during this period, most likely because of the Vietnam War, with the controversy of this conflict running alongside reporting on war remembrance. It could also be argued that war became a more perceptible problem to people during this period, a result of both the development of military technologies that made Canada a potential target for nuclear strikes and the introduction of more mass media technology and television in particular to broadcast the threat of conflict. The first instances of reporting which highlighted the grievances of minority groups who suffered during the world wars also began to appear during the 1960s. The most condemnatory narratives had yet to emerge during this decade, but that is most likely because participants in the younger antiwar movements had yet to gain institutional power. Once the boomer generation became the main writers and consumers of media in later decades, perception on the world wars shifted more decisively to a negative stance.

The 1970s and 1980s arguably illustrate the prevailing narrative of the world wars being senseless slaughters, but this did not stop others from arguing on behalf of Canada's world war participation. There was an evident rift between those who saw the world wars as aberrations of Canada's history whose senseless slaughter did not reflect the contemporary society, and those who saw the wars as constructive for the nation, with the latter compromising with the former in arguing that, while these conflicts were necessary, they were brutal, and should be a lesson to remember the need to fight for the peace Canadians enjoyed at this time. Additionally, veterans were not uniform in their opinion throughout this period, and news coverage does not give the sense of veterans uniformly clashing with antiwar activists as Cook and English depict. Veterans never forgot their past and continuously argued for the promotion of their world war efforts, particularly in relation to the Second World War, but some among them saw their experiences aligning with narratives focusing on the meaninglessness and hardship of their past. Despite it all, Canada's world war experiences remained a focal point on Remembrance Day, with English's and Abram's view that the world wars had to compete with peacekeeping in remembrance not holding weight. Peacekeeping as a focus in Canadian memory arrived relatively late, and by the time it did so newspaper coverage joined the late 1980s to 1990s reinvigoration of Canadian world war history in general. Even news coverage which took a negative stance on war overall chose to use the world wars and Canada's involvement in them as examples of the folly and slaughter over other conflicts.

The evidence supports the view from multiple historians that the late 1980s and 1990s witnessed a resurgence of interest in and appreciation for Canada's world wars. It appears true that veterans during this period became more active in war commemoration, whether that be in promoting Canadian war history or travelling abroad to visit Canada's past battle sites. However, also important were the descendants of war veterans, people like Tom Spear who, having previously ignored their families' veteran background and with the time and resources to investigate their families' pasts, now obtained a greater appreciation for their country's war participation. However, the circumstances of Canada itself in the 1990s could also have been a factor. Canada was relatively economically successful after the 1970s and 1980s but at the same time witnessed significant changes to how it defined itself as a nation. With the major institutions of Canada deciding to redefine the country as multicultural and the uncertainty caused by Quebec separatism, journalists as well as the broader population may have been seeking historical events with which to bind the country, and war has often been a useful subject for this purpose. This could be seen in how newspapers covered minority experiences during this period. The views on minority groups in newspaper coverage fluctuated with the general sense of how Canadians viewed the world wars. While the mistreatment of these groups challenged noble war narratives, and remained into the 1990s, writers found ways of including ethnic minorities in the general celebration of Canada's world war achievements as a way of reevaluating history. Likewise, while Quebec nationalism proved difficult to reconcile with patriotic recollections of Canada's war past, as explained by Copp and Symes, the 1990s displayed how newspapers could reconcile the two to keep world war commemoration alive in the context of Anglo-French relations. On a different note, the end of the Soviet Union may have changed the attitude journalists took to the world wars being an example for the future; now that nuclear destruction seemed less likely in the event of a war, more enthusiastic calls to action against countries perceived as illiberal or

authoritarian could be taken. All in all, Canada's news coverage of Remembrance Day through the late 20th century demonstrates the flexibility and diversity of Canadians' thinking about their world war participation, which flowed and changed yet did not cease throughout the decades.

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